

Globalism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age

Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture



Edited by
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Globalism in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age



Innovative Approaches and Perspectives

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Globalism in the Pre-Modern World? Questions, Challenges, and the Emergence of a New Approach to the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age

Abstract: This introductory and at the same time comprehensive study attempts to outline the current state of research regarding the claim that globalism was already well underway during the pre-modern period. Much depends, of course, on the definition, the evidence, and the theoretical concepts, as the many controversies indicate which are examined here and contrasted and compared with a wide variety of concrete historical, literary, and art-historical examples or concrete cases. Undoubtedly, the discourse on globalism also in earlier periods before the twenty-first century carries strong political undercurrents, but this essay endeavors to approach the topic *sine ira et studio*, and simply to reflect on what is possible at the moment to claim regarding global perspectives and where we ought to be careful in our historical investigations. The various literary texts and historical documents from the fields of arts, commerce, medicine, science, etc. introduced and discussed here will hopefully illustrate convincingly that we are justified in accepting the notion of pre-modern globalism, and this even well prior to ca. 1500, if we cast our investigative net as far as possible and pursue innovative comparative and interdisciplinary research.

Keywords: Globalism before globalism, medieval and early modern travelers, missionaries, economic trade across the world, shared literary motifs

Introduction

For quite some time now, scholars have debated the validity or usefulness of the concept of globalism in the pre-modern world, prodded along in that endeavor by their colleagues in the modern fields of economics, history, social-and cultural studies, religion, and anthropology, not to forget literature.¹ Unquestionably, the twenty-first

¹ Peter Frankopan, "Why We Need to Think About the Global Middle Ages," *Journal of Medieval Worlds* 1.1 (2019): 5–10. See now the contributions to *The Cambridge Companion to World Litera-*

ture, ed. Ben Etherington and Jarad Zimble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). Their approach in favor of world literature aims at “literary totality” (xiii), but when we consider what they have to say about medieval literature and its historical context, the result is rather poor, one-sided, and sorely lacking in covering even the basic ground. For the time between 1000 and 1499, for instance, they list only the twelfth-century Persian ‘Alī Nezāmī ‘Arūzī Samarqandī (late eleventh/twelfth century, his contemporary Ibn Rushdī (ca. 1150–1190), Dante Alighieri (d. ca. 1320), and the North African Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406; in modern terms, Tunisian) (xv). We can applaud the contributors for trying hard to bring primarily non-western authors to the table, but this effort also throws out the proverbial baby with the bathwater; or, rather the opposite, puts into the same bathwater babies from completely different worlds. As to Ibn Khaldūn, above all, see his *The Muqaddimah: An Introduction to History*, trans. from the Arabic by Franz Rosenthal, abridged and edited by N. J. Dawood. Bollingen Series (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2015); and for critical comments, Robert Irwin, *Ibn Khaldun: An Intellectual Biography* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018). See also the contributors to *Approaches to World Literature*, ed. Joachim Küpper. WeltLiteraturen, 1 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013). There is a legion of relevant research on this topic, especially because this academic field is currently emerging strongly and tries to establish itself more broadly. It faces, however, in that process, also much criticism. Cf. also Ian Almond, *World Literature Decentered*. Routledge Studies in Comparative Literature (New York and London: Routledge, 2022). One of the seminal studies on world literature continues to be David Damrosch, *Teaching World Literature* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2009); id., *Comparing the Literatures: Literary Studies in a Global Age* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2020). As the abstract online reads: “Comparing the Literatures integrates comparative, postcolonial, and world-literary perspectives and seeks common ground. Looking both at institutional forces and at key episodes in the life and work of comparatists who have struggled to define and to redefine the fundamental terms of literary analysis, from language to literature to theory to comparison itself Damrosch offers a comprehensive overview of the history and current prospects of comparative studies in a globalizing world.” However, the comparative analysis presented here does not consider the vertical, hence, the pre-modern perspective. See also the contributions to *The Routledge Companion to World Literature*, ed. Theo D’haen, David Damrosch, and Djelal Kadir. Routledge Companions (New York and London: Routledge, 2012). Here as well, the authors are mostly engaged with questions pertaining to postcolonialism, the relationship between Western and Eastern literature, and with the contributions to comparative literary studies. Only in one case, pertaining to *One Thousand and One Nights* (Sandra Naddaff), do we come closer to the critical issue concerning the present book, that is, actual cases of global exchange, influence, and sharing throughout the ages. *Tausendundeine Nacht: nach der ältesten arabischen Handschrift in der Ausgabe von Muhsin Mahdi* [translated for the first time into German by Claudia Ott]. 12th ed. Neue orientalische Bibliothek (2004; Munich: C. H. Beck, 2018). See also David Damrosch, *What is World Literature? Translation – Transnation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003). The bookshelves in our libraries are filled with other relevant studies addressing both theoretical and pragmatic issues regarding world and/or comparative literature. However, until today, we still face many questions regarding how to carry out proper research and teaching of world literature, unless we identify specific themes and topics shared by poets and writers across the world and throughout time, such as the dawn song. Cf. Arthur E. Hatto, *Eos: An Enquiry Into the Theme of Lovers’ Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry* (The Hague: Mouton, 1965). For economic approach to globalism already emerging in the thirteenth century, see Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (see note 3). For new reflections on the interconnection between *One Thousand and One Nights* and European medieval

century is deeply characterized by many aspects characteristic of globalism, as illustrated by trade connections, diplomatic relationships, international political alliances, and communication now facilitated by the internet, email, social media, etc. There are good reasons to trace those developments not much further back than maybe to the late twentieth century, while everything before then appears to have been national, parochial, local, introspective, and limited, as many historians have claimed with the purpose of drawing clear demarcation lines separating epochs, in whatever form defined, leaving the pre-modern era, so to speak, in the dust of history. Poets, philosophers, architects, and scientists from the late antiquity exerted a deep influence on the Middle Ages; and those from the medieval era, met with much interest well into the early modern age. It is not uncommon, however, to reach a workable compromise when the turning point of ca. 1500 is accepted as the beginning of globalism, although I would question even that separation line.² The other challenge is also what we mean by 'global,' when the case often concerns 'only' contacts or exchanges between, say, Christian European writers and Muslim Arab authors, all learning from each other. I suggest to be more inclusive and to acknowledge the globality also of certain contact zones, such as the eastern Mediterranean, which was a truly fertile world where many cultures met and interacted with each other. More about that later.

Medievalists and early modernists have now argued against such a too simplistic and binary, perhaps even disrespectful and ignorant perspective and have strongly argued in favor of accepting that globalism already existed well before the modern era, that is, long even before the fifteenth century. The current book will pick up that baton and pursue the same goal of confirming the presence of globalism already well before the modern era, and this on the basis of numerous individual case studies. We

literature, see Albrecht Classen, "Globale Narrative in der Spätantike und im Mittelalter: Von den *Arabischen Nächten* (1001 Nächte) bis zum *Buch der Sieben Weisen Meister*," *Kairoer Germanistische Studien* 24 (2019/2020; appeared in 2022): 35–53.

2 See the contributions to *The Globalization of Renaissance Art: A Critical Review*, ed. Daniel Savoy. Brill's Studies in Intellectual History, 274, and Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History, 23 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017); and to *The Reception of the Printed Image in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, ed. Grazyna Jurkowlanec and Magdalena Herman (New York and London: Routledge, 2020). For very specific data concerning the reception of medieval texts in the early modern period, see, for instance, Uwe Neddermeyer, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch: Schriftlichkeit und Leseinteresse im Mittelalter und in der frühen Neuzeit. Quantitative und qualitative Aspekte*. 2 vols. Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge aus dem Deutschen Bucharchiv München, 61 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998). For a concrete example, see Rossana E. Guglielmetti, *La tradizione manoscritta del "Policraticus" di Giovanni di Salisbury: primo secolo di diffusione* (Florence: Sismel, Ed. del Galluzzo, 2005); cf. now Albrecht Classen, "The Continuation of the Middle Ages in the Early Modern Print Period. With an Emphasis on *Melusine* and *Till Eulenspiegel*." *Publishing Research Quarterly* 22.2 (August 2022); DOI.10.1007/s12109-022-09910-4.

are, after all, still far away from a truly global understanding of globalism today, to play here with a pun, and can only aspire to collect the necessary data to recognize actually existing networks across the world already well before 1800, or so.

But many doubts continue to linger as to the real potentials or promises of this concept in grasping fundamental aspects of the period prior to 1600, to say the least, although Europeans found their way to the New World and to East India already shortly before 1500 (Vasco da Gama [1497–1498] and Christopher Columbus [1492]; here disregarding the Vikings traveling to Newfoundland already around 1000), continuing centuries of explorations by traders, pilgrims, soldiers, diplomats, and missionaries. Similarly, when we consider the situation in the Arabic, African, or Asian world, we would find many indicators of fascinating and far-reaching contacts, exchanges, trade, and diplomatic relations, channels of mutual influence, and a network of global communication certainly much more close-knit than many modern scholars have recognized or are even willing to consider possible. Hence, what would the notion of globalism mean in those cultures and in those cultural-historical periods?

If we move away from the traditional Eurocentric view, our entire orientation toward the global easily experiences a dramatic shift, forcing us to take into consideration many different factors, power players, trading networks, and philosophical, literary, and artistic exchanges.³ In fact, the high Middle Ages already witnessed noteworthy intellectual contacts between Christians and Muslims in a constructive manner debating their religious viewpoints, as Najlaa Aldeeb outlines in her contribution to this volume. To this we can easily add merchants, diplomats, architects, artists, philosophers, rulers, and others who operated on a relatively global platform. Of course, the crusades put the entire Christendom on a collision course with Islam, primarily driven by the Roman Catholic Church. Nevertheless, long before 1099 (conquest of Jerusalem) and long after 1291 (fall of Acre), countless members of the Christian and Muslim communities, both merchants and clerics, lived in very close proximity to each other, shared many cultural elements, and learned from the respective other side, as many scholars have already observed in recent times.⁴ We are, in short, facing a significant paradigm

3 Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250–1350* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

4 See, for instance, the contributions to *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013); cf. also the contributions to *Religious Plurality and Interreligious Contacts in the Middle Ages*, ed. Ana Echevarría Arsuaga and Dorothea Weltecke. *Wolfenbütteler Forschungen*, 161 (Wolfenbüttel: Herzog August Bibliothek, 2020). The authors emphasize that religious plurality, irrespective of occasional

shift in our understanding of the medieval and early modern past, and Global Studies allows us to promote these new perspectives, pushing us to break many different barriers in our traditional scholarship.

Some scholars have also seriously questioned the traditional notion of an early modern Europe having been the first continent to develop a world reach, or a colonial empire at that time. Already in antiquity, but then also throughout the Middle Ages, the Mediterranean was certainly a major contact zone bringing together representatives of many different cultures in Africa, Europe, and Asia, and hence also languages and religions. The global South, for instance, and other parts of the world, always have to be granted an equal role within our historiographical reflections, although we can thereby also face the danger of losing our focus and comparing apples with oranges. It is one thing to bring together shared cultural or philosophical issues from different regions, or even continents, or to reveal connections of economic, artistic, or medical kinds across the world, but it is another thing to use the notion of ‘global’ for universal discussions without an inherent and reasonable cohesion and shared meaning.⁵ While the Spanish and Portuguese crown

outbursts of violence mostly by the majority against the minority, was more often the norm than the exception. See further Benjamin Z. Kedar, *Franks, Muslims and Oriental Christians in the Latin Levant: Studies in Frontier Acculturation*. Variorum Collected Studies Series, 868 (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2006). These new perspectives go directly against traditional Crusading Studies that had assumed narrow-minded Christian hostility against all Muslim peoples and cultures in the Holy Land and vice versa.

5 For the older paradigm, see David Arnold, *The Age of Discovery: 1400–1600*. Lancaster Pamphlets (1983; New York and London: Routledge, 2002). As to the Mediterranean, see David Abulafia, “Mediterranean History as Global History,” *History and Theory* 50.2 (2011): 220–28; Thomas Bonnici, *De Mazara a Lucera: os muçulmanos na Sicília, em Malta e na Itália, 827–1300* (Maringá: Massoni, 2018); see particularly the collection of articles by Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Boundless Sea: Writing Mediterranean History*. Variorum Collected Studies Series, 1083 (Abingdon, Oxon, and New York: Routledge, 2020); see also their previous works, seminal in many respects regarding the Mediterranean, truly a major contact zone for many cultures throughout time (until today). For theoretical reflections, see now Uiran Gebara da Silva, “Outra história global é possível? Des-occidentalizando a história global é a história antiga/Another Global History? De-Westernizing the History of Historiography and Ancient History,” *Esboços, Florianópolis* 26.43 (2019): 473–85; <https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-7976.2019.e65429> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). For a rather typical, but problematic case, see the contributions to *Global Histories of Disability, 1700–2015: Power, Place and People*, ed.

Esme Cleall (New York and London: Routledge, 2023). The various authors deal with disability issues all over the place in a global framework, with no connections between the individual pieces. The publisher advertises this book online by stating: “Global Histories of Disability seeks to address issues including colonialism, disability, the body, forced labour and indigeneity. A further key issue that reoccurs throughout the volume is the specificity of place. With several chapters examining the Global South, such work challenges the implicit tendency to assume that the western

indeed managed to conquer much of the American continent since Columbus's first journey in 1492, they were much less successful in other parts of the world, which actually opened a valuable vacuum for the Jesuit Order founded by Ignatius Loyola in 1540, one of the major spearheads for the march toward globalism well before modernity.⁶

experience of disability is a universal one. The volume intends to do more than add new case studies to our knowledge about disability in the modern period, it intends to use the insights gained from examining disparate global sites to think more about the global histories of disability both empirically and theoretically.” Of course, to appeal to the post-modern appetite for theory-driven analysis, the narrative continues: “Issues addressed by different chapters include colonialism, imperialism, disability, deafness, the body, enslavement, labour and indigeneity. Different chapters also use economic, cultural, legal and political frameworks to explore issues of disability across a range of global locations” (https://www.routledge.com/Global-Histories-of-Disability-1700-2015-Power-Place-and-People/Cleall/p/book/9780367341213?utm_medium=email&utm_source=EmailStudio&utm_campaign=B026803_te1_1au_7pp_d683_history_4443714; last accessed on March 31, 2023). Undoubtedly, disability is a universal, human problem, or rather challenge, but it seems to amount to misuse of the term ‘global’ in the present context since the various lines connecting dots across the world seem to be missing.

6 Serge Gruzinski, *The Eagle and the Dragon: Globalization and European Dreams of Conquest in China and America in the Sixteenth Century*, trans. by Jean Birrell (2012; Cambridge: Polity Press, 2014); Kenneth Pomeranz, *The Great Divergence: China, Europe, and the Making of the Modern World Economy*. The Princeton Economic History of the Western World (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “Ranges of Response: Asian Appropriation of European Art and Culture,” *The Globalization of Renaissance Art* (see note 2), 95–127, with a particular focus on the impact by the Jesuits on Japan during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and on Mughal India. See also Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “Reflections on World Art History,” *Circulations in the Global History of Art*, ed. id., Catherine Dossin, and Béatrice Joyeux-Prunel. Studies in Art Historiography (Farnham, Surrey, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015), 23–45; Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann, “Dynamics of Cultural Exchange 1300–1650 C.E. and World Art History in the *Longue Durée*: Twelve Theses,” *Kunstgeschichte global: Europa, Asien, Afrika, Amerika 1300–1650*, ed. Matteo Burioni and Ulrich Pfisterer (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2015), 95–127. As to Jesuit globalism, see Albrecht Classen, “Missionarische Bemühungen als Welterforschung. Jesuitische Sichtweisen auf die Neue Welt: nördliches Mexico – heutiges Arizona,” *Scientiae et artes. Die Vermittlung alten und neuen Wissens in Literatur, Kunst und Musik*. Vol. II. Ed. Barbara Mahlmann-Bauer. Wolfenbütteler Arbeiten zur Barockforschung, 38 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 1029–51; id., “Jesuitas alemanes en España de camino al nuevo mundo: Contacto y conflicto entre culturas,” *Estereotipos interculturales germanoespañoles*, ed. Berta Raposo and Isabel Gutiérrez (Valencia, Spain: Universidad de Valencia, 2011), 45–56; <https://doi.org/10.7767/miog.2020.128.2.301>. For an excellent global overview, accompanied with valuable images and maps, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jesuits> (both last accessed on March 31, 2023). For a recent discussion of globalism versus globalization, with the latter being a higher dimension of the former, or the result of global colonialism, see Joseph Nye, “Globalism Versus Globalization,” *The Globalist*, April 15, 2002, <https://www.theglobalist.com/globalism-versus-globalization/> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). He formulates succinctly: “In short, consider globalism as the underlying basic

Medieval Maps

The history of mapmaking, for instance, can help us much in that regard, identifying the prevalent notions about the larger world, or if that was even recognized in the first place as the true factors in producing such maps. Although many medieval and early modern maps seem to be rather limited, reflecting, at first sight at least, an astoundingly myopic worldview, they actually prove to be valuable to convey a mental-historical concept behind them, reflecting a strong awareness of the larger world well beyond Europe, or far into Asia, depending on the viewpoints.⁷ This does not mean that we would be able to trace the specific outline of the larger world in those maps, and we should be very careful in equating medieval with modern maps because the purposes differed considerably.

In other words, we have to be careful in our analysis of maps because they often did not necessarily serve practical purposes for travelers, as they do for modern people.⁸ They were often at any rate much too large to be carried around (see the

network, while globalization refers to the dynamic shrinking of distance on a large scale.” See now also the contributions to this volume by Fidel Fajardo-Acosta and Reinhold Münster.

7 Naomi Reed Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell, 2001); Karen C. Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps: An Exploration* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2016); cf. also the contributions to *The Visualization of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Marcia Kupfer, Adam S. Cohen, and J. H. Chajes. Studies in the Visual Cultures of the Middle Ages, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020); Alfred Hiatt, *Dislocations: Maps, Classical Tradition, and Spatial Play in the European Middle Ages*. Studies and Texts, 218 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2020); *Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Medieval World*, ed. Christoph Mauntel. Das Mittelalter. Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung. Beihefte, 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021); Albrecht Classen, “The Experience of the World in Narrative and Graphic Form: Trailing Through a Medieval Depiction of the Entire Earth. Literary Explorations and Medieval Maps (Ebendorf) and Charts,” id., *Tracing the Trails in the Medieval World: Epistemological Explorations, Orientation, and Mapping in Medieval Literature*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), 232–63; Aline Dias da Silveira and Bianca Klein Schmitt, “‘Ymage del mon’: O corpo e o mundo no atlas catalão de Cresques Abraham, 1375,” *Esboços, Florianópolis: histórias em contextos globais* 27.46 (2020): 511–33. And, although I was not yet able to consult it, see also Ingrid Baumgärtner, *Mapping Narrations – Narrating Maps: Concepts of the World in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period*. Research in Medieval and Early Modern Culture (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, forthcoming).

8 Ironically, it seems as if the modern generation of the 2020s is less and less interested in maps or even capable of working with maps because of the increasing reliance if not dependence on the GPS and other digital navigation systems. See the insightful comments in *USAToday*, Feb. 7, 2020; online at <https://www.usatoday.com/story/tech/2020/02/07/are-paper-maps-better-than-google-maps-apple-map-gps/4647383002/>. See also this useful blog online: <https://sensibledriver.com/article/paper-maps-vs-gps-when-to-go-old-school#:~:text=%E2%80%9CA%20paper%20map%20also%20may,you%20through%20an%20unsafe%20neighborhood> (both last accessed on March 31, 2023).

Hereford or the *Ebstorf* mappamundi), or pursued rather aesthetic, political, even religious, and philosophical goals. We have to accept, in other words, that those huge world maps were not specifically oriented toward guiding the spectator throughout the world in geographic terms. No wonder that famous Jacques Le Goff was misled to claim that the “medieval West knew nothing of the real Indian Ocean” because the Catalanian mappamundi in the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, the planisphere of Fra Mauro of Murano (1460), or Martin Behaim’s globe (1492) reflected a rather erroneous world view.⁹ They might not have known about that part of the world, they might not have cared about it, but ultimately, we have always to be careful about the true purpose of those geographic works and cannot take them at face value regarding the physical facts as we perceive them today. A medieval map is not simply to be equated with a modern map, not because of the geophysical details, but because of very different functions and epistemological purposes determining it.

Astonishingly, Le Goff then went so far as to formulate this rather stereotypical opinion we would hardly subscribe to any longer: “medieval men did not know how to look but were always ready to listen and believe all they were told. In the course of their travels, they soaked up any number of marvelous tales and believed that they had seen what they learned, on location no doubt, but nonetheless by hearsay” (3 [191]). We have to be much more circumspect in our analysis of the various sources and in our selection of primary documents reflecting on global connections in the past.

As R. Po-Chia Hsia has brilliantly demonstrated, early modern Chinese maps mirror a dramatic shift away from the west, entailing, for instance, the virtual disappearance of Europe from the creators’ mindset probably to assume that most pre-modern travelers, either in the Pacific Ocean (Polynesia) or in the Arabic world established their orientation through a variety of operations, contacts, instructions, etc., i.e., mostly orally, and not through a study of maps on manuscripts. set, and the new focus almost exclusively on China and the threat by the Mongols. The Mongolian Empire had been determined to some extent by multi-ethnicity and multi-culturalism, whereas the rise of the new Ming dynasty (1368–1644) meant a radical transformation in their world view, focusing mostly on eastern Asia only.¹⁰ Parallel

⁹ Jacques Le Goff, “The Medieval West and the Indian Ocean: An Oneiric Horizon,” *Facing Each Other: The World’s Perception of Europe and Europe’s Perception of the World*, ed. Anthony Pagden. *An Expanding World: The European Impact on World History 1450–1800* (1980; Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington: Ashgate Variorum, 2000), 1–19 (189–200). The quote is borrowed from the abstract online at <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781315249292-5/medieval-west-indian-ocean-oneiric-horizon-jacques-le-goff> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

¹⁰ R. Po-Chia Hsia, “From Marco Polo to Matteo Ricci: Sino-Islamic Knowledge and the European Discovery of Cathay,” *Paradigm Shifts during the Global Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Al-

to that development, the Arabic world had, under the impact of the Mongol assault, splintered into a number of new and separate power centers which often went into war against each other. The Mongols, as Hsia observes, instead turned their interest to India where they established the Mughal dynasty. All these developments created a power vacuum that made it possible for the Jesuit Order, established in Rome in 1540, to intervene and to expand their new global network of missionaries also to that part of the world.¹¹

brecht Classen. *Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, 44 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 99–122; here 103. He concludes, “Europe and the Mediterranean simply did not appear on the horizon in Ming Cartography” (109).

11 Hsia, “From Marco Polo to Matteo Ricci” (see note 10), 113; as to the work of the Jesuits and their global outreach, see Albrecht Classen, “A Global Epistolary Network: Eighteenth-Century Jesuit Missionaries Write Home. With an Emphasis on Philipp Segesser’s Correspondence from Sonora/Mexico,” *Studia Neophilologica* 86.1 (2014): 79–94; id., “The Scientific, Anthropological, Geological, and Geographic Exploration of Northern Mexico by Eighteenth-Century German Jesuit Missionaries: A Religious and Scientific Network of Multilingual Writers. With a Focus on Johann Nentuig and Marcus Antonius Kappus,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 122.1 (2014): 40–61; id., “Jesuit Missionaries Building a Global Network: Eighteenth-Century Exploration of the World in the Name of God. A Story of Disjointed Memory,” *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses* 19 (2014; appeared in 2016): 91–105; and id., “Ein Bucherfolg für die Jesuiten in der globalen Auseinandersetzung mit den Protestanten und den katholischen Gegnern: Joseph Stoeckleins *Welt-Bott*. Briefe aus der ganzen Welt als Grundlage für enzyklopädische Ambitionen,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 128.2 (2020): 301–13; Dec. 18, 2020; <https://doi.org/10.7767/miog.2020.128.2.301>. Other scholars have discovered this phenomenon as well; see, for instance, John T. McGreevy, *American Jesuits and the World: How an Embattled Religious Order Made Modern Catholicism Global* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016); Ulrike Strasser, *Missionary Men in the Early Modern World: German Jesuits and Pacific Journeys*. Gendering the Late Medieval and Early Modern World, 12 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2020); Dongfeng Xu, *Friendship and Hospitality: The Jesuit-Confucian Encounter in Late Ming China*. SUNY Series in Chinese Philosophy and Culture Ser. (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2021); Maja Šabec, Tomaž Nabergoj, Igor Maver, Ana Cecilia Prenz Kopušar, *Marko Anton Kappus – slovenski jezuit na koncu Novega sveta* (Ljubljana: Filozofska Fakulteta, 2021); *The Jesuits and Globalization: Historical Legacies and Contemporary Challenges*, ed. Thomas F. Banchoff and José Casanova (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2016); Robert H. Jackson, *Jesuits in Spanish America before the Suppression: Organization and Demographic and Quantitative Perspectives*. Brill Research Perspectives in Humanities and Social Sciences (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021). The fact that the interest in the Jesuit history has by now gained global dimensions underscores the importance of pursuing this research perspective. This implies, for instance, that the experiences in pre-modern networking can mean much for us today, especially because globalism in the twenty-first century is accompanied by numerous problems, conflicts, and even dangers, such as excessive dependence on international production and delivery of goods across the globe, as reflected now in the war waged by Russia against Ukraine, 2022, with dramatic and traumatic ripple effects for the suddenly emerging lack of global food supply and profound shortage of natural gas in the West.

Polar Opposite Positions in Research

The current state of research proves to be in flux; there are many different opinions, ranging from firm support of globalism prior to the modern age to negative views. Two extreme examples can illustrate the division in scholarly opinions in that regard. First, in his recent monograph, *Geschichte in Bewegung* (History in Motion), the Austrian historian Christian Domenig strongly rejects the notion that globalism as a phenomenon could have existed before, say, the eighteenth or nineteenth century.¹² However, he acknowledges right from the start that all history, especially in the Middle Ages, has been a history of migrations, whether we think of the Germanic peoples, the Avars, the Arabs, the Ottomans, or the movement of Dutch and German farmers toward the Slavic regions in the Eastern parts of Europe (49).¹³ To qualify this observation further, we would have to note that even though the last eighty years or so have witnessed the largest migration of people across the world ever in the history of humankind,¹⁴ it would be wrong to be blind to the massive expansion of many different peoples already in late antiquity, for instance, and in the early Middle Ages. Even though the concept of nations emerged already then, it remained in flux for a very long time, and has always been undermined by constantly new migration movements, either as a result of wars or as a consequence of economic and political pressures.¹⁵ The more critical we are regarding those concepts as ‘nation’ or ‘people’ as they fully emerged not until the nineteenth century, the more open we will be concerning the actual conditions in earlier periods.

Domenig also emphasizes the importance of studying the phenomenon of *transculturation*, as developed by the anthropologist Fernando Ortiz since the 1940s (50), and predicated on the understanding of cultural transfer and the mobility of ideas, knowledge, and goods, as discussed by Michel Espagne and Michael Werner

¹² Christian Domenig, *Geschichte in Bewegung: Das Mittelalter jenseits der Politik* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2021); see my review in *Mediaevistik* 35 (forthcoming).

¹³ See now Johannes Preiser-Kapeller, “Migration,” *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages*, ed. Erik Hermans (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2020), 477–509.

¹⁴ *The Age of Migration. International Population Movements in the Modern World*, ed. Hein De Haas, Stephen Castles, and Mark J. Miller. 6th ed., reprint of the 5th ed. (1993; London, New York, et al.: Bloomsbury Academic, 2022). There is, of course, a whole legion of relevant research literature on this topic, especially because of the global character of this development.

¹⁵ As to the situation in late antiquity, see C. R. Whittaker, *Frontiers of the Roman Empire: A Social and Economic Study* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997); *Migration and Multi-Ethnic Communities: Mobile People from the Late Middle Ages to the Present*, ed. Maija Ojala-Fulwood (Munich and Vienna: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018); see also the contributions to *Travels and Mobilities in the Middle Ages: From the Atlantic to the Black Sea*, ed. Marianne O’Doherty and Flicitas Schmieder. *International Medieval Research*, 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015).

(50–51).¹⁶ But at the end of his reflections, Domenig suddenly turns to the history of globalism and quickly reaches the conclusion, without any consideration of his own and other evidence,

Eine Globalgeschichte im Sinne einer weltweiten Interaktion ist für das Mittelalter als spezifisch europäisch-abendländische Epoche nicht umsetzbar, es ist eine Geschichte vor der Globalisierung, eventuell noch eine Geschichte des Aufbruchs zur Globalisierung. Die Ökumene der lateinischen Christenheit des Mittelalters bestand nur aus Orient und Okzident, zu anderen Weltregionen gab es fast keine Verbindungen. (225)

[It is not possible to pursue a global history in the sense of a global interaction during the Middle Ages as a specific European-Occidental period. That history is one prior to globalism; at best a history of an early launching of globalism. The economic domain of the Latin Christendom during the Middle Ages consisted only of the Orient and the Occident; there were virtually no connections to other parts of the world.]

However, he then refers to the studies by the historian Michael Borgolte, who had emphasized the great need for interdisciplinary research and the collaboration across languages to do justice to the countless connections between medieval groups of people, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Slavic Orthodox Christians, and others, and hence across countries and cultures.¹⁷

16 The numbers here and below refer to Domenig's study. See Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, "Deutsch-französischer Kulturtransfer im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert: Zu einem neuen interdisziplinären Forschungsprogramm des C.N.R.S.," *Francia* 13 (1985): 502–10. Of course, this study aims at recent historical events in the West, and not on the globe in earlier times. For literary-historical reflections on this topic within medieval German literature, see *Transkulturalität und Translation: Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters im europäischen Kontext*, ed. Ingrid Kasten and Laura Auteri (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017). Laura Auteri, "Sizilien: Eine Insel der Begegnungen der Kulturen: Anmerkungen zu dem Erasmus-Mundus-Projekt" (ibid., 21–27), demonstrates how focused studies on individual locations such as Sicily (see also the Black Sea, discussed below) can provide crucial building blocks for global history which does not simply put unrelated phenomena from across the world next to each other, but present concrete cases of cultural interactions across languages, ethnic differences, and religion. The contributors to *Regulating Knowledge in an Entangled World*, ed. Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis. Knowledge Societies in History (New York and London: Routledge, 2023), highlight the explosion of knowledge transfer, but only since the sixteenth century. This volume argues for a much earlier development in that regard.

17 Michael Borgolte, "Europa im Bann des Mittelalters: Wie Geschichte und Gegenwart unserer Lebenswelt die Perspektiven der Mediävistik verändern," Borgolte, *Mittelalter in der größeren Welt: Essays zur Geschichtsschreibung und Beiträge zur Forschung*, ed. Tillmann Lohse and Benjamin Scheller. Europa im Mittelalter, 24 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter Verlag, 2004), 61–78. See now also Borgolte's newest study, *Die Welten des Mittelalters: Globalgeschichte eines Jahrtausends* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2022), where he observes that Europe, as a distinct continent with its own cultures, developed only slowly from its marginal position within the global context to become in the course of time the leading power base within global history. The pre-modern world did not yet have, as Borgolte

Granted, Domenig then concedes that future research might well be in a better condition to investigate global connections, considering more profoundly the enormous outreach of Byzantium, for instance, or of the Arabic powers both east and west, north and south (226). Curiously, then, as much as he rejected recent attempts to identify features of globalism in the pre-modern world, as much as he also thrown down the gauntlet to investigate further what we really know about global connections and relationships. After all, as I would like to add right here, all human culture is the result of a rich exchange of ideas, values, concepts, beliefs, and notions, as separate as the various societies might have been throughout time. The question really is not whether people were connected with the outside world, but what the limits were or how far they reached out. We also would need to consider what the barriers were that might have prevented any culture, community, or society to look into global networks that certainly existed well before we have thought those emerged around 1500.

The history of language itself is a perfect example of this phenomenon since virtually all languages have been influenced by others and have shared some of their own words with other language speakers. This is not only a modern process but can be traced back to the ancient languages as well. It would be difficult to identify more global exchanges, say, between some African words and Latin, between Arabic and Persian, between Icelandic and Greek, etc.

Moreover, some languages, such as Basque (*Euskara*), are a *language isolate*, completely separate from surrounding languages – even the Romans did not have any significant impact on the Basques.¹⁸ In many other cases, however, words were

highlights, the kind of global networks as we face them today; instead, it was characterized by insular entities across the globe that slowly but certainly became interconnected in economic, cultural, artistic, and other terms, certainly more than in antiquity. He defines globalism as a “Vernetzung aller Menschen durch Medien der Kommunikation, Austausch von Waren und persönliche Begegnung” (15; network of all people through the media of communication, exchange of goods, and personal contacts). Borgolte admits that for his purposes he could not draw from primary sources and had to work with more universal studies and perspectives in order to come to terms with global history (16). The present volume pursues a different approach, introducing specific cases, documents, images, and other data to support the thesis that globalism existed already in the pre-modern world in very concrete terms.

18 For a review of older theories coupled with critical reflections, see Lakarra Andrinua, Joseba, “Hizkuntzalaritza konparatua eta aitzineuskararen erroa,” *Uztaro* 25 (1998): 47–110; id., “Ná-De-Ná,” *Uztaro* 31 (1999): 15–84; R. L. Trask, “Origin and Relatives of the Basque Language: Review of the Evidence,” *Towards a History of the Basque Language*, ed. José Ignacio Hualde, Joseba A. Lakarra, and R. L. Trask (Amsterdam and Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins, 1995), 65–99; R. L. Trask, *History of Basque* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996); Gregory B. Kaplan, “The Impact of Bilingualism and Diglossia in Cantabria (Spain) During Late Antiquity,” *Multilingualism in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: Communication and Miscommunication in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht

constantly on the move and reached other languages, which allows us today to trace many cultural contacts across the world for which there is no other surviving evidence.¹⁹ Toponyms, for instance, make it possible for us to trace massive migrations from one region to another, such as in the case of the Anglo-Saxons moving from northern Germany to Britain during the fifth and six centuries.²⁰ Loanwords are most important indicators of the constant exchanges between cultures and languages, as is best illustrated by the case of English.²¹ Once we have identified specific historical-linguistic features, we can proceed and trace their origin and thus establish a network of global connections, even though it would seem very unlikely to identify, for instance, East-Asian phrases or words transmitted to the western world, or the other way around, here disregarding some examples.

Second, if we want to study global history in the pre-modern age, we need to harness a variety of disciplines and combine them for a more critical examination of networks, exchanges, trade routes, translation centers, markets, and schools or universities. Archaeology and art history have been essential in our current effort to understand and approach global history in material terms because of discoveries of sunken ships, buried treasures, and coins, or the focus on art objects and paintings that might have originated from trade markets far away altogether underscore the extent to which neither political nor military, neither geographic nor linguistic barriers really prevented exchanges across the world.²²

Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 17 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 65–84.

19 Oliver M. Traxel, “Languages,” *Handbook of Medieval Culture: Fundamental Aspects and Conditions of the European Middle Ages*, ed. Albrecht Classen. 3 vols. (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015), vol. 2, 794–835. For rather negative perspectives concerning medieval Europeans’ linguistic abilities, see now Johanna Drucker, *Inventing the Alphabet: The Origins of Letters from Antiquity to the Present* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2022), 58–61; she adds, however, the phenomenon of magical scripts for grimoires, for instance (61–65). Drucker also points out that the linguistic abilities in the Arabic/Muslim world, at least among the intellectuals, during the Middle Ages seem to have been considerably greater than in the West. As she emphasizes, “the linguistic isolation as well as cultural divisions kept these communities separate from those in Europe until later. Only in North Africa, Sicily, and southern Spain did cross-cultural exchange foster substantial linguistic knowledge, and that occurred in limited contexts until the tenth and eleventh centuries” (60).

20 Thomas Wickenden, “An Anglian Alliance: Place-Name Tracing the Iclingas and Wicingas,” *Medievalistik* 35 (forthcoming in 2023).

21 Philip Durkin, *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); cf. also *Multilingualism in Later Medieval Britain*, ed. D. A. Trotter (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000).

22 Geraldine Heng, “An Ordinary Ship and Its Stories of Early Globalism: Modernity, Mass Production, and Art in the Global Middle Ages,” *The Journal of Medieval Worlds* 1.1 (2019): 11–54; see also her

Global Conditions: In Support of the Notion of Globalisms

Geraldine Heng, whom I call upon here as a witness for the very opposing view held by Domenig and others, insists that globalism certainly was in place already in the period prior to ca. 1600. For instance, she claims “that modernity is a repeating transhistorical phenomenon with a footprint in different vectors of the world, moving at different rates of speed.”²³ We are moving here between the Scylla and Charybdis of postulation and hypothesis, with much optimism mixed in, whereas the real groundwork to solidify such an approach both locally and globally remains to be done. Nothing is easy here, and every phenomenon introduced in support or in opposition of global history requires careful examination. Heng points out late medieval Spain, for instance, which underwent a horrendous *limpieza de sangre*, especially with the expulsion of all Jews in 1492, of all Muslims in 1502, and of all Moriscos (former Muslims who had converted to Christianity) from 1609 to 1614.²⁴ Then, however, the Spanish crown turned toward an early form of global colonization efforts and thus extended its borders far into the New World and elsewhere (Philippines). Drawing from another context, Heng also cites archaeological data according to which DNA samples from the cemeteries of East Smithfield (London) for the years 1348–1350 indicate a noteworthy number of non-Europeans who had lived and died there, that is 29 percent of the entire population of the dead (13).²⁵ Where did they all come from? What professions did they have, why have they not left any traces in the literary or art-historical documents, and what did their presence in fourteenth-century London signify?

The only major literary work reflecting on London and its population in more concrete terms, at least from outside of the British Isles, the early modern German *Fortunatus* (printed in 1509), has nothing to say about Africans and other people

path-blazing study “Reinventing Race, Colonization, and Globalisms Across Dee Time: Lessons from the *Longue Durée*,” *PMLA* 130.2 (2015): 358–66. Cf. Valerie Hansen, *The Year 1000: When Explorers Connected the World – and Globalization Began* (New York, London, Toronto, et al.: Scribner, 2020).

23 Geraldine Heng, *The Global Middle Ages: An Introduction*. Cambridge Elements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 12. Below, I embed the page references into the text.

24 Már Jónsson, “The Expulsion of the Moriscos from Spain in 1609–1614: The Destruction of an Islamic Periphery,” *Journal of Global History* 2.2 (2007): 195–212; online at: doi:10.1017/S1740022807002252.

25 Rebecca Redfern and Joseph T. Hefner, “Officially Absent but Actually Present: Bioarcheological Evidence for Population Diversity in London During the Black Death, AD 1348–50,” *Bioarcheology of Marginalized People*, ed. Madeleine L. Mant and Alyson Holland (London: Academic Press, 2019), 69–114.

of minority groups.²⁶ But we can be certain that in all major port cities both in the Mediterranean and in the Black Sea, both along the coastlines of the Atlantic and the North Sea, many people must have met, collaborated, exchanged, or were sold into captivity. While merchants were intentionally pursuing more global perspectives, slaves were the involuntary contributors to this phenomenon.²⁷ Not many of them left written records, but simple economic criteria, for instance, that is, records of trade relations between African and Arabic, then also European merchants strongly suggest that global connections existed already in the pre-modern era, which certainly involved also the African content and the neighboring countries. The economic and political connections between the kingdom of Nubia and Byzantium, and then other parts of the western Mediterranean already in the early Middle Ages are fairly well known, especially as we hear various times of Nubian royalties visiting Christian pilgrimage sites such as Jerusalem and have available specific evidence

26 Here quoted from *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Jan-Dirk Müller. Bibliothek der frühen Neuzeit, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), 383–583. I have engaged with this text numerous times, but for a critical review of the relevant older research literature, see Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch. A Critical History of a Late-Medieval Genre*. Studies in German Language and Literature, 15 (Lewiston, NY, Queenston, and Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995, reissued 1999); and for background and mental-historical perspectives, see Hannes Kästner, Kästner, *Fortunatus – peregrinator mundi: Welterfahrung und Selbsterkenntnis im ersten deutschen Prosaroman der Neuzeit*. Rombach Wissenschaft: Reihe Litterae, 9 (Freiburg: Rombach, 1990). For a most recent close reading of the text, profiling major themes and motives, see Christian Kiening, *Fortunatus: eine dichte Beschreibung*, mit Beiträgen von Pia Selmayr. Mediävistische Perspektiven, 13 (Zürich: Chronos, 2022). As to medieval travel literature, see the contributions (including my long introduction) to *Travel, Time, and Space* (see note 30). As to the perception of Blacks in medieval German literature and art, see now Albrecht Classen, “Blacks in the Middle Ages – What About Racism in the Past? Literary and Art-Historical Reflections,” pre-print at <https://www.geios.com/read/KIJP54>; comments at: <https://www.geios.com/notifications>; *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 6.1 (2023); online at: <https://bit.ly/3MuEQsA>.

27 See now Albrecht Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World: Cultural-Historical, Social-Literary, and Theoretical Reflections*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 25 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), and the contributions to *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: A Cultural-Historical Investigation of the Dark Side in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Studies in Medieval Literature (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2021). As to the history of slavery, see *Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean (c. 1000–1500 CE)*, ed. Reuven Amitai and Christoph Cluse. Mediterranean Nexus 1000–1700. Conflict, Influence and Inspiration in the Mediterranean Area, 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); Hannah Barker, *That Most Precious Merchandise: The Mediterranean Trade in Black Sea Slaves, 1260–1500*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

confirming the trade with luxury items from India and Persia via Nubia, which then reached the eastern Mediterranean and other parts of Europe.²⁸

Ahmad Ibn Fadlān (879–960), an expert of Arabic jurisprudence and perhaps also theology, is well known for his diplomatic mission which took him all the way from Baghdad up through Russia where he visited the Volga Vikings/Bulgars, whom he called ‘Rus,’ and he left an extensive report about them. Their king had called for help against the Khazars, and Ahmad was supposed to inform them about the Islamic faith.²⁹ Most famously, the fourteenth-century Moroccan traveler and author Ibn Battūta (1304–1368/69) offered a detailed account about many countries and cultures that he had visited, such as Anatolia, Constantinople, the Golden Horde in Central Asia, the East African coast, India, the Maldives, and even China. Once he had returned to his home country, he also traveled to Andalusia, and then all the way south across the Sahara to the kingdom of Mali. But he was not at all the first Arab to travel so widely, if we think of the tenth-century traveler Ibn Ḥawqal visiting the Maghrib coming from his homeland, the Upper Mesopotamia (943–969), then al-Bakrī (d. 1094; armchair geographer), and Isa al-Warrāq (d. ca. 862; or more likely Muhammad ibn Yūsuf al-Warrāq almost a century later).³⁰

28 Andrea Myers Achi, “Connective Threads: Nubian Trade, Dignitaries, and Display,” *Balthazar: A Black African King in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. Kristen Collins and Bryan C. Keene (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2023), 68–71 and 102. Unfortunately, the specifics of the actual trade remain a bit vague, and we do not learn much about what products were imported from Europe, for example. See my review in *Mediaevistik* 36 (forthcoming).

29 *Ibn Fadlan's Journey to Russia: A Tenth-Century Traveller from Baghdad to the Volga River*, trans. with commentary by Richard N. Frye (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publ., 2006), or Ahmad Ibn Fadlan, *Mission to the Volga*, trans. James E. Montgomery. Library of Arabic Literature, 2 (New York: New York University Press, 2014); cf. *Studies on the Travel Accounts of Ibn Fadlān (1st Half 10th Cent.) and Abū Dulaf (1st Half 10th Cent.)*, collected and reprinted by Fuat Sezgin in collaboration with Mazen Amawi. Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science. Islamic Geography, 23 (Frankfurt a. M.: Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität, 1994); for further bibliographical references, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_ibn_Fadlan (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

30 Jean-Charles Ducène, “Ibn Ḥawqal,” *Encyclopedia of Islam*, ed. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, et al. Third Edition, 2022, online at http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30810 (last accessed on March 31, 2023); Robert Launay, “Views from Afar: Reading Medieval Trans-Saharan Trade Through Arabic Accounts,” *Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time: Art, Culture, and Exchange Across Medieval Saharan Africa*, ed. Kathleen Bickford Berzock (Evanston, IL: Block Museum of Art, Northwestern University; Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2019), 49–61; see also Michael A. Gomez, *African Dominion: A New History of Empire in Early and Medieval West Africa* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018); François-Xavier Fauvelle, *The Golden Rhinoceros: Histories of the African Middle Ages*, trans. by Troy Tice (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2018). Each one of those Muslim travelers would deserve extensive analysis; here see, for instance, Jean-Charles Ducène, “Ibn Awqal,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, ed. Kate Fleet,

Western Christian travelers also explored many parts of the world, though they focused mostly on the Holy Land, the Middle East, and neighboring countries, and apparently less the African continent, although we can confirm by now the true extent to which economic ties existed bonding African kingdoms with the Mediterranean world.³¹ What we as western medievalists do not yet know, pertains to travel experiences in the sub-Sahara regions, or across northern Africa, so we are best advised not to assume that the European models of travel were the only ones characteristic of global travel.

Heng recognized that many of the contemporary views about race relationships in the past are still determined and influenced by forms of white racism today which tends to blot out the presence of non-white people in the European Middle Ages also by scholars who need to become more sensitive regarding the actual presence of unfairly marginalized figures in the historical-literary and artistic documents.³² This implies that we might be too blind in our search for global connections already in

Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson. Published in 2017; http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/1573-3912_ei3_COM_30810; or Robert C. White, "Early Geographical Dictionaries," *Geographical Review* 58.4 (1968): 652–59; doi:10.2307/212687; and W. M. Watt, "Abū 'Isā Warrāq," *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. I.3 (1983; last updated in 2011), 325–26; an updated version is available online at: <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/abu-isa-mohammad-b> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). Scholarship, however, has normally identified him primarily as a radical heretic questioning the idea of prophethood and even the Qur'an. Most likely, this name is confused with that of the Andalusian travelogue author Muhammad ibn Yūsuf al-Warrāq (903/904–974), who wrote extensively on the history and geography of Northern Africa. See also François-Xavier Fauvelle, *Das goldene Rhinoceros: Afrika im Mittelalter*, trans. from the French by Thomas Schulz (2013; Munich: C. H. Beck, 2017).

31 *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg (New York and London: Garland, 2000); *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of Worldly Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 22 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018). As to the trade with Africa, see *Caravans of Gold, Fragments in Time* (see note 30). However, the focus mostly rests on Arabic accounts, intra-African economic conditions, trade between African kingdoms and Arabic markets, and on specific objects traded throughout time. We know, however, that both the slaves sold on the markets and the many different objects produced in Africa made their way further north, so to some extent the important global link is not yet fully taken into consideration here. See my review in *Mediaevistik* 32 (2019): 266–67. For broader perspectives, see François-Xavier Fauvelle, *Das goldene Rhinoceros* (see note 30), which contains numerous chapters on the various African kingdoms and regions. Cf. also Michael A. Gomez, *African Dominion* (see note 30).

32 Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018). For additional reflections on the medieval seeds for modern racism, see Cord J. Whitaker, *Black Metaphors: How Modern Racism Emerged from Medieval Race-Thinking*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019).

the pre-modern era. But the research on Blacks in medieval German literature goes back already several decades and ought to be taken more seriously by other scholars to avoid reinventing the proverbial wheel of history.³³ All this signals that the investigation of globalism in the pre-modern era promises to yield many new sources or to reveal new dimensions and aspects contained even in those documents that have been discussed already for a long time.

Undoubtedly, examining global connections in earlier history requires an extensive effort by scholars to move beyond their own educational framework and to embark on innovative research projects in which often an entire team of collaborators might come together and to help each other out when linguistic and disciplinary hurdles tend to limit ourselves. We are hence moving away from a Europe-centered study of the Middle Ages and the early modern age, which will necessitate learning new languages and/or relying on solid translations. Intellectuals throughout time have always been busy with these kinds of tasks and have thus created cultural bridges between different worlds.³⁴ The same, of course, applies to Asian or African research, and all sides are called upon to retool their critical instruments for a more advanced and sophisticated investigation of the pre-modern era.

As Heng points out, “like the fantasy of an all-white, homogenous, Latin Christendom/early Europe, hegemonic historiographies of the Chinese kind also become vulnerable once a global perspective of interconnection, exchange, and transformation is introduced.”³⁵ In other words, for an example, Chinese ethnocentrism and essentialist approaches in sinological research need just as much a revamping as the complementary strategies in the West.³⁶ Globalism, if it actually existed, rep-

33 Andreas Mielke, *Nigra sum et formosa: Afrikanerinnen in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters: Texte und Kontexte zum Bild des Afrikaners in der literarischen Imagologie*. Helfant Texte, T 11 (Stuttgart: helfant edition, 1992); see now also Elisabeth Schmid, “Der Ritter mit der schwarzen Haut und das Unbehagen in der höfischen Kultur: Annäherungen an den ‘Moriaen’,” eadem, *Poetik und Anthropologie: Gesammelte Aufsätze zum höfischen Roman*, ed. Dorothea Klein. Spolia Bero-linensia, 41 (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 2021), 493–514. This article had not been published before.

34 Most recently, see *A Companion to Medieval Translation*, ed. Jeanette Beer (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2019); cf. also *Translation and the Transmission of Culture Between 1300 and 1600*, ed. Jeanette Beer and Kenneth Lloyd-Jones. Studies in Medieval Culture, XXXV (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995); *Translators Through History*, ed. Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth. Benjamins Translation Library, 13 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 1995); *Translatio Litterarum ad Penates: Das Mittelalter übersetzen – Traduire le Moyen Âge*, ed. Alain Corbellari and André Schnyder (Lausanne: Centre de Traduction Littéraire, 2005).

35 Heng, *The Global Middle Ages* (see note 23), 15.

36 Bonnie Cheng, “A Camel’s Pace: A Cautionary Global,” *Re-Assessing the Global Turn in Medieval Art History*, ed. Christina Normore and Carol Symes. The Medieval Globe, 3 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press; Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2018), 11–34; for a somewhat contrastive view, focusing already on the early modern period, see also D. E. Mungello, *The Great Encounter of China*

resented at least a two-way street, if it was not a very busy ‘intersection’ of many different people/s and cultures. Of course, China, India, and the Mongolian Empire were all huge land masses – the first two with extensive shorelines bordering the oceans – and their histories are complex and deep, which makes it very difficult for modern scholars to come to terms with it and then also to investigate external contexts and relationships, as has been noted recently by some historians on medieval China.³⁷ However, as Naomi Standen now observes,

In the opening decades of the tenth century the existence of multiple political centers in our frontier zone favored a highly pragmatic approach to borders and loyalty. Allegiances and boundaries were both largely personal or political in nature, and borders between regimes in the frontier zone were determined largely by the shifting and contingent allegiances of individual commanders and regional officials.³⁸

Hugh Clark applauds this open-minded perspective, this critique of an island-centered Sinocentric worldview, underscoring that

“China” was one among a host of cultural, ethnic, and political models that sometimes competed with each other and other times worked cooperatively: the Sinocentric perspective that presumes that all the “uncivilized” peoples of the periphery were drawn to the Sinitic cultural model as metal shards are drawn to a magnet is false; and the premise that there was only one “island” of civilization, that all peripheral peoples were “barbarous,” is equally untenable.³⁹

Globalism as a new historical, mental-historical, literary-historical, and cultural-historical phenomenon proves to be challenging for scholars the world over. We are forced to rethink many of our premises and assumptions about people’s movements, or mobility at large. As Naomi Standen and Monica White emphasize,

and the West, 1500–1800. Critical Issues in World and International History (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2013).

37 Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of the Qing Imperial Institution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1998); Pamela Kyle Crossley, *A Translucent Mirror: History and Identity in Qing Imperial Ideology* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999); Mark C. Elliot, *The Man-chu Way: The Eight Banners and Ethnic Identity in Late Imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001); Evelyn S. Rawski, *Early Modern China and Northeast Asia: Cross-Border Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

38 Naomi Standen, *Unbounded Loyalty: Frontier Crossing in Liao China* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2007), 172.

39 Hugh Clark, review of Richard L. Davis, *From Warhorses to Ploughshares: The Later Tang Reign of Emperor Mingzong* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2014), in *T’oung Pao*, Second Series, 102.4/5 (2016): 552–55; here 554–55. I would like to express my gratitude to Quan Gan, University of Texas at Austin, for alerting me to this valuable review, which well highlights this point of sinocentrism and offers constructive criticism. See also his contribution to this volume.

mobility (and its difficulties) was, in fact, a structural element of medieval Eurasian societies, particularly those characterized as sedentary. Movement, in many forms, over varying distances and for diverse purposes, was woven into the fabric of everyday life: conscripts, officials, traders, monks, hostages and many others were dependent on the functioning of systems which kept them on the go, and suffered consequences ranging from inconvenience to destitution when these broke down. The study of structural mobility sheds new light on how entire societies – and not just elite groups normally identified as travellers – functioned.⁴⁰

At the same time, all this does not mean, of course, that Europeans entertained any contacts with America – here disregarding the land settlement by the Vikings in Newfoundland around 1000, which did not last for long⁴¹ – or Australia, not to speak of the Pacific. But representatives of the globalism theory, such as Geraldine Heng, simply emphasize that our traditional view concerning the relationship between pre-modern Europe and the Asian continent, along with the countries on the southern coast of the Mediterranean, needs to be revised extensively.

Altogether, we would thus have to distinguish carefully between two separate schools of thinking regarding globalism. Whereas traditionalists question even the possibility for Europeans in the Middle Ages to establish any kinds of solid and long-term global networks, Heng, among many others, signals, by contrast, how much recent research has made huge efforts to level the playing field between Eurocentric and Sinocentric, among others, political entities, and we are thus strongly encouraged now to consider the Chinese empire under various dynasties as much more open to external influences or exchanges with foreign culture.⁴² Similarly,

⁴⁰ Naomi Standen and Monica White, “Structural Mobilities in the Global Middle Ages,” *Past & Present* 238, suppl. 13 (2018): 158–89; here 189.

⁴¹ Margot Kuitens, Birgitta L. Wallace, Charles Lindsay, et al., “Evidence for European Presence in the Americas in AD 1021,” *Nature* 601 (2022): 388–91; online at: <https://www.nature.com/articles/s41586-021-03972-8> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). Relevant bibliography on the history and the carbon dating of the earliest settlement in L’Anse aux Meadows can be found there. They conclude, “We provide evidence that the Norse were active on the North American continent in the year AD 1021. This date offers a secure juncture for late Viking chronology. More importantly, it acts as a new point-of-reference for European cognisance of the Americas, and the earliest known year by which human migration had encircled the planet. In addition, our research demonstrates the potential of the AD 993 anomaly in atmospheric C concentrations for pinpointing the ages of past migrations and cultural interactions” (389–90).

⁴² Naomi Standen, N. (2019). “Colouring Outside the Lines: Methods for a Global History of Eastern Eurasia 600–1350,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 29 (2019): 27–63; online at: doi:10.1017/S0080440119000021 (last accessed on March 31, 2023). She strongly urges us to move away from false concepts bound up with the term ‘nation,’ and insists that we would do much better in terms of Chinese history if we do not use the word ‘China,’ as a misleading concept. As she writes in her conclusion (online): “scholars present pre-modern histories in quasi-national terms then – wittingly or otherwise – they assist present-day nationalists. Historians can help by writing

historians in other parts of the world tend now to rebel against the Westernization of world history and promote different perspectives, as difficult as it will be in virtually every research discipline to leave the old canon, the traditional concepts, and the long-trusted periodizations behind and to establish new parameters in light of often quite different local conditions, mentalities, and political frameworks.⁴³

The same approach should be pursued with regard to other parts of the pre-modern world since the concept of the 'nation' has always led to false perceptions of identity and erected artificial barriers between self and other. 'Nationhood' presents a convenient notion for those who are insecure about their own self and tend to pursue hostility toward a minority, or outsiders, who challenge the interior culture and question the validity of cultural, political, or religious claims.⁴⁴ Many of the con-

firms non-national histories – global histories – in which medieval periods have a particularly valuable role, precisely because this age can more readily stand outside the trajectories towards nationalism that seem impossible for modernists to avoid.” For the myth of Prester John and his great powers that he wielded in India, at least according to western imagination, see Robert Silverberg, *The Realm of Prester John* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1972); *John: The Legend and Its Sources*, compiled and trans. by Keagan Brewer: Crusade Texts in Translation, 27 (Farnham, Surrey; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2015); see now Ahmed Sheir, “Between Imagination and Reality: The Prester John Legend and Its Impact on the Crusader-Muslim Conflict (12th and 13th Centuries),” Ph.D. diss., Philipps Universität Marburg, 2021.

43 Uiran Gebara da Silva, “Outra história global é possível?” (see note 5). The true value of this fairly short piece is the author’s strong effort to engage with the recent scholarship in theoretical terms, especially with the study by Jurandir Malerba, “História da historiografia e perspectiva global: um diálogo possível?” *Esboços: histories in global context. Florianópolis* 26 (2019): 457–72. He emphasizes, for instance, “A especialização é uma condição fundamental da maneira como se pratica a ciência no mundo moderno, porém não é exatamente essa a adversidade. O problema está na nossa enorme dificuldade em pensar o trabalho de investigação histórica em termos intra e interdisciplinares. Uma construção desse porte deve necessariamente ser coletiva, mesmo que realizada em termos autorais e reconhecendo a corveia não tão anônima dos contemporâneos de tal autor” (480).

44 For a philosophical investigation, see the somewhat overlooked but powerfully insightful study by Michael Eskin, *The DNA of Prejudice: On the One and Many* (New York: Upper West Side Philosophers, 2010); for medieval perspectives, see Albrecht Classen, “Die Gefahren des Massenwahns aus literarhistorischer Sicht: Von Walther von der Vogelweide und Heinrich Wittenwiler zu Thomas Mann und Gustave Le Bon,” *Im Clash der Identitäten: Nationalismen im literatur- und kulturgeschichtlichen Diskurs*, ed. Wolfgang Brylla and Cezary Lipiński. Andersheit – Fremdheit – Ungleichheit: Erfahrungen von Disparität in der deutschsprachigen Literatur, 1 (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2020), 185–99. For an excellent critique of the nationalist ideology today (and in the past), see the insightful studies by the non-academic but well informed writer and scholar, Richard A. Koenigsberg, *The Nation: A Study in Ideology and Fantasy* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Pub., 2008); id., *Nations Have the Right to Kill: Hitler, the Holocaust, and War* (Elmhurst, NY: Library of Social Science, 2009); id., *The Fantasy of Oneness and the Struggle to Separate: Towards a Psychology of Culture* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2007).

licts between world religions can be traced back to medieval and early modern contested ideas, objects (relics), and spaces, which indicates not only the degree to which animosity ruled in many parts of the world, but also the degree to which there have always been many contact zones, places of exchange of ideas and notions, and shared interests.⁴⁵

Hence, some of the hitherto rather overlooked documents by individuals who had escaped from Ottoman slavery and had successfully returned home to Germany or Rome, such as those by Johann Schiltberger (1381–ca. 1440), and Georgius of Hungary (ca. 1422/23–1502), provide valuable insights into the involuntary movement of people across many different countries. The former, above all, served in the military both as far north as in modern-day Kazakhstan and as far south as Egypt. Both managed to perform well enough to live under those harsh conditions and later had much to say about the various foreign cultures they had witnessed first-hand.⁴⁶ We never hear how they communicated with their new, at times constantly changing social environment, but there is no doubt that they must have acquired enough foreign language skills to cope there successfully.

It should not surprise us that many times individual kingdoms or empires were quite content with their official records to focus on themselves and to ignore, perhaps deliberately, the intense contacts with neighbors, business partners, cultural friends, and also opponents. Historical narratives might not always carry the best information because they are so obviously determined by biased positions. By contrast, literary texts can serve much better to confirm whether certain ideas, notions, or knowledge were shared more widely or not, crossing many linguistic or religious borders.

The most famous example for this would be the life story of the later Gautama Buddha, which was originally formulated in India sometime between the second and the fourth century in a Sanskrit Mahayana Buddhist text, via a Manichaean version, which was later known as *Barlaam and Josaphat*. The Arabic version, the *Kitāb Bilawhar wa-Būdāsaf* (*Book of Bilawhar and Budhasaf*) appeared sometime in eighth-century Baghdad, then in the tenth-century Georgian epic *Balavariani*, which the Georgian monk, Euthymius of Athos, translated into Greek while visiting Constantinople, where he died in 1028. A Latin version appeared there in 1048, and from then on *Barlaam and Josaphat* gained pan-European popularity, available

⁴⁵ See, for instance, Catherine Infante, *The Arts of Encounter: Christians, Muslims, and the Power of Images in Early Modern Spain*. Toronto Iberic (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022).

⁴⁶ I have published on both authors already several times, but see now Albrecht Classen, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World*: (see note 27), 70–83.

since then in countless vernaculars.⁴⁷ To thicken the ‘plot,’ so to speak, we need to keep in mind that the text was rendered many times into different Latin versions, such as the one by Vincent of Beauvais (middle of the thirteenth century) and the one by Jacobus de Voragine in his *Legenda aurea* (ca. 1260).⁴⁸

As Heng warns us, even though we can identify many cultural contacts via voyages and travels, that does not simply justify us to talk about actual globalism as is presently in place during the twenty-first century:

47 Isamu Taniguchi, “Story of Barlaam and Josaphat as Crucible of Intercultural Communication,” *Journal of Human Sciences. St. Andrew’s University* 21.2 (1985): 45–57; Nathan H. Levine, “Barlaam and Josaphat,” *Encyclopedia of Buddhism Online*. Brill. DOI:10.1163/2467-9666 (available only through subscription or per-use payment). See also Joseph Wilson, “The Life of the Saint and the Animal: Asian Religious Influence in the Medieval Christian West,” *The Journal for the Study of Religion, Nature and Culture* 3.2 (2009): 169–94; Christian Høgel, “The Authority of Translators: Vendors, Manufacturers, and Materiality in the Transfer of Barlaam and Josaphat Along the Silk Road,” *Postscripta* 9 (2012): 221–41; Donald S. Lopez, Jr. and Peggy McCracken, *In Search of the Christian Buddha: How an Asian Sage Became a Medieval Saint* (New York: Norton, 2014); cf. also Albrecht Classen, “Kulturelle und religiöse Kontakte zwischen dem christlichen Europa und dem buddhistischen Indien während des Mittelalters: Rudolfs von Ems *Barlaam und Josaphat* im europäischen Kontext,” *Fabula* 41.3/4 (2000): 203–28; see now *Barlaam und Josaphat: Neue Perspektiven auf ein europäisches Phänomen*, ed. Constanza Cordoni and Matthias Meyer (Berlin, Munich, and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015). The contributors engage with versions of this narrative from the following locations or languages: Byzantium, Moldova, France, Hebrew, Catalonia, Germany, France, Czech, and others. For an excellent list of translated versions, see the truly valuable article online at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barlaam_and_Josaphat (last accessed on March 31, 2023). For most recent studies on border crossings in the Middle Ages, involving also the Middle East and beyond, see now the contributions to *Von Aachen bis Akkon: Grenzüberschreitungen im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Hubert Houben zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Francesco Panarelli, Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Georg Vogeler, and Kordula Wolf. Online-Schriften des DHI Rom. Neue Reihe – Pubblicazioni online del DHI Roma. Nuova serie, 9 (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, 2023); for a free downloadable version, see online at: <https://doi.org/10.17885/heiup.1094> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). Most relevant for our investigations proves to be the article by Markus Koller, “Der Indik und das frühe Osmanische Reich. Kommunikation und Mobilität zwischen Anatolien und dem Indischen Ozean vom 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert,” who even identifies Buddhist influences on eastern Anatolia.

48 *Die Legenda aurea des Jacobus de Voragine*. Aus dem Lateinischen übersetzt von Richard Benz. 13th ed. (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlags-Haus, 1999), 771–74 (this was reprinted numerous times after 1999 as well); see also Philip Almond, “The Buddha of Christendom: A Review of the Legend of Barlaam and Josaphat,” *Religious Studies* 23.3 (1987): 391–406; for a recent overview of the relevant research literature and a detailed examination of the Old Norse version, see Vera Johanterwage, *Buddha in Bergen: Die altnordische Barlaams ok Josaphats saga*. Skandinavistische Arbeiten, 25 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2019), 23–46; for the Latin tradition, *ibid.*, 47–50.

Early globalism of the spatial kind is therefore by no means synonymous with an interknitted planearity, nor with contemporary globalization's (admittedly uneven) webbing of the world today. Indeed, early globality is not tantamount to and should not be equated with twenty-first-century globalization either.⁴⁹

In this regard, she actually agrees to some extent with the position taken by Christian Domenig, for example (see above), probably because we are still very much in the early phase of collecting data and developing the lines of connections between medieval communities as they might have existed in the pre-modern period. Indeed, it would not make much sense to search for the same form of interconnectivity, as it characterizes, maybe, the early decades of the new millennium, in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, considering the role of Jewish merchants, for instance, and many other traders who roamed both the European continent and the Middle East, if not farther to the east and south, we begin to gain a glimpse of actual conditions on the ground. Even though we have to be careful in categorizing Jews as the absolute forerunners of international trade and monetary

⁴⁹ Heng, *The Global Middle Ages* (see note 23), 17.

⁵⁰ Alicia Walker, "Globalism," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 183–96. But see, also from an art-historical perspective, Jens T. Wollesen, "East Meets West and the Problem with Those Pictures," *East Meets West* (see note 4), 341–88. There is quite a large number of medieval and early modern art objects with both Christian and Arabic motifs and inscriptions; see, for instance, Oleg Grabar, "Trade with the East and the Influence of Islamic Art on the 'Luxury Arts' in the West," *Atti del XXIV congresso internazionale di Storia dell'Arte*, Pt. 2 (Bologna: Editrice CLUEB, 1982), 27–34; Eva Hoffman, "Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century" *Art History* 24 (2001): 17–50; Eva Hoffman, "Christian-Islamic Encounters on Thirteenth-Century Ayyubid Metalwork: Local Culture, Authenticity, and Memory," *Gesta* 43 (2004): 129–42; Ranee A. Katzenstein and Glenn D. Lowry, "Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork," *Muqarnas* 1 (1983): 53–68; Eva Baer, *Metalwork in Medieval Islamic Art* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1983); Laura T. Schneider, "The Freer Canteen," *Ars Orientalis* 9 (1973): 137–56; Anthony Cutler, "Everywhere and Nowhere: The Invisible Muslim and Christian Self-Fashioning in the Culture of Outremer," *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), 253–81. See now the latest publication on this topic, the excellent catalog accompanying the exhibition in the Dommuseum Hildesheim, September 7, 2022, to February 12, 2023, *Islam in Europa 1000–1250*, ed. Claudia Höhl, Felix Prinz, and Pavla Ralcheva (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2022). The wealth of church art demonstrating Islamic and Jewish influences in Christian Europe is a stunning demonstration of the surprising and so far still largely unknown interlacing of those three religions during the pre-modern era at least in terms of material culture. The question as to what extent European art or products infiltrated the Asian or African markets still would have to be answered based on future research. But see now the contribution to this volume by Amany El-Sawy who examines the import of many different products, including metals, weapons, etc., from England to the Ottoman Empire in the late sixteenth century.

business throughout the Middle Ages, they played a significant role. Granted, they were hardly in the majority and faced many mighty competitors among the Christians and Muslims, depending on the geographic region, and this already since the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Economic and Trade Aspects

Also granted, Christian long-distance merchants mostly controlled the markets, but we still know of a good number of Jewish businessmen as well who were particularly qualified for this activity due to their linguistic abilities and network connections. Some scholars such as Michael Toch have questioned this notion, at least for the early Middle Age, but in the later Middle Ages, Jews were certainly also involved in the global trade.⁵¹

Thierry Buquet, in particular, has now identified specific economic exchanges between northern Europe and Muslim countries in the Arabic world already in the high Middle Ages, and then between Egypt, for instance, and Central Asia and even Mongolia, as the trade with gyrfalcons indicates.⁵² The linguistic evidence confirms that the Arabic word *sunqur* derived from the Caucasian people (Georgia, Armenia) or from those located as far east as Turkmenistan, but in the late Middle Ages (since ca. 1200) most of those birds were imported from Iceland, Norway, and other Nordic regions. Buquet concludes,

This expensive exoticism of gyrfalcons became a fashion among the Mamluk elite. This may also have suggested to European merchants that huge profits were to be made from the fashion for gyrfalcons in Ottoman Egypt, and the frequent diplomatic contacts between Christian rulers and the sultanate.⁵³

⁵¹ Eva Haverkamp, "Jüdische Münzmeister und ihre Münzen im Kontext von Handel und Geldhandel," *Geprägte Bilderwelten der Romanik. Münzkunst und Währungsräume zwischen Brixen und Prag*, ed. Alexandra Hylla, Armin Torggler, Florian Hofer, and Daniel Pizzinini.

Runkelsteiner Schriften zur Kulturgeschichte, 11 (Bozen: Athesia, 2017), 159–96; esp. 158–62. See also Gregor Maier, *Wirtschaftliche Tätigkeitsfelder von Juden im Reichsgebiet (ca. 1273–1350)*. Arye Maimon-Institut für Geschichte der Juden: Studien und Texte 1 (Trier: Kliomedia, 2010); Michael Toch, "Netzwerke im jüdischen Handel des Früh- und Hochmittelalters?," *Netzwerke im europäischen Handel des Mittelalters*, ed. Gerhard Fouquet and Hans-Jürgen Giolmen. Vorträge und Forschungen, 72 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2010), 229–44; id., *The Economic History of European Jews. Late Antiquity and Early Middle Ages*. Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval, 56 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013).

⁵² Thomas T. Allsen, *The Royal Hunt in Eurasian History*. Encounters with Asia (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006).

⁵³ Thierry Buquet, "The Gyrfalcon in the Middle Ages: An Exotic Bird of Prey (Western Europe and Near East)," *Falconry in the Mediterranean Context During the Pre-Modern Era*, ed. Charles Burnett

This is also confirmed, though only in passing, by the anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) who explains that all the gyrfalcons and other kinds of falcons that exist in the Near and Middle East were imported from Norway, Prussia, and Flanders.⁵⁴

Once we have reached this point, the virtual floodgates open up toward globalism in the pre-modern world because we can next identify many other products that were imported from East Asia (China, or Japan, etc.) to western Europe already during the Middle Ages, such as silk textiles, among many other luxurious products.⁵⁵ Undoubtedly, there were also many products from the European side, whether tools or weapons, which were sought-after items on eastern markets. After all, as we have learned only recently (see Khvalkov; below), the entire area of the Black Sea was a major hub for economic activities involving both western – Genoa and Venice – and eastern interests, whether the Golden Horde, Samarkand (modern-day Uzbekistan), and other territories, at least until the fifteenth century when the Ottoman powers finally conquered Constantinople in 1453 and thereby changed all the market forces and political structures in the entire region. The closing of

and Baudouin Van den Abeele. *Bibliotheca Cynegetica*, 9 (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 2021), 79–98; here 97; id., “Aspects matériels du don d’animaux exotiques dans les échanges diplomatiques,” *Culture matérielle et contacts diplomatiques entre l’occident latin, Byzance et l’Orient islamique (XIe–XVI s.): Actes du colloque de Liège, 27–28 avril 2015*, ed. Frédéric Bauden. *Islamic History and Civilization* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021), 177–202; online at: DOI: https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004465381_009 (last accessed on March 31, 2023). Cf. also N. Mehler, “The Export of Gyrfalcons from Iceland During the 16th Century: A Boundless Business in a Proto-Globalized World,” *Raptor and Human: Falconry and Bird Symbolism Throughout the Millennia on a Global Scale*, ed. K.-H. Gersmann and O. Grimme. *Advanced Studies on the Archaeology and History of Hunting*, 1.1 (Kiel and Hamburg: Wachholtz, 2018), vol. 3, 995–1020.

⁵⁴ *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, here quoted from *Von Christen, Juden und von Heiden: Der Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, ed., trans. and commented by Helmut Brall-Tuchel (Göttingen: V&R uni-press, 2019), 158. For the critical edition, see now Anja Micklin, *Der “Niederrheinische Orientbericht”: Edition und sprachliche Untersuchung*. *Rheinisches Archiv*, 163 (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2021). See also my own contribution to the present volume, and my latest article “Globalism avant la lettre from a Late Medieval and Early Modern German Perspective: The *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, Adam Olearius, and Jesuit Missionaries Across the Globe,” *New Literaria: An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 4.1 (2023): 17–31; online at: <https://newliteraria.com/articles/v04i1/v04i1-03.pdf> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

⁵⁵ See the excellent contributions to *Oriental Silks in Medieval Europe*, ed. Juliane von Fircks and Regula Schorta. *Riggisberger Berichte*, 21 (Riggisberg: Abegg-Stiftung, 2016). Clothing and fashion can always serve well as indicators of cultural changes, economic conditions, and influences from foreign worlds; see the contributions to *Clothing Culture, 1350–1650*, ed. Catherine Richardson. *The History of Retailing and Consumption* (Aldershot, Hampshire, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004). The authors address, however, mostly early modern conditions in England and the import of continental clothing.

the Dardanelles Strait to European merchants and other travelers by the Turks meant that many of the previous attempts to further global connections were badly marred, if not completely interrupted, which hence forced the European powers to find a different route to the East, via the Atlantic, and the rest is, of course, history.⁵⁶

From the Black Sea, the fabled Silk Road led all the way to eastern China, and this for quite some time during the late Middle Ages until the fall of the Mongol empire.⁵⁷ But 'global' really means what the word entails, and we have learned in recent years to be much more open or sensitive to evidence of this phenomenon in art objects, illuminated manuscripts, gems, boxes, church objects, tools, textiles, and so forth.⁵⁸ Since the fourteenth century, Venice and Genoa imported Asian textiles, primarily from the Mongolian empire, so-called *panni tartarici*, or *dras de tartais*, or *tartaires*, and soon the Italian producers of silk textiles especially in Lucca copied the models on those items, thus introducing, as we might say, Chinese elements of fashion to the European markets.⁵⁹ Some of the most important trading posts beyond the Black Sea were Acre in the Holy Land and Laiazzo, today Yumurtalık in southern Anatolia.⁶⁰ Art historians have already done much groundwork to confirm

56 Evgeny Khvarkov, *The Colonies of Genoa in the Black Sea Region: Evolution and Transformation*. Routledge Research in Medieval Studies, 11 (New York and London: Routledge, 2018), esp. 394–414. For the world of textiles in the northern Atlantic (Iceland) and neighboring areas, see now Ingvild Øye, *Tracing Textile Production from the Viking Age to the Middle Ages: Tools, Textiles, Texts and Contexts* (Havertown, PA: Casemate Academic, 2022).

57 *Silk Roads: From Local Realities to Global Narratives*, ed. Jeffrey D. Lerner and Yaohua Shi (Oxford and Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2020); see my review in *Mediaevistik* 33 (2020): 366–68. The contributions to *Journeying Along Medieval Routes in Europe and the Middle East*, ed. Alison L. Gascoigne, Leonie V. Hicks, and Marianne O'Doherty. *Medieval Voyaging*, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), as valuable as they might be individually, do not contribute much to our understanding of the global connections in trade, missionary activities, and diplomacy. As to the central role played by Venice, see now Nicola Di Cosmo and Lorenzo Pubblici, *Venezia e i Mongoli. Commercio e diplomazia sulle vie della seta nel medioevo (secoli XIII–XV)*. *La storia*, 103 (Rome: Viella 2022).

58 *Toward a Global Middle Ages: Encountering the World Through Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Bryan C. Keene (Los Angeles, CA: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2019). The contributors mostly discuss manuscripts from across the world and identify them as major contributors to a global Middle Ages, but they only create a kaleidoscope with no real internal structure.

59 Kathrin Müller, *Musterhaft naturgetreu: Tiere in Seiden, Zeichnungen und Tapisserien des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. *Neue Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst*, 21 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2020).

60 David Jacoby, "Genoa, Silk Trade and Silk Manufacture in the Mediterranean region (ca. 1100–1300)," *Tessuti, oreficerie, miniature in Liguria XIII–XV secolo: Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi Genova-Bordighera*, 22–25 maggio 1997, ed. Anna Rosa Calderoni Masetti. *Atti dei convegni / Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri*, 3 (Bordighera: Istituto Internazionale di Studi Liguri 1999), 11–40; David Jacoby, "Silk Economics and Cross-Cultural Artistic Interaction: Byzantium, the Muslim World, and the Christian West," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 58 (2004): 197–240; Jacoby, "Dall'Oriente all'Italia: Commerci di stoffe preziose nel Duecento e nel primo Trecento,"

this observation, pointing, above all, toward al-Andalus and then the eastern Mediterranean as locations of exchange, trade, or gift-giving. Many of those valuable objects were of small sizes and hence obviously easily passed from one hand to another and in that process often changed their function within larger art objects.⁶¹

The Mongol rulers strongly endeavored to import major weavers from Central Asia to China, especially to Dadu (also known as Khanbaliq, today Beijing), or simply forced them by military might to move to China after they had conquered the city of Aleppo in modern-day northern Syria in 1260 and the neighboring region. The Mongols also facilitated and promoted long-distant trade all the way to Baghdad, Tabriz, and Mossul, and from there, at least indirectly, to the eastern Mediterranean.⁶² This then opened the trade route to the west, either via Geneva or Venice, if not other port cities. As David Jacoby observes, “silks manufactured in Mongolian territories reached multiple locations in the West extending from Italy to the

Cangrande della Scala: La morte e il corredo di un principe nel medioevo europea (Verona, Museo di Castelvecchio), ed. Paola Marini (Venice: Marsilio, 2004), 140–53.

⁶¹ Oleg Grabar, “Trade with the East and the Influence of Islamic Art on the ‘Luxury Arts’ in the West,” *Il Medio Oriente e l’Occidente nell’arte del XIII Secolo*, ed. Hans Belting. Atti del XXIV Congresso internazionale di storia dell’arte, 2 (Bologna: CLUEB, 1982), 27–32; id., “La rayonnement de l’art Sassanide dans le monde chrétien,” *La Persia nel medioevo: Atti del convegno internazionale. Roma, 31 marzo–5 aprile 1970*. Problemi attuali di scienza e di cultura quaderno, 160 (Rome: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1971), 679–707; id., “The Shared Culture of Objects,” *Constructing the Study of Islamic Art*, vol. 2: *Islamic Visual Culture, 1100–1800*, ed. id. Variorum Collected Studies Series, 800 (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Variorum, 2006), 51–62. See now the contributions to the catalog accompanying a major exhibition held in the Dommuseum Hildesheim, Germany, from September 7, 2022, to February 12, 2023, *Islam in Europa 1000–1250* (see note 50). The individual authors discuss many different sacred objects mostly held in the cathedral museum of Hildesheim. Much additional research on the individual treasures can be found there. The editors of this volume rightly emphasize in their introduction, “Islam in Europa 1000–1250: Hildesheim und die Aktualität des Themas,” 13–17: “Europa ist im hier behandelten Zeitraum nicht als geschlossener Raum zu verstehen und war keineswegs abgrenzbar oder einheitlich in Kultur oder Religion. Auch eine allein durch eine und einheitliche Religion des Islam geprägte Kultur existierte nicht. Deren Kennzeichen war vielmehr, dass verschiedene Ethnien und Religionen zusammenkamen und dies bereits einer Vereinheitlichung der Kultur widersprach“ (15; We cannot grasp Europe in the period discussed here not as a closed space, and it was certainly not a distinct or unified culture or religion. Also, there did not exist one and uniform culture determined by the religion of Islam. Its characteristic features were rather that many diverse ethnic groups and religions converged, which by itself contradicts the notion of a unification of that culture). For the regular trade across the Mediterranean, see now Jesús Ángel Solórzano-Telechea, “From the Mediterranean to the Atlantic,” *Constructing Iberian Identities, 1000–1700*, ed. Thomas Barton, Marie A. Kelleher, and Antonio M. Zaldívar. *Cursor Mundi*, 42 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2022), 39–54.

⁶² Müller, *Musterhaft naturgetreu* (see note 59), 38–41.

Iberian peninsula, England, Scandinavia, and the Baltic region.”⁶³ The famous travelogue by Marco Polo, which achieved universal success, explicitly reflected this global economic network of trade, especially with silk items, but we would have to add not only numerous reports by Franciscan missionaries, but also those by former slaves, for instance, not to mention diplomats and vagrants, both groups being discussed by various contributors to this volume.⁶⁴

As Bryan C. Keene emphasizes with regard to the *Barlaam and Josaphat* story (see above), “The roadways and waterways that led to the translation and reinterpretation of the Buddha story into Central Asia and Europe are similar to those pathways that helped Buddhism spread into South and East Asia.”⁶⁵ Although the pope had imposed an embargo on eastern silks after the fall of the last Christian fortress in the Holy Land, Acre, in 1291, the economic interest in furthering this trade sidestepped this policy quite easily, and beginning with the 1330s, the global silk trade increased tremendously.

The flow of products, the creation of new production sites in Italy and elsewhere, the public display of Oriental silks in western burial sites and paintings, and the many different textual documents, all that confirms the intense interest in Asian textiles in Europe particularly since the fourteenth century and explicitly underscores the existence of strong global connections driven by economic concerns, especially in the Mediterranean and in the western parts of Europe, but to some extent also in northern regions where the Hanseatic League dominated. There is also specific evidence of the import of Byzantine and other eastern Mediterranean textiles to Norway, and perhaps also to Iceland during the Middle Ages.⁶⁶

⁶³ David Jacoby, “Oriental Silks at the Time of the Mongols: Patterns of Trade and Distribution in the West,” *Oriental Silks in Medieval Europe* (see note 55), 93–123; here 93. He cites a wealth of relevant research on silk trade between East and West, which does not need to be reviewed further at this point.

⁶⁴ Christine Gadrat, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age: Traduction, diffusion et réception du ‘Devisement du monde’*. *Terrarum orbis*, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). For a specialized study, see Consuela W. Dutschke, “The Truth in the Book: The Marco Polo Texts in Royal 19.D.1 and Bodley 284,” *Scriptorium* 52 (1998): 278–300.

⁶⁵ Bryan C. Keene, “Prologue,” *Toward a Global Middle Ages* (see note 58), 1–4; here 3.

⁶⁶ Jacoby, “Oriental Silks at the Time of the Mongols” (see note 64 and 55), 123. For a detailed study of Mongol textiles in the West, based on archaeological and textual evidence, see Regula Schorta, “central Asian Silks in the East and West During the Second Half of the First Millennium,” *Oriental Silks in Medieval Europe* (see note 55), 47–63; and the other contributions to the same volume. As to Mediterranean textiles in Norway, see Justin Kroesen and Stephan Kuhn, *The Medieval Church Art Collection. University Museum of Bergen (Norway)* (Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner, 2022), 114–15. The contributors to *Gotland – Kulturelles Zentrum im Hanseeraum*, ed. Jan von Bonsdorff, Kerstin Petermann, and Anja Rasche (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2022) indicate the extent to which trade connected the important island of Gotland with Russia, Byzantium, northern Ger-

Already ca. thirty years ago, Janet L. Abu-Lughod had insisted that globalism was in place well before the rise of European colonialism and hegemony, and recent literary analysis has unearthed numerous examples of global perceptions well before the eighteenth century, such as in the case of the famous playwright William Shakespeare.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, as Heng alerts us at the conclusion of her study, all this does not address appropriately the significant problem of terminology and the use of the concept of ‘Middle Ages’ as it was developed within the framework of European history and culture. As much as the evidence of material documents, manuscripts, illuminations, sculptures, and the like signals a considerable connection between at least the three continents of Asia, Africa, and Europe, there remains much (growing) fear among young scholars all over the world of a continued hegemony of European research in that respect.⁶⁸ Heng warns, above all, against the use of terms such as “core” regions and “peripheries,” as Abu-Lughod had suggested, fearing that such a framework of mind would belittle or disregard certain areas in the world characterized by “underperformance,” as if our contemporary ‘ideal’ of complete democracy would require us to give full and equal relevance to every area in this world.⁶⁹ Not every individual here on earth is absolutely

many, northern France, and other parts of Europe. See now also the contributions to *Gotland – Kulturelles Zentrum im Hanseraum*, ed. Jan von Bonsdorff, Kerstin Petermann, and Anja Rasche (Petersberg: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2022), which indicate how much this island off the coast of Sweden played a central role in global trade, at least also with Russia and even Byzantium.

⁶⁷ Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* (see note 3). For Shakespeare, see now Katrin Bauer, “For the World is Broad and Wide”: *Intercultural Encounters as Dramatic Negotiations of Early Modern Globalisation in Selected Plays by William Shakespeare*. Dissertationen der LMU München, 54 (Hildesheim, Zürich, and New York: Georg Olms and Weidmann, 2022). She examines the following plays: *Titus Andronicus*, *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Tempest*, using as her critical categories the notions of transgression, presence, and inversion.

⁶⁸ Heng, *The Global Middle Ages* (see note 23), 33–40. At the end, however, all efforts to diversify our terminology and create new categories for individual periods in China, Mexico, or India in contrast to the situation in Europe lead only to confusion and a heuristic dilemma because our scholarly discourse relies, at least to a considerable extent, on the availability of translatability of our terms. At any rate, even within the European context, there are many debates as to when the Middle Ages began and ended, when the Renaissance emerged (which one, actually?), and whether we could really talk so easily of the end of antiquity.

⁶⁹ Heng, *The Global Middle Ages* (see note 23), 52; she draws much from and engages critically with the study by Immanuel Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*. Vol. I: *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academic Press, 1974), 17. Her ideal, and that of many of her colleagues, is to identify and work with an “uncentered world,” meaning: “For those who inhabit the world, *everywhere* is the center of the world; everywhere is a ‘core’” (52). This simply ignores the fact that there have always been centers of learning, centers of economic development and productivity, centers of the

equal to everyone else in terms of culture, education, resources, and intelligence, or at least equally empowered to leave written testimonies. Of course, every human being deserves the same respect and acknowledgment, but this does not eliminate the need to differentiate between sophisticated and underdeveloped cultures or peoples in terms of their impact on others. After all, globalism, even in the modern context, happens primarily there where individuals pursue an open mind, display curiosity, and courage, and command basic resources to engage with the world as extensively as possible.

Intermediate Results

Altogether, we can close this overview of the two extreme positions by noting that Domenig (*Geschichte in Bewegung*) pursues a too negative and maybe too narrow-perspective and seems to be extensively uninformed about the latest new research findings of economic exchanges, literary translations, and movement of people as documented by archaeology and thus also DNA data, not to speak of the global trade in textiles and the extensive exchange of art works over long distances. Heng (*The Global Middle Ages*), on the other hand, appears to be driven by excessive optimism and a desire to bring every part of this earth to the same table, insisting, perhaps to the extreme, that we should no longer talk about “cores” (i.e., centers) and “peripheries,” as if we could not make a distinction between the work performed by farmers on the northern shores of Iceland and the artistic expression by painters or sculptures in Indian or Japanese castles and temples. The discussion concerning globalism in the pre-modern period hence evokes many ideological agendas and challenges scholars from many different perspectives. There is, however, good reason to embrace a solid middle ground that will allow us to collect many new puzzle pieces of a global picture that might emerge only in the near future after much more in-depth research.

For instance, to do justice to this phenomenon, we really would need to work much more transdisciplinarily,⁷⁰ but our academic training continues to follow

arts, and centers of power. It is plainly not the task of the historian, or of any other scholar dealing with pre-modern culture for that matter, to make every individual here on earth feel appreciated. Of course, that is an ethical and moral ideal, but this is inappropriate to level all differences in education, intellectual acumen, craftsmanship, political power, etc. out of a desire to operate as democratically and liberally as possible.

⁷⁰ Albrecht Classen, “Transdisciplinarity – A Bold Way into the Academic Future, from a Medievalist Perspective, or the Rediscovery of Philology?,” *Humanities Open Access* 10: 96 (2021), Aug.; online at: <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/10/3/96> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). See also the

traditional paths and thus prevents the future generation to explore new angles, connections, trails of influencing, and translations. In other words, probing globalism in the pre-modern world hence constitutes a clarion call to those in charge of our educational institutions to lower the barriers between the various disciplines, to allow more cross-fertilization, and hence to let acts follow all that post-modern jargon.

The efforts by Kimberly Klimek, Pamela L. Troyer, Sarah Davis-Secord, and Bryan C. Keene to create the first global historical textbook deserve recognition in that context, but it also does not seem to go much beyond building a rather random patchwork.⁷¹ Certainly, the authors have established a thematic structure that focuses on the following topics: with regard to general orientation, 1. telling time; and 2. personal location and orientation. Then follow larger issues: 1. growth of monotheism; 2. economic networking mostly in the Islamic world; 3. luxury items in international trade. In the next section, the text excerpts deal with military aspects, including Eurasian nomadic movements, the establishment of rulership and creation of cultural hegemony, sustainability (food production), and climate change. Readers are even invited to consider global trade routes, naval technologies, major military events the world over, social and gender structures (in India, China, Japan, Mesoamerica, and Europe), and the role of social outsiders or marginalized figures.

For the period from 1300 to 1500, the text selections concern mystics and anchorites, at least in Europe, and religious practices by Muslim women, Hindu women, and African women in the Sub-Sahara region, royal gift-giving (e.g., elephants), and multi-cultural and multi-religious societies in Andalusia and India, for instance. The last section takes us all over the world discussing economic conditions here and there, the Silk Road, European markets, the Mediterranean Sea, Inca South America, fashions, spices, and gold in various parts of the world, then, separately, travel accounts, political connections, exchange of medicines, the Samurai code in Japan, the Aztec islands, the Easter Island, the role of African societies, and finally, maybe fittingly for the end of the Middle Ages, the fear of the apocalypse, the Black Death, most influential European authors, the Inquisition, the forbidden city in China, Machu Picchu, and concluding with the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople as

contributions to *Global Community?: Transnational and Transdisciplinary Exchanges*, ed. Henrik Enroth and Douglas Brommesson (London and New York: Rowman & Littlefield International, 2015); *Überlieferungsgeschichte transdisziplinär: neue Perspektiven auf ein germanistisches Forschungsparadigma*, ed. Dorothea Klein together with Horst Brunner and Freimut Löser. *Wissensliteratur im Mittelalter*, 52 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 2016).

⁷¹ Kimberly Klimek and Pamela L. Troyer with Sarah Davis-Secord and Bryan C. Keene, *Global Medieval Contexts 500–1500: Connections and Comparisons* (New York and London: Routledge, 2021).

an expression of a multicultural society, irrespective of its strong embracing of the Greek-Orthodox faith.

The authors conclude with this optimistic outlook, appealing to future student readers: “This book challenges the idea that ‘globality’ is a new phenomenon” (497). They even assume that as an outcome of studying this textbook, the readers might be motivated to get involved in ongoing battles over which governments and museums should possess historical treasures” (497).

The authors’ optimism and boldness in putting all these materials can only be applauded, but the book is also a mind-boggling enterprise putting virtually the entire world together into one book for a university class. This amounts to a patchwork, as valuable as all these reflections prove to be. Global hence means both for them and other writers and editors to give full credit to all parts of this world, and to treat them all in an equal fashion, just as Heng had advocated we should do.⁷² Maybe we could focus more on legal and business contracts concluded between various countries in the pre-modern era, but here we face even more uncertainties than solid evidence of interconnectedness and networking across the globe.⁷³

More specific would be a closer examination of business deals, diplomatic endeavors, religious missionary activities, and conversations between the members of different religious and cultural groups. Cultural brokers existed everywhere in contact zones, such as the eastern Mediterranean, that is, at the various courts, or in major cities, such as Venice and Alexandria. The connections between Count William IX of Aquitaine and various Muslim rulers in northeastern Spain, such as his friend, the Muslim king of Zaragoza, Imad al-dawla Abd al-Malik ibn Ahmad ibn Hud (1110–1130), certainly speak volumes about intercultural and inter-religious relationships on the highest levels, best represented by a famous vase William had received as a gift, now kept in the Louvre.⁷⁴ Whether this meant that he was subsequently influenced by Arabic poetry when he composed his own verses, cannot be confirmed yet. The famous, nearly contemporary Old Spanish epic poem *El poema de Mío Cid* (ca. 1100), relates, for instance, that the protagonist entertains close friendship with some Muslim rulers, whereas some of the Christian courtiers

⁷² See, for instance, the three-volume *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Global Medieval Life and Culture*, ed. Joyce E. Salisbury (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press, 2009).

⁷³ Elizabeth Lambourn and Carol Symes, *Legal Encounters on the Medieval Globe*. The Medieval Globe, 2 (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2017).

⁷⁴ George T. Beech, “Troubadour Contacts with Muslim Spain and Knowledge of Arabic: New Evidence Concerning William IX of Aquitaine,” *Romania* 113.449–50 (1992): 14–42; here 34–37; online at doi: <https://doi.org/10.3406/roma.1992.2180>. See also id., George Beech, “The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase, William IX († 1126), and Muslim Spain,” *Gesta* 32.1 (1993): 3–10; and id., “The Eleanor of Aquitaine Vase: Its Origins and History to the Early Twelfth Century,” *Ars Orientalis* 22 (1993): 69–79.

are evil liars and deceivers with no honor and self-respect. As Marc von der Höh, Nikolas Jaspert, and Jenny Oesterle observe, the court

is a point of social, cultural [sic] and economic agglomeration and attraction within the respective realm. Courts act as economic and cultural centres because of the respective ruler's and court's "conspicuous consumption" (Veblen). Clothing and sophisticated foods, music, dance, artisan workmanship and art, literature and theological or—later on—humanistic erudition: all these elements of court culture can be conceived as forms of consumption, they were currency in the contest for prestige, appreciation and hierarchies, a competition that marked the society of the courts but also the relationship between the court and its non-courtly environment or even between different courts.⁷⁵

Indeed, brokers such as travelers, merchants, diplomats, artists, teachers, translators, soldiers, masons, and others can be identified as the major player in a world where globalism certainly emerged.⁷⁶ The history and myth of Alexander the Great, which exerted tremendous influence both in Asia and in Europe, if not also in some African countries, nicely mirrors the phenomenon we are pursuing here. Although we often do not know the names of the poets who had created individual literary versions of those accounts dealing with Alexander's life and deeds, those were certainly brokers, or transmitters, building literary-cultural connections.⁷⁷ This myth

75 Marc von der Höh, Nikolas Jaspert, and Jenny Oesterle, "Courts, Brokers and Brokerage in the Medieval Mediterranean," *Cultural Brokers at Mediterranean Courts in the Middle Ages*, ed. id. Mittelmeerstudien, 1 (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2013), 9–31; here 12–13. See also the contributions to *Transkulturalität und Translation* (see note 16).

76 As to the history of early modern diplomacy, see, for instance, Donald E. Queller, *Medieval Diplomacy and the Fourth Crusade* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980); M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450–1919* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1993); *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration*, ed. Pierre Chaplais (London: The Hambledon Press, 1981); Jeremy Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010); *Gesandtschafts- und Botenwesen im spätmittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Rainer C. Schwinges and Klaus Wriedt. Konstanzer Arbeitskreis für Mittelalterliche Geschichte: Vorträge und Forschungen, 60 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2003); most recently, Philipp Meller, *Kulturkontakt im Frühmittelalter: das ostfränkische Reich 936–973 in globalhistorischer Perspektive*. Europa im Mittelalter, 40 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), and Nick Ridley, *Diplomacy Through the Ages: From Liar Abroad to Global Peace-Maker* (New York and London: Routledge, 2023). He begins his study only in the post-medieval period, so in the sixteenth century, and really focuses on the modern age (nineteenth and twentieth centuries).

77 Albrecht Classen, "Globalism before Globalism: The Alexander Legend in Medieval Literature (Priest Lambrecht's Account as a Pathway to Early Global Perspectives)," *Esboços: histories in global contexts Florianópolis* 28/49 (Aug./Sept. 2021): 813–833, sept./dec. 2021. <https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-7976.2021.e79311> (last accessed on March 31, 2023); for the dissemination of this narrative within medieval Europe, see *Alexanderdichtungen im Mittelalter: Kulturelle Selbstbestimmung im Kontext literarischer Beziehungen*, ed. Jan Cölln, Susanne Friede, and Hartmut Wulfram. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Göttinger Sonderforschungsbereich 529, 1 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2000); *Herrschaft, Ideologie und Geschichtskonzeption in Alexanderdichtungen des Mittelalters*, ed. Ulrich

carried a universally shared value for countless cultures and peoples, and it makes good sense today to identify it as a major harbinger of globalism already in the early and high Middle Ages.

The Case of World Literature?

It is a very different matter when editors and scholars place literary works from all over the world next to each other because they were created during more or less the same time period. In the second volume of the *Companion to World Literature*, edited by Christine Chism, we are confronted with a huge panorama of the time of 601 to 1450 C.E. The criteria for inclusion in this volume are hard to pinpoint and prove to be rather vague and literally ‘global’: vernacularization, wisdom and mysticism, warfare, quest, and cultural encounter, travel and trade, gender and representation, empire, courts and patronage, and epic and community.⁷⁸

The problems inherent in such an approach are immediately visible, such as when we turn to the section on “Gender and Representation,” where we learn about Tumadir Bint (early Arabic poetry), about the Japanese *The Tale of Genji*, about the early Chinese female poet Li Qingzhao (1084–ca. 1155), then oddly about the famous Italian Renaissance poet Francesco Petrarch (1304–1374), the fourteenth-century Persian poet Hafez of Shiraz, and Christine de Pizan (1360–ca. 1432). Each piece proves to be well researched and elegantly formulated, but there is no thematic connection, not even remotely possible collaboration among those poets, and no shared concern about women’s issues.

The conditions and interests of each poet somehow related to the gender relationship (love), but this would be nothing but a very slim common platform to help us grasp what ‘global’ might mean in this context, apart from a global perspective which includes all and everything from all four corners, while leaving out legions of other major poets and writers concerned with the same issues – if there are any in the first place.⁷⁹ I myself composed the entry on the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied* (ca. 1200), contributing to the section on “Epic and Community,” where

Mölk. Veröffentlichungen aus dem Göttinger Sonderforschungsbereich 529, 2 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2002). For the Arabic tradition, see *Alexander Magnus Arabicus: A Survey of the Alexander Tradition Through Seven Centuries: From Pseudo-Callisthenes to Šūrī*, ed. Faustina Doufikar-Aerts. *Mediaevalia Groningana New Series*, 13 (Paris and Leuven: Peeters, 2010).

⁷⁸ *601 CE to 1450 CE*, ed. Christine Chism. *A Companion to World Literature*, general ed. Ken Seiguenrie. *Blackwell Companions to Literature and Culture* (Hoboken, NJ, and Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2020).

⁷⁹ See my review in *Mediaevistik* 33 (2020): 242–44.

other scholars discuss the Old Spanish epic poem *El poema de mio Cid* (ca. 1100), the Turkish *Book of Dede Korkut* (perhaps early fifteenth century), the Coptic-Ethiopian *Kebra Nagast* (ca. thirteenth century), and the Mali *Sundiata Epic* (ca. thirteenth century). There are virtually no common elements shared by those texts, not even talking about mutual influence, apart from the general notion of the heroic, the interest in myth, and the emphasis on memory, as the bridge essay signals.⁸⁰

Peter N. Stearns now insists, in clear contrast to the more superficial comments by Domenig (*Geschichte in Bewegung*), that the entire world has always been interconnected, sometimes more intensively, sometimes less noticeably. Global historians have the task to detect the coherence that actually holds human societies together, and this even over large distances because there have always been some fundamentally shared structures in all societies throughout time: 1. a hierarchical structure as expressed by the existence of a government; 2. common political patterns across the world; and 3. the existence of personal contacts already in pre-modernity.⁸¹ But whereas we can certainly agree with the first point, the two others seem a bit vague and not necessarily supportable. He subsequently adds that in virtually all agricultural societies gender inequalities were in place, systematically favoring the males.

⁸⁰ Anthony Welch, "Epic and Community: Heroism, Myth, and Memory Across Cultures" (1237–42). He concludes in very generic terms: "Throughout the period 600–1400 CE, the term 'epic' remains a meaningful rubric for this diverse, evolving, and global mode of storytelling. Concerned with extraordinary acts of human striving and suffering, situating the hero's achievement within the framework of a community and its shared history, epic literature in its changing forms served as a bridge between the oral songcraft of remote antiquity and the global transformations to come" (1242). While the formal aspects might indeed hold those epic poems from many parts of the world together, thematically there is little to achieve the desired effect of creating world literature. Here, more than in many other cases discussed above and elsewhere, 'global' constitutes nothing but the glue that holds together highly disparate pieces of literary narratives. See also *The Norton Anthology of World Literature*, ed. Sarah Lawall. Sec. ed. Vol. B: 100–1500 (1956; New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2002), where the student reader receives at least primary texts, but those derive from so many different and unrelated cultures, languages, and religion that the end effect seems rather moot. Even the selection of texts from western literature appears to be rather poor, with a heavy accent on medieval English texts: *Beowulf*, *The Song of Roland*, Marie de France, *Thorstein the Staff-Struck*, a variety of lyrics, including those in Arabic, Dante Alighieri, Giovanni Boccaccio, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, Geoffrey Chaucer, and *Everyman*. Another section deals with Japanese, another one with Indian literature. It is a nice literary kaleidoscope, but I would not recommend this anthology, or a course based on it to any student. But see now the contributions to *Teaching World Epics*, ed. Jo Ann Cavallo. Options for Teaching Series (New York: Modern Language Association, forthcoming). Here, the common element is the treatment of the heroic in epic poems across the globe.

⁸¹ Peter N. Stearne, *World Past to World Present: A Sketch of Global History* (New York and London: Routledge, 2022), 2. I will embed the references to this study into the text.

Reflecting on the significance of world history, if offered as a topic at the university level, he reaches the conclusion, which might be more politically driven than sustained by actual historical necessity, that the new interest in non-European countries and their cultures has risen tremendously, especially in the United States, “a recognition that the values and institutions derived from Western Europe are not the only game in town – that world history promotes recognition of a much wider array of societies and cultures” (2). Optimistically, he claims that turning to world history will provide numerous models of successful and failed empires and kingdoms in the past which could serve us well today to approach the current situation. In contrast to Heng, Stearne prefers to focus on “key regions of the world” (4), which stand out for their internal and social cohesion, but this then brings us almost back to the notion of “cores” as an anathema of global historians. However, Stearne is careful enough to limit himself more to geographic regions which subdivide continents, and he then even qualifies the focus itself, warning that we thereby run the risk of ignoring many alternative regions which might simply disappear in the shadow cast by the more ‘respected’ region, such as western Europe or eastern Asia (6–7).

Challenges

Altogether, world history, hence globalism, remains a rather tricky subject matter, whether we consult historians, literary historians, economic historians, or art historians, as Stearne is the first to admit himself.⁸² But he then turns to such sweeping topics as agriculture, religion and trade, the industrial age, etc. Focusing on the Mongol period from ca. 1200 to ca. 1450, and then on the early modern period from ca. 1450 to ca. 1750 represents a solid narrowing down of crucial specificity from which result convincing arguments with evidentiary power.⁸³

⁸² Rick Szostak, *Making Sense of World History* (London: Routledge, 2020); David Graeber and D. Wengrow, *The Dawn of Everything: A New History of Humanity* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2021); Diego Olstein, *Thinking History Globally* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015). There is a veritable inflation of new studies dedicated to this subject matter, with the various authors drawing up larger and larger maps, trying to find a niche in the rich book market for their own approach, but this all tends to become dangerously vague and superficial since the situations on the ground are no longer thoroughly examined.

⁸³ See now Zsuzsanna Papp Reed, *Matthew Paris on the Mongol Invasion in Europe*. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 38 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022). I was not yet able to consult this work, but the publisher offers the following abstract online: “Tracing the journey of his sources, the volume explores thirteenth-century information networks against the backdrop

Globalism and world literature succeed in partnering particularly well when we identify the global transmission of a particular genre, such as the fable. Even though the selection of animals who operate in individual fables tends to vary, depending on the local natural conditions, in essence, people across the world and throughout time have enjoyed the same didactic narratives. So, it comes as no surprise that the ancient Indian/Persian collection of *Kalila and Dimna*, ‘originally’ rendered from the Sanskrit into Persian by Nasrullah Munshi, achieved a truly global impact, as documented by countless copies and translations.⁸⁴

of the struggle between Emperor Frederick II and Pope Innocent IV. Parallel to the history of information, the subject of the study is the *Chronica majora* and its afterlife. Tracing major landmarks in the meta-history of the *Chronica majora*, the author wishes to emancipate Matthew Paris as a historian – one in the series of a multitude of others who continue to write and rewrite the history of the Mongol invasion across centuries of historiography.” See the old but still valuable 3-vols. study by Henry H. Howorth, *History of the Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*. Rpt. (1876; Norderstedt: Hansebooks GmbH, 2020). Cf. now the contributions to *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations*, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov and Roman Hautala (New York and London: Routledge, 2021); and Helen Hundley, *The Mongol Empire in World History* (Ann Arbor, MI: Association for Asian Studies, 2016); Michael Weiers, *Geschichte der Mongolen* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 2004). It is little surprising that so many scholars have engaged with the history of the Mongols since they represent the first true global players, at least for a short period, enjoying world command from China to Poland.

84 Nasrullah Munshi, *Kalila and Dimna*, trans. from the Persian by Wheeler Thackston (Indianapolis, IN, and Cambridge: Hackett Publishing, 2019); see now the contributions to *Les périple de Kalila et Dimna: quand les fables voyagent dans la littérature et les arts du monde islamique = The Journeys of Kalila and Dimna: Fables in the Literature and Arts of the Islamic World*, ed. Eloïse Brac de la Perrière, Aïda El Khiari, and Annie Vernay-Nouri. Brill studies in Middle Eastern Literatures, 42 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022). For a specific detailed analysis with comparative methodology, see Albrecht Classen, “The Fable as a Global Genre: Marie de France, Ulrich Bonerius, Don Juan Manuel, and *Kalila and Dimna*,” *Quidditas* 42 (2021): 152–88, online at: <https://scholarsarchive.byu.edu/rmmra> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). The genre of the fable has already been discussed many times, see, for instance, Harold J. Blackham, *The Fable as Literature* (London and Dover, NH: Athlone Press, 1965). More research literature can be found cited in my article. See now also, from a postmodern perspective (game theory, Karla Mallette, “Narration as Raumschach: *Kalila and Dimna* in Time, Space and Languages,” *postmedieval: a journal of medieval cultural studies* (2022), online at: <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41280-022-00253-z> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). Drawing from Brockelmann and others, she concludes, nicely summarizing our current knowledge: “By the end of the fourteenth century, the Arabic K&D had generated translations – known by various names and with variations in the embedded tales – into Syriac, Persian, Turkish, Hebrew, Latin, Spanish, and Greek. Translators, adaptors, and artists produced high-end presentation manuscripts – fewer in the languages of western Europe than in the Islamic languages, however – as well as legions of low-end digests and knockoffs, which, in turn, would provide grist for the new printing presses of Germany in the fifteenth century and Italy in the sixteenth.” See Charles Brockelmann, “*Kalila Wa-Dimna*,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed. Ed. by P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C. E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, and W. P. Heinrichs, 2012; online at:

However, Munshi relied on an ancient Indian version which the physician Burzoë had translated for the ruler of Persia, Chosroës I Anoshirvan (531–579). The Persian text was then translated into Old Syriac, Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Spanish, and, by the end of the thirteenth century, into Latin (by Giovanni da Capua, as *Directorium humanae vitae*). Antonius von Pforr rendered that into German in ca. 1474 – soon also printed, the last one appeared in 1592). The translation process, however, did not end there; instead, on that basis, it was translated into Danish in 1618, Dutch in 1623, and Icelandic sometime later.⁸⁵

Why did this collection of fables experience such a global transmission? If we consider what the medieval Persian translator Munshi had to say about these texts, we can recognize a fundamental element connecting literary works and similar texts across the world because of shared values and ideals underlying all functioning and prosperous human societies:

Truly it is a mine of wisdom and perspicacity and a storehouse of experience and practical knowledge. By listening to it kings can learn policy for ruling a realm and ordinary people can read it and benefit from it to preserve their possessions. (xxiv).

This is then followed, apart from a variety of general comments, with this valuable insight, which underscores truly the value of world literature and globalism in the pre-modern era:

we wanted it to be known that wisdom has always been precious, especially in the view of kings and grandees, and in truth if any effort is made in that direction or any expense borne, it will not be wasted because knowledge of the code of good policy is a firm basis for ruling the world. Permanence of one's name throughout the ages is a precious commodity and cheap at whatever price it is purchased (xxv).⁸⁶

3912_islam_COM_0427. See also the contribution to this volume by Abdoulaye Samaké and Amina Boukail, who offer an insightful comparative analysis demonstrating that here we truly face a global text, i.e., a collection of fables that appealed to people across the world throughout time.

85 Albrecht Classen, “India, Persia, and Arabia in the Mind of a Late Fifteenth-Century German Author: Transcultural Experiences through the Literary Discourse. Antonius von Pforr and His *Buch der Beispiele der Alten Weisen*,” *Philological Quarterly* 99.2 (2020): 119–45. For a useful biographical sketch and a good bibliography, see the pretty reliable and factual website: https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antonius_von_Pforr (last accessed on March 31, 2023). For a structural analysis of Antonius's text, see Sabine Obermaier, *Das Fabelbuch als Rahmenerzählung: Intertextualität und Intratextualität als Wege zur Interpretation des “Buchs der Beispiele der alten Weisen” Antons von Pforr*. Euphorion. Beihefte zum Euphorion, 48 (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004).

86 Indeed, we could identify the search for wisdom as one of the foundational ideals pursued throughout time and across the world; see Albrecht Classen, *Wisdom from the European Middle Ages: Literary and Didactic Perspectives. A Study, Anthology, and Commentary* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2022); see also my special investigation, “The *Gesta Romanorum* – A *Sammelbecken* of Ancient Wis-

We face, as Geraldine Heng has correctly pointed out, “variegated worlds of the deep global past” (54),⁸⁷ and it might be advisable – though with some proviso – to accept her advice: “The recovery of a world of differences cannot occur through a homogeneity of method, nor an empire of style” (55). However, globalism in the pre-modern time ultimate makes only sense if we find true networks, effective brokers who effectively negotiated between cultures, shared values and ideals, parallel structures, topoi, tropes, motifs, topics, and material both in literature and in the arts, in politics and economics. We will achieve our goals at first not by including every possible voice, which would drown out our project in an impossible cacophony of endless comments, remarks, written works, songs, images, statements, and the like. The theme of (courtly) love could also be considered within this context, especially because poets throughout time have consistently addressed similar concerns and situations, such as wooing, longing, anger, frustration, sexual desire, and at times also the happiness of lovers who get together for a night and then have to depart, such as in the dawn song. However, while it is an easy task to determine everywhere parallels in world literature, it is much more difficult to identify specific channels of contacts, translations, and adaptations.

Specifically, globalism makes sense when we are able to recognize commonalities even across languages, religions, and cultures, as is the case with the universal topic of the dawn song (*alba*, *tageliet*, etc.), a genre in which the two lovers express their sorrow about the arrival of the dawn and the need for him to depart to avoid dangerous consequences. It would be hard to find a people or a culture where this highly emotional experience would not have been expressed in some poetic terms.⁸⁸ Globalism and world literature hence make only sense if there are shared

dom and Didactic Literature and a Foundation for Late Medieval Narrative Art. A Medieval ‘Best-seller’ Revisited,” *Literature & Aesthetics* (Open Access) 27.1 (2017): 73–98. <https://openjournals.library.sydney.edu.au/index.php/LA/article/view/11786/11098>; id., “Rabbi Nissim and His Influence on Medieval German Literature: Rudolf von Ems’s *Der guote Gêrhart* and Heinrich Kaufringer’s “Der Einsiedler und der Engel”: Jewish Wisdom Teachings in the Middle High and Early Modern German Context,” *Aschkenas* 108.4 (2017): 349–69. doi:10.1515/asch-2017-0015 (all last accessed on March 31, 2023).

⁸⁷ I embed references to Heng’s study into the text. For numerous projects, research, and related topics online, see <http://www.globalmiddleages.org/news> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

⁸⁸ See, for instance, A. T. Hatto, *Eos: An Enquiry Into the Theme of Lovers’ Meetings and Partings at Dawn in Poetry* (see note 1). An extremely important contribution to this approach has been the encyclopedic study by Elisabeth Frenzel, *Motive der Weltliteratur: ein Lexikon dichtungsgeschichtlicher Längsschnitte*. 6th rev. and expanded ed. (Stuttgart: Kröner, 2008). We could argue that world literature, the expression of globalism in narrative or poetic terms, is mostly limited to just a few major topics in human life, such as love, death, search for God, transcendence, meaning, individuality, the relationship with nature, the aesthetic, and happiness. Keeping this in mind, we have a much easier time exploring the meaning of globalism in the pre-modern world. However, this di-

concepts and ideas, similar emotions and attitudes; otherwise, we would compare the proverbial apples with oranges. However, we do not even have to go so far as to look for interreligious dialogue, say, between Muslims and Christians. As most of the authors of travelogues and narratives about the Middle East confirm, the Syriac religion was widespread and had gained a foothold in vast areas of the Asian continent and could thus be regarded as a significant factor in the development of a global network already since late antiquity:

Despite their centrality to the history of Christianity in the East, Syriac Christians have generally been excluded from modern accounts of the faith. Originating from Mesopotamia, Syriac Christians quickly spread across Eurasia, from Turkey to China, developing a distinctive and influential form of Christianity that connected empires. These early Christians wrote in the language of Syriac, the lingua franca of the late ancient Middle East, and a dialect of Aramaic, the language of Jesus. Collecting key foundational Syriac texts from the second to the fourteenth centuries, this anthology provides unique access to one of the most intriguing, but least known, branches of the Christian tradition.⁸⁹

To what extent, for instance, can we place medieval Japanese epics next to Middle High German romances and other texts? What do Japanese concepts of ‘otherness’ or ‘alienation’ have in common with those in pre-modern Europe? How can we correlate concepts of the body as formulated in Japanese roll pictures with those illustrated in courtly romances, *fabliaux*, or verse narratives (Chaucer)? There is no question that the feeling of love has probably always existed in all of human history, but only at certain points have those then also been ventilated and expressed in specific love poetry under individual cultural conditions? Or, how did medieval Japanese poets reflect on violence and the slaughter in military conflicts compared to the statements about those phenomena by European or African poets?⁹⁰

mension of shared experiences does not necessarily allow us to argue in favor of globalism, unless there is concrete evidence. I myself endeavored a long time ago to demonstrate that Oswald von Wolkenstein’s (1376/1377–1445) poetry was influenced by contemporary Italian trecento sources. There are good reasons to pursue this perspective, but often the final evidence is still escaping us. Albrecht Classen, *Zur Rezeption norditalienischer Kultur des Trecento im Werk Oswalds von Wolkenstein (1376/77–1445)*, Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 471 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 1987).

⁸⁹ Cf. now the contributions to *Invitation to Syriac Christianity: An Anthology*, ed. Michael Philip Penn, Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, Christine Shepardson, and Charles M. Stang (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2022). The quote is taken from the online abstract. Both Marco Polo and the anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, among many others, reflected many times on those eastern Christians whom they encountered far and wide in many different countries all the way to China.

⁹⁰ See now the contributions to *Japanisch-deutsche Gespräche über Fremdheit im Mittelalter: Interkulturelle und interdisziplinäre Forschungen in Ost und West*, ed. Manshu Ide and Albrecht Classen. Stauffenburg Mediävistik, 2 (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2018).

Future Research Tasks

Unfortunately, at this point, we seem to have to work through more questions and challenges to globalism in the pre-modern world than through concrete examples, though those certainly also existed. However, the direction is already clear, we have a broader consensus that globalism was more or less already in place long before the twentieth century, but we still need to elaborate much more in detail on how this took place in practice. We have observed numerous military confrontations in which Asian forces clashed with western opponents. We have realized how much economic interests had laid the foundation for global trade connections especially between the Mongolian Empire and Europe, and we can also assume that there were many exchanges between Mediterranean and African merchants meeting at the various harbors. It is a little difficult to figure out how the various individual communicated with each other, but money has always spoken louder than any other language. Both French and Italian were commonly used, but there might also have been Persian speakers at the various western courts.

On an ethical and moral level, for instance, we can certainly identify the notion of trust and loyalty as a universal and timeless value, whether we think of Old Norse sagas or of modern business relationships. Heroic epics in many different languages are centrally predicated on the issue of trust or its very opposite, distrust. When modern scholars hence probe the relevance of trust for business, for instance, then we are suddenly at a point where global perspectives both vertically and horizontally enter the picture.⁹¹ Ironically, this very trust seems to be eroding currently between western countries on the one hand and Russia and China on the other. A cynic might say that at the very moment when we medievalists are embarking on discovering traces or not extensive reflections of globalism in the pre-modern world, the post-modern generation might turn away from such perspectives once again, even in economic and political terms.

Another intriguing aspect proves to be the universal quest for wisdom, truth, and especially for the divine, that is, for an answer to the fundamental question of why we as people live here on earth and what will happen to us after our death. On the one hand, religions have always served the critical purpose to provide concepts about the afterlife, God, the soul, or hell. On the other hand, secular authors throughout time have provided countless literary narratives, visual representa-

⁹¹ Jeanne M. Brett and Tyree D. Mitchell, *Searching for Trust in the Global Economy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022). As to heroic epics as reflections of pre-modern globalism, see now the contributions to *Teaching World Epics*, ed. Jo Ann Cavallo (New York: Modern Language Association of America, forthcoming). Since I have contributed a piece to this volume, I am aware of its content. It might appear in the Fall of 2023.

tions, musical performances, and the like for the global quest for meaning in this life, whether we think of the European Grail romances, or African heroic epics, or Indian fables.⁹²

To what extent and how individual stories, romances, verse narratives, etc. managed to traverse the world in ever new translations remains a highly complex question. How much may we assume, for instance, that Arabic love songs influenced or contributed to the creation of the early *troubadour* poetry? Linguistic barriers are considerable, and also different aesthetic principles dominant in one culture versus another, could have been barriers.⁹³ Nevertheless, the rich history of medieval and early modern travelers confirms how much mobility was already a major factor in pre-modern history, even though the volume was not the same as in our modern time. Currently, the evidence confirming a continuous or at least burgeoning exchange between Asian and European literature via the Arabs and Jews already in the Middle Ages is growing.⁹⁴ There were also apparently many more contacts between the representatives of the various religions, especially Islam,

92 See the contributions to *The Quest for an Appropriate Past in Literature, Art and Architecture*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Konrad A. Ottenheym. *Intersections*, 60 (2018; Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019); as to more esoteric aspects (Paradise on earth), see Paul Holberton, *A History of Arcadia in Art and Literature: The Quest for Secular Human Happiness Revealed in the Pastoral: Fortunato in terra*. Revised (London: Ad Ilissvm, 2021). For the medieval Grail romance, see *The Grail, the Quest and the World of Arthur*, ed. Norris J. Lacy. *Arthurian Studies*, 72 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2008), and for the modern Grail motive, see John B. Marino, *The Grail Legend in Modern Literature*. *Arthurian Studies*, 59 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004); Jonathan Ulliot, *The Medieval Presence in Modernist Literature: The Quest to Fail* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). The literature on this topic is, of course, legion, just as the Grail motif has exerted universal appeal.

93 María Rosa Menocal, *The Arabic Role in Medieval Literary History: A Forgotten Heritage*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1987; reprinted several times thereafter), makes the strongest case for this thesis, but many serious questions remain. See also Alois Richard Nykl, *Hispano-Arabic Poetry and Its Relations with the Old Provençal Troubadours* (Baltimore, MD: J. H. Furst Company, 1946). For specific evidence that the sons or grandsons of Latin kings in the Holy Land were raised bilingually and who could thus have served intentionally or indirectly as cultural ambassadors, see K. A. Tuley, "A Century of Communication and Acclimatization: Interpreters and Intermediaries in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times* (see note 4), 311–39. See also *Intercultural Transmission in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. David Woo-Jin Kim and Stephanie L. Hathaway (London: Continuum, 2012). The contributors emphasize the intensive cultural and economic exchange in the entire Mediterranean, both in the Middle Ages and beyond.

94 See the contributions to *D'Orient en Occident: les recueils de fables enchâssées avant les "Mille et une Nuits" de Galland (Barlaam et Josaphat, Calila et Dimna, Disciplina clericalis, Roman des Sept Sages)*, ed. Yasmina Foehr-Janssens and Marion Uhlig. *Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); Albrecht Classen, "India, Persia, and Arabia in the Mind of a Late Fifteenth-Century German Author" (see note 85).

Judaism, and Christianity, either as a result of a significant level of mobility or as the consequence of missionary and other religious motivations.⁹⁵ We also know of a number of cases when rulers took hostages from the defeated enemy and at times succeeded in getting them somewhat or even completely acculturated, and this especially in al-Andalus, in Sardinia, or in Morocco. Hostage taking was, as our next example will illustrate, a very effective business enterprise with a great military and political side effect, but from our perspectives, it sheds intriguing light on ongoing globalization processes (here not in the modern meaning of the word).⁹⁶

Literary Treatment of Hostage Taking and Other Conflicts: Rudolf von Ems and Boccaccio

The Austrian-German poet Rudolf von Ems composed a sort of courtly romance, *Der guote Gêhart*, in ca. 1220 while he served the bishop of Constance, certainly a highly unusual genre because the protagonist is a Cologne merchant and not a knight at King Arthur's court. Rudolf is famous particularly among scholars of literary globalism because he also created a Middle High German version of the fabled *Barlaam und Josaphat* story ca. 1225–1230 (twenty-one complete manuscripts, twenty-eight fragments, hence extremely popular; see my comments above), clearly indicated his interest in the exotic and foreign.

In *Der guote Gêhart* (The Good Gerhard), the protagonist earns his money primarily through global trade, visiting markets at many different locations in eastern Europe and the Middle East buying and selling merchandise: "I traveled with all my goods / over the sea to Russia, / to Livonia and Prussia, / where I found many saber furs. / From there I traveled to Samarkand, / to Damascus and Nineveh."⁹⁷ Once he

95 *Religion – Migration – Integration: Studien zu Wechselwirkungen religiös motivierter Mobilität im vormodernen Europa*, ed. Anette Baumann, Alexander Jendorff, and Frank Theisen (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019).

96 Maribel Fierro, "Hostages and the Dangers of Cultural Contact: Two Cases from Umayyad Cordoba," *Acteurs des transferts culturels en Méditerranée médiévale*, ed. H(ania) Abdellatif, Y[assir] Benhima, D[aniel] König, and E[lisabeth] Ruchaud. Ateliers des Deutschen Historischen Instituts Paris, 9 (Munich: Oldenbourg, 2012), 73–83; for a discussion of modern globalization, see Joseph Nye, "Globalism Versus Globalization" (see note 6). For the complexities of developing one's own identity in cultural contact zones such as in Al-Andalus, see now Travis Bruce, "Ruling Between and Across the Lines: Liminal Identities and Political Legitimacy in Al-Andalus," *Constructing Iberian Identities, 1000–1700* (see note 61), 75–90.

97 Albrecht Classen, *An English Translation of Rudolf von Ems's Der guote Gêhart* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Press, 2016), vv. 1194–99; cf. also Albrecht Classen, "The Transna-

has completed all of his business, he returns home traversing the Mediterranean, but a strong storm blasts his ship toward the Moroccan coast where he encounters a very noble, worthy castellan, the Muslim Stranmûr. The two men immediately strike a friendship, respecting each other for their characters and education – they communicate in French with each other. Oddly, the castellan holds two groups of prisoners whom he had captured when their ship had sailed toward his land, first, younger and older English noblemen, and then, the Norwegian princess and her maids. The latter had been supposed to marry the English prince Willehalm, but a shipwreck had separated them, and the latter is now supposed to have drowned. Stranmûr cannot achieve his goal to barter the prisoners for ransom because England and Norway are too far away for him. Hence, he offers Gerhard to exchange all of his goods for the prisoners; the ransom money would certainly pay him off well. After some hesitation, the merchant agrees, but he later lets the English nobles go without any charge, and takes the princess with him, hoping that her father would eventually approach him. This does not happen, but Willehalm reappears, and Gerhard then marries the two young people, takes them to England, where he can solve an internecine strife among the nobles, and set up Willehalm as his deceased father's legitimate successor.

We cannot say where Rudolf might have drawn inspiration for this romance; it is highly unusual insofar as the protagonist belongs to the merchants' class and yet supersedes even the German emperor in his character qualities ('the Good Gerhard'). The main events take place in urban centers/harbor cities, and Gerhard has the most unusual experience in the Moroccan city where he is fortunate enough to strike a deep friendship with the Muslim castellan Stranmûr. The subsequent business deal between the two also appears rather extraordinary, but in the end, the merchant agrees and gives up all of his goods so that he can liberate the prisoners and help them to return home. Gerhard never behaves greedily or selfishly, and yet he seems to enjoy much wealth despite his amazing generosity. The poet pro-

tional and the Transcultural in Medieval German Literature: Spatial Identity and Pre-Modern Concepts of Nationhood in the Works of Wolfram von Eschenbach, Gottfried von Straßburg, Rudolf von Ems, and Konrad von Würzburg," *Mediaevistik* 29 (2016): 175–94; id., "Medieval Transculturality in the Mediterranean from a Literary-Historical Perspective: The Case of Rudolf von Ems's *Der guote Gêrhart* (ca. 1220–ca. 1250)," *Journal of Transcultural Medieval Studies* 5.1 (2018): 133–60 (online at: <https://www.degruyter.com/downloadpdf/j/jtms.2018.5.issue-1/jtms-2018-0006/jtms-2018-0006.pdf>; last accessed on Nov. 20, 2023); id., "Piracy, Imprisonment, Merchants, and Freedom: Rudolf von Ems's *The Good Gêrhart* (ca. 1220): Mediterranean Perspectives in a Middle High German Context; with Some Reflections on the Topic of Imprisonment in Other Medieval Narratives," *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: A Cultural-Historical Investigation of the Dark Side in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Studies in Medieval Literature* (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2021), 261–83.

jects him not only as a truly 'good' person, but also as a polyglot, as a global citizen, and as a tolerant individual.⁹⁸ If we want to talk about globalism, then we need to incorporate some of those ethical and moral principles as guidelines for those who were interested in establishing connections and relationships across languages, religions, and ethnic differences.

We should also include here a brief reference to Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350), which includes many examples of travelers from far away or of individuals belonging to social or religious minorities. One of the best cases in our context, however, proves to be the story of the Arabic princess Alatiel told by Panfilo, one of the three men in the company of seven ladies who all have escaped from Florence to avoid the Black Death. To spend their time on the estates, they all tell each other stories, ten per day over a ten-day period, hence *Decameron*.⁹⁹

Alatiel is supposed to marry, according to her father's wishes, the Babylonian Sultan Beminedab, the King of Algarve, situated on the western end of the Mediterranean, a kingdom of extensive expanse during the Middle Ages, covering Morocco and the southwestern part of the Iberian Peninsula.¹⁰⁰ Alatiel's voyage tragically ends in a shipwreck somewhere in the west, but she is saved, but only to become the victim of a long series of men who all enjoy sexual contact with her until they are killed by the next competitor. In that process, the princess moves around the entire Mediterranean, never being able to speak with any of those men because of their language differences, but always enjoying her great physical appeal almost to the point of veneration. Not one of the men is ever concerned about their religious and ethnic differences; instead, they all eagerly seek sexual pleasures from her, and she responds happily in kind.

Upon her fortunate return, Alatiel can pretend still to be a virgin, which pleases both her father and her future husband who never learns the truth that she had slept already with eight men on countless occasions (147). The narrator demonstrates no hesitation to give full credit to the Muslim faith as the necessary background for the story, and yet he also entertains his audience with the many vagaries experienced by this princess. Boccaccio thus provided us with an excellent

⁹⁸ Albrecht Classen, *Religious Toleration in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: An Anthology of Literary, Theological, and Philosophical Texts* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020), 69–115; the relevant research literature is listed there as well.

⁹⁹ Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. with an intro. and notes by G. H. McWilliam. Sec. ed. (1972; London: Penguin, 1995), 125–48. For critical perspectives, see, for instance, Sharon Kinoshita and Jason Jacobs, "Ports of Call: Boccaccio's Alatiel in the Medieval Mediterranean," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 37.1 (2007): 163–95; online at: DOI 10.1215/10829636-2006-014 (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

¹⁰⁰ McWilliam, trans., *The Decameron* (see note 99), 816.

literary example of how globalism in terms of travel, sexuality, language barriers, and marriage policies could be imagined.¹⁰¹ Religion, to be sure, does not matter in this case, and although Alatiel is constantly the cause for yet another murder due to her enormous physical attractiveness, she simply enjoys the sexual pleasures with the next man, until she finally manages to reach home, Alexandria, and is later send all the way across the Mediterranean once again.

This sea was, for sure, a major contact zone for many cultures, peoples, religions, economic interests, artists, poets, musicians, architects, and others.¹⁰² The same applied to the Black Sea, as I have discussed already above, and we can thus move further east as well and identify other major bodies of water, such as the South Chinese Sea, where trade has always taken place, where people traveled, and where meetings took place. We would not have to explain this aspect any further because transport over water has almost always been more efficient, faster, and extensive than transport overland.¹⁰³ Both the example of the Vikings during the early Middle Ages and that of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century, followed or paralleled by the Portuguese, then the British and French, not to forget the Dutch, easily confirm this observation. By contrast, the Huns, the Avars, the Magyars, the Mongols, and, to some extent, also the Arabs preferred transportation over land, and all those nomadic people covered huge distances and reached lands very far away from their

101 Maria Pia Ellero, "On Time, Theologians, and Virgins: A Note on Decameron, ii. 7,"

Italian Studies 72.1 (2017): 33–41; Christopher Strand and Salvatore Musumeci, "The Loosened Tongue of a Topsy Diva: Drunkennes, Promiscuity and a Cuckolded Husband in Boccaccio's Tale of Pericone and Alatiel (Decameron II.7)," *Table Talk: Perspectives on Food in Medieval Italian Literature*, ed. Christiana Purdy Moudarres (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), 85–94; Mark Taylor, "The Fortunes of Alatiel: A Reading of Decameron 2,7,"

Forum Italicum 35.2 (2001): 318–31; Bruno Porcelli, "Alatiel e i dieci padroni," *Studi sul Boccaccio* 26 (1998): 179–86.

102 Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2000); see also the contributions to *A Companion to Mediterranean History*, ed. Peregrine Horden and Sharon Kinoshita. Wiley Blackwell Companions to World History (Chichester, Malden, MA, and Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, 2014). For a wide range of cases of medieval travelers crisscrossing the Mediterranean for many different reasons (voluntary or involuntary), see the contributions to *Acteurs des transferts culturels* (see note 96).

103 For modern perspectives, see Paolo Pizzolo, *Eurasianism: An Ideology for the Multipolar World*. Russian, Eurasian, and Eastern European Politics (Lanham, MD, Boulder, CO, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2020); for historical dimensions, see *Empires of the Sea: Maritime Power Networks in World History*, ed. Rolf Strootman, Floris van den Eijnde and Roy van Wijk. Cultural Interactions in the Mediterranean, 4 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020); *A World at Sea: Maritime Practices and Global History*, ed. Nathan Perl-Rosenthal and Lauren Benton. The Early Modern Americas (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021); cf. also *The Sea in History*, ed. N. A. M. Rodger and Christian Buchet. The Modern World, 4 (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017).

home locations. History has always been in movement, as Christian Domenig has recently confirmed once again (see above), and this both on the Eurasian continent and in the Pacific – Polynesians crossing a huge body of water to settle in Hawai'i.¹⁰⁴ As soon as we focus on the history of early peoples, we discover a kind of global angle to it, whether we think of Africa, South-East Asia, Euroasia, or the Americas – certainly an intriguing concept that has had a considerable bearing on pre-modern studies as well considering the continuous growth of our understanding of personal contacts between late medieval westerners, especially Franciscans, and Asians (at the Mongolian court, etc.).¹⁰⁵

Global Movements

Critics might rightfully point out that nomadic people who moved around large landmasses or waterways only passed through, so to speak, and did not fully settle, and especially did not establish intercultural contexts. Globalism, irrespective of how we might define it, would require more than superficial contacts in military, economic, or political terms. In many respects, law or legal documents constituting a society's foundations have also migrated throughout time in many different regions across the world.¹⁰⁶ Hence, we could not really identify the Avars or Ostrogoths, for instance, as true global players. Similarly, the Huns arrived and left again, without establishing an extensive network of contacts, exchanges, or cultural transfers. The Mongols were extremely successful in conquering vast swaths of land, from eastern China to western Poland, but after their last major victory in

104 Bruno Schmidt, *Nomaden des Pazifiks: Archäologie und Geschichte der Besiedlung Ozeaniens* (Paderborn: Snayder-Verlag, 1998); Alastair Cooper, *Sailors and Traders: A Maritime History of the Pacific Peoples* ([Honolulu:] University of Hawai'i Press 2020); *The Oxford Handbook of Prehistoric Oceania*, ed. Ethan E. Cochrane and Terry L. Hunt (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018); Eleanor C. Nurdyke, *The Peopling of Hawaii*, sec. ed. (1977; Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2021). Again, this is a topic much discussed by anthropologists and historians.

105 Bert Roest, *Franciscan Learning, Preaching and Mission c. 1220–1650: cum scientia sit donum Dei, armatura ad defendendam sanctam fidem catholicam*. The Medieval Franciscans, 10 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); Paolo Pizzolo, *World History: Journeys from Past to Present*. Russian, Eurasian, and Eastern European Politics (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2020). As to European perspectives regarding Asia, which were more more complicated and mutually respectful than the theoretical notion of Said's *Orientalism* implied, see Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014).

106 *Legal Encounters on the Medieval Globe*, ed. Elizabeth Lambourn. The Medieval Globe, 2 (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press, 2017).

the Battle of Legnicain (Liegnitzin) and the Battle of Mohi in 1241, they eventually withdrew, but in the subsequent decades they continued to raid Poland and neighboring countries without ever making any attempt to settle in Europe or to subjugate it permanently.¹⁰⁷ Apart from profound horror across the continent created by the Mongols, we would not be able to identify much of its impact at all.

The Vikings, however, who raided most of the European shorelines and penetrated deeply into the continental heartland via the rivers, including the Volga in Russia, finally settling both in southern Italy (Normans) and Normandy, France, and also to some extent in eastern England, could be characterized as forerunners of modern globalists.¹⁰⁸ After all, as we have already heard, they also reached the

107 The concrete conditions on the ground and the long-term developments were much more complex than I can summarize here; see, for instance, Antti Ruotsala, *Europeans and Mongols in the Middle of the Thirteenth Century: Encountering the Other*. Suomalaisen Tiedeakatemian toimituksia: Sarja Humaniora, 314 (Helsinki: Finnish Academy of Science and Letters, 2001); Erik Hildinger, *Warriors of the Steppe: A Military History of Central Asia, 500 BC to 1700 AD* (New York: Sarpedon, 1997); Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1410* (Harlow: Longman, 2005); *The Routledge Handbook of the Mongols and Central-Eastern Europe: Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations*, ed. Alexander V. Maiorov and Roman Hautala (London and New York: Routledge, 2021); Marie Favereau, *The Horde: How the Mongols Changed the World* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2021). For Chinese sources on the Mongols, see now *The Rise of the Mongols: Five Chinese Sources*, ed. and trans. Christopher P. Atwood with Lynn Struve (Indianapolis, IN, and London: Hackett Publishing, 2021). For the latest research on the Mongols and their Eurasian empire, see now the contributions to *The Mongol World*, ed. Timothy May and Michael Hope (New York and London: Routledge, 2022). The abstract summarizing the entire volume, available on the publisher's website, reads: "Contributing authors consider how intercontinental environmental, economic, and intellectual trends affected the Empire as a whole and, where appropriate, situate regional political, social, and religious shifts within the context of the broader Mongol Empire. Issues pertaining to the Mongols and their role within the societies that they conquered therefore take precedence over the historical narrative of the societies that they conquered. Alongside the formation, conquests, administration, and political structure of the Mongol Empire, the second section examines archaeology and art history, family and royal households, science and exploration, and religion, which provides greater insight into the social history of the Empire – an aspect often neglected by traditional dynastic and political histories." In particular, Paul D. Buell addresses the maritime trade in the Indian Ocean (ch. 27) and Colleen C. Ho the overland trade (ch. 28); Buell also examines the impact of Arabic medicine on the world of the Mongol empire (ch. 41), and the contributors to parts 10 and 11 view the history of the Mongols through the lens of global history.

108 See now the contributions to *Norman Connections – Normannische Verflechtungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Mittelmeer*, ed. Viola Skiba, Nikolas Jaspert, and Bernd Schneidmüller. 2 vols. (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2022). This is the catalog accompanying an exhibition in the Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen in Mannheim, Sept. 18, 2022, to Feb. 26, 2023. While I wrote this essay, I learned about the exhibition and the catalog in an advance notice by the publisher, but I had no opportunity to visit it myself.

New World at Newfoundland, and they traveled as far east as to Baghdad, the only city which they besieged in vain. In their long-term history, which eventually led to their settlements in many parts of Europe and probably also the Middle East, as Normans or under other names, they were impressive promoters of cultural exchange and, in a way, harbingers of global players.¹⁰⁹ We also would have to consider that there are intriguing reports about Icelandic exiles or travelers who made their way to Russia, Greece, and Byzantium, and perhaps even further east, as reported, for instance, in the thirteenth-century *Heimskringla* (ca. 1230), a famous collection of sagas about Nordic kings. Both Oláf Tryggvason and Haraldr Sigurðarson spend much time in distant lands and return to Norway only late in life. The latter even touches Africa, after having lived at the Byzantine court for many years (III, 74), but there are not too many comments about the exotic worlds, except references to much wealth and power acquired there. We hear, for instance,

Then it was seen what each could do. Harald always gained victories and booty; but the Greeks went home to Constantinople with their army, all except a few brave men, who, to gain booty and money, joined themselves to Harald, and took him for their leader. He then went with his troops westward to Africa, which the Varings call Serkland, where he was strengthened with many men. In Serkland he took eighty castles, some of which surrendered, and others were stormed.¹¹⁰

109 Cat Jarman, *River Kings: A New History of the Vikings from Scandinavia to the Silk Roads* (London: William Collins, 2021); Tara Carter, *Island's Networked Society: Revealing How the Global Affairs of the Viking Age Created New Forms of Social Complexity*. The Northern World (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015); as to the Icelanders in the Byzantine army, see *Byzantium and the Viking World*, ed. Fedir Androshchuk, Jonathan Shepard, and Monica White. Studia Byzantina Upsaliensia, 16 (Uppsala: Uppsala University Library, 2016). The literature on this topic is legion, and this in many different languages. See, for instance, Régis Boyer, *Die Wikinger*, trans. from the French by Linda Gränz (1992; Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1994), 165–219; and as to the role of the Vikings as a separate military unit in Byzantium, see 136–40; Anders Winroth, *The Age of the Vikings* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014), offers a good overview, but limits himself mostly to the northern European field of operation for the Vikings. For a bibliographical overview, see Søren Michael Sindbæk, “Local and Long-Distance Exchange,” *The Viking World*, ed. Stefan Brink in collaboration with Neil Price. The Routledge World (London and New York: Routledge, 2008), 150–58. The world of the Normans is now discussed at great length by the contributors to *Norman Connections – Normannische Verflechtungen zwischen Skandinavien und dem Mittelmeer*, ed. Viola Skiba, Nikolas Jaspert, and Bernd Schneidmüller (see note 108).

110 This quote and the following one are taken from “Saga of Harald Hardrade,” chapter 5: Harald’s Expedition in the Land of the Saracens (Serkland),” online at: https://www.gutenberg.org/files/598/598-h/598-h.htm#link2H_4_0478 (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

and:

Harald remained many years in Africa, where he gathered great wealth in gold, jewels, and all sorts of precious things; and all the wealth he gathered there which he did not need for his expenses, he sent with trusty men of his own north to Novgorod to King Jarisleif's care and keeping. He gathered together there extraordinary treasure, as is reasonable to suppose; for he had the plundering of the part of the world richest in gold and valuable things, and he had done such great deeds as with truth are related, such as taking eighty strongholds by his valour.

Nevertheless, here we face yet another example of global connections, in this case between Iceland and Norway on the one hand and the eastern Mediterranean and northern Africa on the other.¹¹¹ Pre-modern people were much on the move, and this far beyond their traditional spheres of their own cultures and languages.

Iceland and Arabia – World Travelers and World Knowledge

One fascinating example proves to be the figure of the famous and deeply learned Meistari Perus who plays a central role in the Old Icelandic *riddarasaga* (Tale of Knights) or in the courtly 'romance' known as *Clári saga keisarasonar* (The Saga of Clarus the Emperor's Son). Having been called in (or back) from the lands of Arabia for educational purposes, he helps Prince Clarus, the deeply learned and intelligent son of Emperor Tiburcius of Saxony, to win the hand of Serena, who rules France together with her father King Alexander – both male rulers appear as surprisingly weak characters. "Perus disguises Clarus as Eskilvarð, an extravagantly rich prince

¹¹¹ Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla*, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson. 3 vols. Íslensk fornrit, 26–28 (Reykjavík: Hið Íslenska Fornritafélag, 1941–1951); id., trans. Alison Finlay and Anthony Faulkes (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, University College, 2011); online at: <http://www.vsnrweb-publications.org.uk/Heimskringla%20I.pdf> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). For critical studies, see Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla* (Berkley, Los Angeles, CA, and Oxford: University of California Press, 1991); Birgit Sawyer, *Heimskringla: An Interpretation*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 483 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2015); for most recent critical comments on the cruel rulers and their previous history as exiles, see now Jan Alexander van Nahl, "Wenn Ausländer an die Macht kommen – Bemerkungen zu Flucht und Fremdheit in den Königssaga," *Þattasyrpa: Studien zu Literatur, Kultur und Sprache in Nordeuropa: Festschrift für Stefanie Gropper*, ed. Anna Katharina Heiniger, Rebecca Merkelbach, and Alexander Wilson. Beiträge zur nordischen Philologie, 72 (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto, 2022), 219–27.

from Ethiopia, and by means of her avaricious longing for three marvellous pavilions belonging to Eskilvarð (and made by Master Perus), Serena is lured to lose her virginity and marry the visiting prince in the French capital.”¹¹² Even though the Arabic background plays only a secondary role, it is worth noting how much even within the Icelandic context there was considerable knowledge in northern Europe about the powerful role played by Arabic science (and magic).

We also have to keep in mind that the Arabs were truly intrepid travelers and spread their range of influence from the Arabian Peninsula to many parts of the Middle East, and then all the way along the northern African coast of the Mediterranean, to reach to Iberian Peninsula in 711. They were only completely expelled from there in 1492 when the last Muslim fortress, Granada, fell into Christian hands. We would not need to go into further details here since those are too well known, but we should also include, as far as it might be possible, comparable military movements in other parts of the world to understand the global implications involved here.¹¹³

All human culture is determined by the social context; often, that was rather limited, but many times, and this throughout history, it was extending far beyond the own homeland. This does not mean much for globalism at first, of course, but it represents the steppingstone toward that phenomenon. Undoubtedly, the more we consider the conditions in the early modern age, the more did the opportunities for global outreach intensify, especially beginning in Europe. But it would be errone-

112 Marteinn Helgi Sigurðsson. “Master Perus of Arabia: An Exemplary Magician in Medieval Iceland,” *Medieval Science in the North: Travelling Wisdom, 1000–1500*, ed. Christian Etheridge, and Michele Campopiano. Knowledge, Scholarship and Science in the Middle Ages, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021), 159–80. As Sigurðsson also observes, “In the beginning preserved in the Stockholm manuscript, Perus is introduced as a famous meistari living ‘út í Árábía’ (out in Arabia), and his summoning from Arabia is in any case recalled later on in the saga according to both 657 a-b 4o and Cod. Holm. Perg. 6 4to” (162). Perus is discussed more in detail some time later: “At this time there came news of a magnificent master out in Arabia who bore the name Perus, who in his outstanding sagacity and wisdom surpassed all men in the world and of whom one reads widely in books and on account of whose arts and cunning appears in many adventures. The emperor therewith became so eager that he sent emissaries on a long journey by land and sea in order to entice this master to his residence with fair offers of wealth and kind promises so that his son might partake in the multifarious learning of his mastership” (translation by Sigurðsson, 164). See also Alexander Haggerty Krappe, “The Delusions of Master Perus,” *Scandinavian Studies* 19 (1947): 217–24; for a critical edition of this text, see *Clári saga*, ed. Gustav Cederschiöld. Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek, 12 (Halle a. d. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1907).

113 Most recently, see Boaz Shoshan, *The Arabic Historical Tradition and the Early Islamic Conquests: Folklore, Tribal Lore, Holy War* (New York and London: Routledge, 2016); Raymond Ibrahim, *Sword and Scimitar: Fourteen Centuries of War Between Islam and the West* (New York: De Capo Press, 2018). The list of relevant studies could be easily extended.

ous to assume that modern globalism did not begin until Columbus set his sails and Vasco da Gama discovered the sea passage to India.

Both pilgrims and diplomats, both merchants and missionaries, both artists and composers, both medical doctors and architects, among many others, were busily involved already during the pre-modern history in creating networks, connections, communication systems, and exchange modi.¹¹⁴ The late Middle Ages in particular witnessed an enormous growth of pilgrimage, which had become really a commercial enterprise centrally promoted by Venice for Christians from all over Europe who aimed for the Holy Land. Muslims have always gone on a pilgrimage, their Hajj, and members of other religions have pursued very similar goals in their own worlds. We cannot, however, associate pilgrimage with efforts to establish globalism because pilgrims basically visit what is already familiar to them relatively speaking and do not necessarily, if at all, engage with the foreign world surrounding the pilgrimage site. In other words, pilgrims aim for the reconfirmation of their own faith at the grave of a saint, or in a specific church, location, or object, and they do not tend to investigate the foreign world surrounding that site. For that reason, we do not need to pursue this specific topic here further.¹¹⁵

At this point, however, we are still working on determining the specifics in many of those cases, identifying concrete cases, and on comprehending what the traces as they are being discovered right now might indicate truly in terms of globalism. As Philipp Meller has been able to recognize, already during the Ottonian period, merchants and traders from the East Franconian empire were able to reach out to many territories even beyond eastern Europe.¹¹⁶

114 Artists were regularly forced to migrate, to seek out refuge in an exile, or to look for new commissions in distant lands; or they looked for master teachers. The same would apply to architects, masons, craftsmen, and many other professions. For migrating artists, at least within northern Europe during the early modern period, see Holger Thomas Gräf, "Künstler als Migranten im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert: Vermittler im europäischen Kulturtransfer oder Protagonisten einer kulturellen Spaltung?," *Religion – Migration – Integration: Studien zu Wechselwirkungen religiös motivierter Mobilität im vormodernen Europa*, ed. Anette Baumann, Alexander Jendorff, and Frank Theisen (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2019), 239–57. It will be a major task for future research to expand on this perspective and explore much more in detail the migration of artists across barriers of languages and religions, and hence the migration of art works bartered on the international markets.

115 For German pilgrimage and related travelogues, see Christian Halm, *Deutsche Reiseberichte. Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters*, 1, Kieler Werkstücke. Reihe D, Beiträge zur europäischen Geschichte des späten Mittelalters, 12, ed. Werner Paravicini. 2nd rev. ed. (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, Bern, et al.: Peter Lang, 2001). See also the contributions to *Travel, Time, and Space*, ed. Albrecht Classen (see note 31).

116 Philipp Meller, *Kulturkontakt im Frühmittelalter* (see note 76), 145–74; for a detailed summary of this new study, also in German, which specifically addresses the political contacts of the Ottonian court with the political centers in Kiev and Córdoba (175–210), see the review by Philipp Meller,

As Romedio Schmitz-Esser has now demonstrated, already shortly after the shocking defeat of the Polish-Christian army against the Mongols at Liegnitz (or Legnica) in 1241, the papacy started to organize missionary activities in the Mongolian Empire, led by such individuals as John of Plano Carpini (or Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, ca. 1185–1252); John of Montecorvino (or Giovanni da Montecorvino in Italian; 1247–1328), the subsequent Archbishop of Beijing; or Odorico da Pordenone (1286–1331). Many of them belonged to the group of spiritualists within the Franciscan Order, in contraposition to the conventionalists, and they often felt a strong appeal by the Asian Buddhists who incorporated for them the Christian ideal in a refreshing manner. This found vivid reflections both in religious travelogues, such as by John of Marignolo (ca. 1290–ca. 1357/59), or by the Italian Marco Polo, and perhaps even by the famous poet Dante Alighieri, who located the Paradise on the shores of the river Ganges.¹¹⁷

In many respects, Jewish merchants and other individuals were at the forefront of global travel, which certainly made them rather suspect back home where the majority of people had no idea about the foreign world and did not dare to leave the comfort zone of their own cultures and languages. They were complemented by numerous Arabic travelers who reached many different shores and countries along the southern Mediterranean border, in the Middle East, and in the Far East – here using, simply by default, the European orientation, which should mean nothing in terms of cultural hegemony (see above). International, or global trade, then surged generally and became a common factor of life since the fourteenth century, both in the West and in the East.¹¹⁸

“Kulturkontakt im Frühmittelalter: Das ostfränkische Reich 936–973 in globalhistorischer Perspektive,” online at https://www.hsozkult.de/publicationreview/id/reb-117194?utm_source=hskhtml&utm_medium=email&utm_term=2022-8&utm_campaign=htmldigest&utm_source=hskhtml&utm_medium=email&utm_term=2022-8&utm_campaign=htmldigest (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

117 Dante Alighieri, *Divina Commedia*, particularly at Par. XI, 49–51; see Romedio Schmitz-Esser, “Buddhistische Mönche und der franziskanische Armutsstreit: Wie die Ostasienmission das spätmittelalterliche Lateineuropa beeinflusste,” *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 48 (2021): 645–78; here 658–59. I thank the author for sharing this article with me.

118 *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). As to the concrete world of late medieval merchants, see now Anna Paulina Orłowska, *Johan Pyre: Ein Kaufmann und sein Handelsbuch im spätmittelalterlichen Danzig. Darstellung. Quellen und Darstellungen zur hansischen Geschichte*, Neue Folge, LXXVII (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2022); see my review in *Mediävistik* 35 (forthcoming). Pyre operated, however, primarily in northern Europe and did not extend his business beyond those limits.

In light of a constant stream of literary material from India and Persia – e.g., the *Panchatantra*¹¹⁹ or *Barlaam and Josaphat* to the Arabic and then the Jewish and Christian world throughout the centuries, which still remains somewhat unexplored but which certainly existed, we can undoubtedly claim that the pre-modern literary discourse was greatly determined by a sort of global perspectives.¹²⁰ Economic, architectural, medical, philosophical, and artistic evidence adds to this picture, and in one case we will even hear of military history that has oddly, or rather indirectly, brought people together from across the world, though often rather in hostile terms. Even though the intensity and quantity of this form of globalism was not comparable to modern globalism, in qualitative terms there were many similarities long before the term was even coined.

Rabban Sauma

Let us conclude this essay with a brief reference to a most intriguing, but little discussed eastern traveler who reached the west coming all the way from Mongolia, Rabban Sauma (ca. 1220–ca. 1294), whose experiences and subsequent reports confirm dramatically how much global travel was already well underway the late Middle Ages. He was a Turkic Chinese (Uyghur or maybe Ongud) who was born near modern-day Beijing and who belonged to the Nestorian Church. and went on a diplomatic mission to the West, i.e., to Jerusalem, along with his student Rabban Markos. Because of military conflicts that blocked their way, they stayed in Baghdad for a long time with the Patriarch Denha I. They could not return home either, again due to military threats along the way, and eventually, Rabban Sauma was elected as Denha's successor assuming the title of Yahballaha III, in 1281.¹²¹

In 1287, he was sent to Europe to meet the Eastern Roman emperor and the pope, traveling with a large contingent carrying many gifts with them. He passed through Constantinople, then crossed the Mediterranean, witnessed the eruption of Mount Etna on June 18, later also the naval battle in the Bay of Sorrento on St.

119 *The Panchatantra*, transl. from the Sanskrit by Arthur W. Ryder (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1967).

120 Albrecht Classen, "India, Persia, and Arabia in the Mind of a Late Fifteenth-Century German Author" (see note 85).

121 Folker Reichert, *Asien und Europa im Mittelalter: Studien zur Geschichte des Reisens* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), 482–89. Cf. also his older study (here identified further with the middle initial E for his name), *Begegnungen mit China: Die Entdeckung Ostasiens im Mittelalter*. Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 15 (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1992), 276–84.

John's Day, June 24, 1287, which was part of the infamous Sicilian Vesper. In Rome, he missed Pope Honorius IV, who recently had passed away, but he met with the cardinals. From there, Rabban went to Genoa, Florence, and eventually reached Paris, where he was warmly welcomed by King Philip the Fair. On his way south through the Gascony, he had a chance to meet the English King Edward I, who was also greatly pleased about the opportunity to engage with this Mongol emissary.

On his return trip, Rabban visited the newly elected Pope Nicholas IV in 1288, who allowed him to celebrate his own Eucharist, which indicates a certain degree of toleration. From there, this amazing diplomat and traveler returned to Baghdad, now also accompanied by the courtier Gobert de Helleville from the Normandy, the clerks Robert de Senlis and Guillaume de Bruyères, as well as an *arbalétrier* (cross-bowman), Audin de Bourges, who went with him all the way to Persia. Rabban lived the rest of his life in Baghdad, where he died in 1294, not before he had completed an extensive travel account.¹²²

Here we face the excellent example of an Asian perspective toward the West, and we learn much about the great interest that the various western powers had in the East. What strikes us perhaps most might be the ease with which Rabban manages to travel, as if his utter lack of linguistic competence in European languages did not hamper him at all. Since he succeeded so well to cross continents,

¹²² *Histoire du Patriarche Mar Jabalaha III. et du moine Rabban Cauma* (from the Syriac),” trans. J. B. Chabot, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin* (1893): 566–610; (1894): 73–143, 235–300; cf. also Sebastian P. Brock, “Rabban Sauma à Constantinople (1287),” *Mémorial Mgr Gabriel Khouri-Sarkis (1898–1968)*. *Revue d'études et de recherches sur les églises de langue syriaque* (Louvain: Imprimerie orientale, 1969), 245–53; for a critical discussion, see Morris Rossabi, *Voyager from Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey from China to the West* (Tokyo: Kodansha International, 1992; rpt. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010). See also Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race* (see note 32), 375–79. Many, often more popular historians have also referred to this amazing Mongol diplomat and traveler, but those studies do not need to be listed here. Consult now the standard-setting *History of Mar Yahballaha and Rabban Sauma*, ed., trans., and annotated by Pier Giorgio Borbone (Hamburg: Verlag tredition, 2021). For an earlier but still valuable translation, see *The Monks of Kublai Khan, Emperor of China, or The History of the Life and Travels of Rabban Sawma, Envoy and Plenipotentiary of the Mongol Khans to the Kings of Europe, and Markos Who as Mar Yahbh-Allaha III Became Patriarch of the Nestorian Church in Asia*, trans. from the Syriac by Sir E. A. Wallis Budge, KT (London: Religious Text Society, 1928); now online at: https://web.archive.org/web/20070928031354/http://www.nestorian.org/history_of_rabban_bar_sawma_1.html (last accessed on March 31, 2023). Cf. also P. Giorgio Borbone, *Storia di Mar Yahballaha e di Rabban Sauma: un orientale in occidente ai tempi di Marco* (Turin: Zamorani, 2000); Ahmet M. Zehiroğlu, “Bar Sauma's Black Sea Journey,” trans. from the Turkish by Paula Darwish. https://www.academia.edu/11320426/Bar_Saumas_Black_Sea_Journey_1287_ (last accessed on March 31, 2023). I could not verify whether this paper was published in a serious scholarly venue. It offers, however, good close readings from a historical perspective.

it does no longer come as a surprise that the later Marco Polo and many other Christian (esp. Franciscan) and Muslim travelers to China did not face, as far as we can tell, any significant difficulties in the foreign worlds. Christianity, for instance, had already been imported to China as early as in 635 when a Christian/Nestorian priest, Aluoben, arrived there, coming from Assyria or Persia, maybe as a member of a Sasanian delegation. Already in 638, “the emperor [Taizong, r. 626–649 C.E.] declared Christianity one of the approved cults and allowed the building of the first church in the capital. Shortly after 712, a bishop Gabriel arrived as a delegate from the church headquarters in Iraq, now with an Arab embassy, in the capital of the Tang.”¹²³

The next ruler, Emperor Wuzong (840–846), tried to prohibit those various religions, and Christianity suffered particularly badly, but it did not completely disappear, quite parallel to the situation of Christian communities in the Muslim world, in Egypt or Syria. The Christian Church continued to build a global network, and at the same time it encountered strong competition by Islam which spread from southwestern Europe to the eastern edges of the Middle East and beyond, e.g., from Córdoba in Andalusia to Kabul in Afghanistan.¹²⁴ I would claim that these authors were firm testimonies of the existence of globalism before globalism.¹²⁵ Understandably and correctly, Folker Reichert advises against the use of the term ‘discoveries’ in this context because every explorer, merchant, missionary, or diplomat could draw from extensive experiences by predecessors.¹²⁶ For us today it actually proves to be highly difficult, if not problematic, to talk about ‘exploration,’ as if a Marco Polo really entered into uncharted territory, or as if the early Vikings had no idea where they were sailing throughout the North Atlantic. Reichert does not

¹²³ Preiser-Kapeller, “Migration” (see note 13), 485–86; Xu Longfei, *Die nestorianische Stele in Xi'an: Begegnung von Christentum und chinesischer Kultur*. Begegnung, 12 (Bonn: Borengässer, 2004); see now Max Deeg, *Die Strahlende Lehre: Die Stele von Xi'an*. orientalia – patristica – oecumenica, 12 (Vienna: Lit Verlag, 2018); and Zhu Li-Layec, *Als Christus und Konfuzius sich zum ersten Mal begegneten: Inkulturation fremder Religionen am Beispiel des ostsyrischen Christentums im Kaiserreich in China zwischen dem 7. und 8. Jahrhundert (Tang-Dynastie)* (Bern, Berlin, and Brussels: Peter Lang, 2018). For images of the stele and more background information, see <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alopen> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

¹²⁴ Richard Foltz, *Religions of the Silk Road: Premodern Patterns of Globalization* (Basingstoke, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 96–98, et passim. See also Erik Hermans, “Intellectual Connectivity,” *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages* (see note 13), 539–50.

¹²⁵ Thomas Ertl and Alicia Lohmann, “Georgian Imaginations: Marco Polo Variations on the Kingdom in the Caucasus,” *From Florence to Goa and Beyond: Essays in Early Modern Global History Dedicated to Jorge Flores*, ed. Tilmann Kulke and Irene María Vicente Martín (Florence: forthcoming); <https://hdl.handle.net/1814/73769> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

¹²⁶ Reichert, *Asien und Europa im Mittelalter* (see note 121), 479–82.

have a really alternative term, but he emphasizes that the best we can do would be to consider travelers from many different origins traversing the world, both from Europe to Asia, from Asia to the Arabic and European world, from Africa to Europe, and reverse. To be fair, however, many times, new routes were discovered by the Portuguese, for instance, since they lacked the local expertise of West-African sailors. By the same token, Columbus did not ‘discover’ America, as is well known by now, even though he reached some heretofore unknown Caribbean islands. But ‘discovery’ remains a problematic term since there are hardly ever really virginal lands – perhaps with the exception of Iceland or Hawai’i.

Future Research

We are certainly still at an early stage in research on globalism. To use a metaphor for this situation, we are facing a huge puzzle, and most of the pieces are still lying on the table in a jumble. However, we can already recognize the frame, we seem to have identified major parts of the picture, and we feel hopeful that the many different case studies that will follow here will assist us in putting the many pieces together to create a meaningful panorama of world-spanning events, contacts, projections, exchanges, and communication. The difference in quantity regarding globalism compared to the modern world should not deter us to pursue this topic further.¹²⁷

Ironically, there are increasingly individual voices warning us today in 2022 and 2023 about the decline, if not even the end of globalism, opinions that might be the result of short-term hysteria and panic.¹²⁸ Without trying to predict the future, we

¹²⁷ I was fortunate to be invited to present an early stage of this research as a guest lecture, “Globalism Before Globalism in the Pre-Modern Age,” Wydział Historii i Zakład Historii Średniowiecznej, Uniwersytet Adam Mickiewicza, Poznań, Poland (May 2022); now available online at Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i0cP40j6CG8> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). I would like to express my gratitude to my colleague Jakub Kujawiński for the invitation, his great logistical skills, the support of the Faculty of History there, and the wonderful hospitality which the university afforded me. It was a delight to respond to the many good questions from the audience.

¹²⁸ See, for instance, the newspaper article by Patrick Bernau, “Das Ende der Globalisierung, wie wir sie kennen,” *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, May 28, 2022; <https://www.faz.net/aktuell/wirtschaft/rueckzug-aus-china-das-ende-der-globalisierung-18063101.html> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). Alerts about the turn away from the global perspective have been voiced already for quite some time, see Alan M. Rugman, *The End of Globalization: A New and Radical Analysis of Globalization and What It Means for Business* (London: Random House, 2001). See also Harold James, *The End of Globalization: Lessons from the Great Depression* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2022); see also, for pedagogical perspectives, the contributions to *Euro-Asian Encounters on*

can be certain, however, that economic and political connections will continue to exist and to grow. The western shift away from Russia and maybe even from China at the current moment only means that new markets will gain in importance, such as on the African continent (e.g., links between Germany and Egypt). We are looking at a fundamental feature of all of human culture, which is mostly outward-oriented, determined by curiosity and interest in other people, despite a common trend toward xenophobia, at least on the surface, sometimes with catastrophic consequences. The key factor has always been ‘growth,’ however defined, and this also applies to the pre-modern world. Even though we cannot claim this phenomenon for all individuals throughout time, there is no doubt that globalism can be identified as a key component in most of our history, irrespective of countless chains of hostility and aggression.

Unfortunately, too many scholars still tend to embrace the notion of globalism as a concept in which the most diverse countries and cultures in history are randomly placed next to each other, whether there existed connections or whether there were any similarities or shared values, or not.¹²⁹ Of course, modern historiography tends to try its hands at global studies to do justice to the many different cultures across the world, and to move away from Eurocentrism, for instance, but political arguments do not necessarily contribute to solid research and might mislead us to correlate the most diverse aspects, peoples, cultures, religions, artworks, etc. in a rather naïve and erroneous fashion.

Nevertheless, as I have argued throughout in this introductory study, we can indeed conceive of global networks of diverse kinds, but we have always to be careful not to throw the proverbial baby out with the bathwater. The history of pre-modern Hawai’i, for instance, is certainly as interesting and valuable as that of pre-modern Germany, but before we develop comparisons and attempt to establish a global platform upon which both cultures can be set directly next to each other, we first need to think of truly relevant points of similarities and shared issues and concerns, such as a ruler’s charisma and the aura of royal objects. This is possi-

21st-Century Competency-Based Curriculum Reforms: Cultural Views on Globalization and Localization, ed. Weili Zhao and Daniel Tröhler (Singapore: Springer Singapore, 2021). Martin Deuerlein, however, identifies global interdependence as the key element in the twenty-first century; *Das Zeitalter der Interdependenz: globales Denken und internationale Politik in den langen 1970er Jahren*. *Moderne Zeit*, 31 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2020).

¹²⁹ Catherine Holmes, “The Global Middle Ages: The East,” *The Later Middle Ages*, ed. Isabella Lazzarini, *The Short Oxford History of Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), curiously generalizes when she identifies the thirteenth century globally as a “period of expansion and consolidation of state power,” 199, as if we could simply equate the history of the kingdom of Mali with the history of the kingdom of any Asian country. See my review, *The Medieval Review* (online), 22.06.10. See also the contributions to *The Global Middle Ages*, ed. Catherine J. Holmes and Naomi Standen. *Past and Present. Supplement*, NS, 13 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

ble, as I have demonstrated recently in a brief article, examining the myth-making process concerning Emperor Charlemagne (747–814) with the one concerning King Kamehameha (ca. 1758–1819), both founders of new empires in their own parts of the world.¹³⁰ But this does not mean that we can freely (ab)use the term ‘globalism’ for political purposes in a fake attempt to re-energize the study of the Middle Ages and the early modern age. We always need to look for shared elements, or some kind of shared history, i.e., concrete contacts, exchanges, and also conflicts with each other, if we want to understand the connections or networks that have regularly existed both in the past and in the present.

Irrespective of my critical comments,¹³¹ we can certainly consider phenomena such as feudalism, courtly culture, chivalry, knighthood, monotheistic religions, or the erotic admiration of women, leading over to courtly love poetry, as critical for the post-modern claim that globalism already existed in the pre-modern age.¹³² Despite many external differences, whether in language, religion, fashion, or weapons, people throughout time and across the globe have normally shared fundamental values and norms, which invite our comparative analysis.

In fact, several contributors to this volume examine analogous cases in political spheres not directly related but connected through their archetypal nature. Thus, we are carefully transcending the simplistic historical notion of globalism – concrete personal contacts or exchanges – and also aim at shared concepts, notions, values, and ideals, as vague as those analogies might be at first sight. The myth of mermaids or other creatures associated with water, for instance, finds instances both in western and eastern folklore, both in the past and the present, such as Melusine (West) and hourriyat al-bahr (East).¹³³ We cannot ignore some of the essential dif-

130 Albrecht Classen, “Royal Figures as Nation Builders – King Kamehameha and Charlemagne: Myth Formation in the European Early Middle Ages and in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Polynesian Hawai‘i,” *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* 3.2 (2016): 112–15 (<http://scholarpublishing.org/index.php/ASSRJ/article/view/1837/pdf>; last accessed on March 31, 2023); and in *Journal of East-West Thought* 4.6 (2016): 85–91.

131 See, for example, Leften S. Stavrianos, *A Global History: From Prehistory to the Present*. 5th ed. (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1993), which promises much but leaves us rather frustrated because ‘global’ here means all and nothing. The same would apply to Candice Goucher and Linda Walton, *World History: Journeys from Past to Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 2008).

132 In this respect, it does not matter that medieval Japanese Samurai and European knights lived very far apart. See, for instance, the contributions to *Knight and Samurai: Actions and Images of Elite Warriors in Europe and East Asia*, ed. Rosemarie Deist. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 707 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2003), and to *Japanisch-deutsche Gespräche über Fremdheit im Mittelalter: Interkulturelle und interdisziplinäre Forschungen in Ost und West*, ed. Manshu Ide and Albrecht Classen (see note 90).

133 For the eastern tradition, see, particularly Manal Shalaby, “The Middle Eastern Mermaid: Between Myth and Religion,” *Scaled for Success: The Internationalisation of the Mermaid*, ed. Philip

ferences, but by the same token we should also not leave aside the shared elements, as the contributions by Quan Gan and Fidel Fajardo-Acosta to this volume indicate.

As long as we do not compare the proverbial apples with oranges, we can certainly grasp fundamental aspects that shared by many different cultures across the world, whether they were autochthonous or borrowed, whether we pursue etic or emic approaches in anthropological terms. This would not necessarily entail that those cultures were in direct contact with each other, such as medieval German and Arab peoples. But romances such as Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205) and Rudolf von Ems's *Der guote Gêrhart* (ca. 1220; see above) explicitly suggested already then that individuals from each culture could and should reach out to each other and find common grounds concerning values, ideals, and concepts about human interactions. Otherwise, it would be very difficult to understand how pre-modern travelers such as Marco Polo, the anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, or the English mystic Margery Kempe managed to communicate effectively with their contemporaries in the foreign world and to encounter surprisingly friendly, if not tolerant responses.¹³⁴

If such shared notions existed, and that really seems to be the case, as mirrored by poetic texts and visual documents, then we can surmise with a high level of probability that ideas or concepts had migrated or were shared commonly across the world. Of course, such an observation does not make it easier for us to engage

Hayward (New Barnet/London: John Libbey Publishing, 2018), 6–20; for the western tradition, see the contribution to *Melusine's Footprint: Tracing the Legacy of a Medieval Myth*, ed. Misty Urban, Deva F. Kemmis, and Melissa Ridley Elmes. *Explorations in Medieval Culture*, 4 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017).

¹³⁴ See my contribution to this volume. All the relevant older research literature is listed there. But here I would like to add even more recent studies on this significant narrative account. See Albrecht Classen, "Unexpected Exposures to Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages: A Global Perspective by Travelogue Authors: *Der Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, Georgius of Hungary, and Johann Schiltberger," *International Journal of Culture and History* 9.1 (2022); online at: <https://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/ijch/article/view/19078>; id., "Global History in the Middle Ages: A Medieval and an Early Modern Perspective. The *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) and Adam Olearius's *Vermehrte New Beschreibung der Muscowitischen vnd Persischen Reyse* (1647; 1656)," *Philological Quarterly* 100.2 (2021): 101–34; id., "Äypten im *Niederrheinischen Orientbericht*: ein spätmittelalterlicher Augenzeuge," *Kairoer Germanistische Studien* (forthcoming); see also my contribution to this volume; and id., "Anonymous: *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* [Low Rhenish Report about the Orient]," *The Literary Encyclopedia* (published on August 24, 2022); online at: <https://www.litencyc.com/php/sworks.php?rec=true&UID=40912> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). As to Rudolf's romance and its focus on human communication and diplomatic exchanges, see Albrecht Classen, "Modelle politischer und persönlicher Kommunikation in der Literatur des deutschen Spätmittelalters. Der Fall von Rudolfs von Ems *Der guote Gêrhart* (ca. 1220)," *Etudes Germaniques* 78.1 (2023): 77–99.

with the theoretical concept of world literature, but it certainly paves a way toward more intensive critical discussions across disciplines, periods, and media.¹³⁵

It deserves also to be pointed out that global connections on the political level can be identified already for the early Middle Ages when Charlemagne (d. 814), for example, enjoyed surprisingly close connections with the Abbasid ruler Harun al-Rashid in Baghdad. The latter made several significant moves to reach out to Charlemagne and sent some truly royal gifts all the way to northwestern German, to Aachen, such as the famous elephant Abul-Abbas (ca. 770s or 780s–810), which was an Asian elephant brought back to the Carolingian emperor by his diplomat Isaac the Jew as a symbol of good-will across the globe.

The Abbasids had besieged Constantinople, at that time ruled by the Empress Irene, and both she and Harun al-Rashid hoped to gain Charlemagne's support in this complicated global conflict. Charlemagne received even additional 'exotic' gifts, but the elephant was truly the most amazing 'item' proffered by the caliph in the hope of establishing a decisive alliance with the Frankish emperor.¹³⁶ Despite the considerable challenges in the transport of this huge animal, first along the land route all the way to modern-day Tunisia, from there to the area of Genoa in 801, and then finally, in the Spring of 802, across the Alps to the north, reaching Aachen on July 20, 802, the feat was accomplished. However, it remains unclear whether Charlemagne responded in kind to Harun's gift. As far as we can tell, the Abbasid sources do not contain any references to such counter-gestures of friendship and

135 Manal Shalaby, "The Middle Eastern Mermaid" (see note 133), 19, concludes: "In the Middle East, the myth tacitly tells the history of a region that once cradled several great civilizations and assimilated diverse religions, and bears the marks of a rich culture caught between political and religious forces belonging to both the past and the present. Born from Isis/Atargatis, metamorphosing into the forms represented in 'One Thousand and One Nights', and more recently adapting to a turbulent culture, Houreya w 'Ein has successfully engaged with politics of assimilation and the complex interplay between myth and religion."

136 See, for instance, the lively and detailed, but not fully scholarly article by Jon Mandaville, "An Elephant for Charlemagne," *Saudi Aramco World* 28.2 (1977): 24–27; online at: <https://archive.aramcoworld.com/issue/197702/an.elephant.for.charlemagne.htm> (last accessed on March 31, 2023); Klaus Grewe and Frank Pohle, (2003), "Der Weg des Abul Abaz von Bagdad zu Aachen," *Ex oriente: Isaak und der weisse Elefant: Bagdad-Jerusalem-Aachen: eine Reise durch drei Kulturen um 800 und heute*, ed. Wolfgang Dreßen and Rachel Beaujean-Deschamps (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2003), 66–69; Achim Thomas Hack, *Abul Abaz: zur Biographie eines Elefanten*. Jenaer mediävistische Vorträge, 1 (Badenweiler: Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Bachmann, 2011); Albertoni, Giuseppe, *L'elefante di Carlo Magno: il desiderio di un imperatore*. Saggi, 903 (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2020). As to the relationship between the Abbasid dynasty and Byzantium, see Nadia El Cheikh, *Byzantium Viewed by the Arabs*.

Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, 36 (Cambridge, MA: Center for Middle Eastern Studies of Harvard University, Harvard University Press, 2004).

diplomacy. Latest research indicates, however, that the royal powers in the early Middle Ages, such as the Ottonians, were fully aware of the great need to establish and maintain international, perhaps global diplomatic connections, relying on monks, traders, and diplomats. A wonderful literary example for this aspect can be found in the romance *Der Guote Gêrhart* by the Middle High German poet (Austrian) Rudolf von Ems (ca. 1220).¹³⁷

All we can say here, to conclude this study, global connections existed throughout the Middle Ages and the early modern age, even if either *mappae mundi* or literary narratives did not reflect these directly or only in vague terms. There are good reasons, for instance, to accept Shakespeare as a significant player on the global stage, metaphorically speaking, insofar as he mirrored the opening of the global mind in many of his theater plays. But we can claim this already for medieval poets such as Wolfram von Eschenbach or Giovanni Boccaccio. Approaching this task from many different perspectives, allows us to gain a solid foothold on the topic of globalism before the modern age. We can expect that archaeological and historiographical research will open many new perspectives in the near future, but I hope that this volume will provide critical steppingstones to move us out of the Eurocentric or Asiacentric perspective and to gain a much broader understanding of the truly global conditions long before the rise of modernity.¹³⁸ As long as we do not simply fall into the trap of placing various cultures or individuals next to each that are not related, or did not experience any contacts or exchanges, we can be certain, and as the plethora of data in this study has already confirmed, that pre-modern history by itself, especially cultural, literary, economic, and political history, have often been, simply by default, much more global than has been recognized in the past.¹³⁹

137 Philipp Meller, *Kulturkontakt im Frühmittelalter* (see note 76).

138 The issue of global history concerns many scholars, and the debate on the feasibility of this approach continues to rage. See, for instance, Nicholas, Purcell, "Unnecessary Dependences: Illustrating Circulation in Premodern Large-scale History," *The Prospect of Global History*, ed. James Belich, John Darwin, Margret Frenz, and Chris Wickham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 65–79; Mark Humpries, "Late Antiquity and World History. Challenging Conventional Narratives and Analyses," *Studies in Late Antiquity* 1.1 (2017): 9–37; Jurandir Malerba, "História da historiografia e perspectiva global: um diálogo possível?," *Esboços, Florianópolis* 26.43 (2019): 457–72; Uiran Gebara da Silva, "Outra História global é possível?" (see note 5).

139 *The Practice of Global History: European Perspectives*, ed. Matthias Middell (London, New York, Oxford, New Delhi, and Sydney: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019). The online abstract emphasizes that the focus here rests on a research overview: "In particular, the contributors look at histories of colonialism and imperial expansion, knowledge circulation and mobility across borders. This book reflects the diversity of current scholarship on global and transnational history and will offer important insights for anyone interested in understanding the cutting edge of research in this area." See also the contributions to *The Routledge Companion to Global Indigenous History*, ed. Ann McGrath

This is not claim that we would have to view all and every aspect of art, science, economics, and literature as a mirror of full globalism. All we can reasonably aim for at the moment is to examine more carefully than before, or more inclusively than before, the wide-ranging connections between various parts of medieval and early modern Europe and other parts of the world, potential sources of exchange in material or intellectual terms.

Trade interests, curiosity about new philosophical or medical insights, or the constant search for literary inspiration have always contributed in a significant way to the widening of individual perspectives. Artworks were traded, and made their way across continents, languages, cultures, and religions already in the early Middle Ages.¹⁴⁰ Of course, both then and today, most people all over the globe lead a fairly stationary life, but there have always been particular individuals who looked beyond the traditional barriers and explored other cultures, schools, practices, products, or artworks. Globalism can thus be described, both in small or large terms, as an essential feature of human history, as an engine that has regularly moved some people forward to leave their traditional boundaries behind and discover new ones. The difference between, say, Marco Polo and the promoters of the modern space program might be in degree, but it would be negligible in terms of the global awareness. Anyone who equipped a ship for a long voyage, anyone who created a map, or anyone who listened to new literary accounts or to new musical compositions was already on his/her way toward a global comprehension of this world.

Of course, this process often did not proceed peacefully, and many times it turned toward slavery and an exploitive handling of the resources abroad. But colonialism, international slave trade, and genocides were, unfortunately, mostly features of the modern world since the fifteenth century or so, whereas the merchant class of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, among other social groups (especially the Franciscans), can be credited with extensive efforts to establish a global framework of operations.¹⁴¹ Of course, those were not nec-

and Lynette Russell (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), which offer alternative perspectives of considerable significance.

140 See now the contributions to *Islam in Europa: 1000–1250* (see note 61). This catalog had not even been published when I was about to complete this introduction, but I got a review copy; the review will appear in *Mediaevistik* 36 (forthcoming).

141 Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Before European Hegemony* (see note 3). In a way, she resolutely and effectively undermined the influential position taken by Immanuel Maurice Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System*. Vol. 1: *Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. Studies in Social Discontinuity (New York: Academy Press, 1974), locating this global development ca. three hundred years earlier. However, the devastating consequences of the Black Death both in Europe and in the Mongol Empire in the middle of the fourteenth century

essarily driven by idealism and altruism, but by curiosity, mercantile interests, and efforts to establish power structures. Similar phenomena can be observed in other parts of the world throughout time, so globalism always seems to have been a double-edged sword. Significantly, however, the interest in storytelling can be identified as a globally shared passion, and some of the major narrative accounts, motives, or themes traveled really far, such as the reports about Alexander the Great, the story of the life of Gautama Buddha (*Barlaam and Josaphat*), and, in a rather diffused manner, the collection of *One Thousand and One Nights*.¹⁴²

Another significant consequence of our new approach to pre-modern history, art, philosophy, and literature would be that we incorporate mystical female authors from outside of Europe as equally important for that religious discourse, irrespective of the fact that there were no direct connections, say, between Hildegard of Bingen and the Berber Queen Al-Kāhina (d. 702 C.E.), or between the Chinese Lady Liang, wife of Han Shizhong (1089–1151), a military officer at the Song court, who gained fame as her husband's military companion, and Brunhild in the *Nibelungenlied*, apart from many of the mighty women in the Icelandic sagas, if not also the mystically inspired Joan of Arc (1412–1431), who assumed, shocking for her contemporaries, a leading military role, especially in the conquest of Orléans.

In other words, we could now develop a theoretical and hermeneutic practice for global perspectives in the pre-modern world. This then would strongly encourage us to leave Eurocentrism finally behind and pursue a global approach in pre-modern studies.¹⁴³ It is a very tricky concept to embrace world literature as a research and teaching object because of the infinite number of texts from

badly disjointed that loosely defined world system, so it took until the sixteenth century when the Europeans were able to pick up the fragments and then assume a more global position than ever before. See Thomas W. Blomquist's review of Abu-Lughod's study in *The Business History* 64.2 (1990): 362–63. The Mongols could not hold on to their control over China and Beijing; the Ming dynasty rose, which turned its attention away from the South and oriented itself toward the north, building the famous wall to hold back the Mongols. Thus, the connection with the West was mostly lost, and it took the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the English in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to recreate a global system. See also R. Po-Chia Hsia, "From Marco Polo to Matteo Ricci" (see note 10).

142 Albrecht Classen, "Globale Narrative in der Spätantike und im Mittelalter" (see note 1). It continues to be rather problematic, as I have argued there, to endeavor establishing world literature because that concept has more theoretical value than true practical application.

143 As to Al Kāhina, see Denise K. Filios, "A Woman Mystic in Pre-Islamic North Africa: Al Kāhina in the Futūh Misr" (188–204), and Lan Dong, "History Meets Literary Imagination: The Making of a Twelfth-Century Woman Warrior" (173–87), both in *Women's Lives: Self-Representation, Reception and Appropriation in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honour of Elizabeth Petroff*, ed. Nahir I. Otaño Gracia and Daniel Armenti. Religion and Culture in the Middle Ages (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2022).

throughout time that could be considered together with each other. But when we have common ground, shared experience, and similar themes and motives, then we can indeed begin the practical work in world literature with the understanding that globalism has always been in place to some extent. I have discussed this issue already above, but it deserves to be picked up again at this point as a kind of lead-in for the following contributions that address globalism from many different perspectives.

We can only hope, and work hard toward that goal, that Medieval and Early Modern Studies continue to have a strong and respectable place at the common table of the Humanities, and hence of the academy at large. To study that period through the lens of “globalism” promises to make much more sense in the post-Covid/post-Capitalist society we find ourselves in. Many scholars have made solid attempts to justify or legitimize their fields, but they often fail in taking the necessary steps forward, continuing to bemoan their weakness in the present climate without pursuing innovative perspectives moving beyond the traditional Eurocentric, often still very myopic perspectives of the past and even present generation.¹⁴⁴ As Mathias Herweg warned us recently, we really need to shake off the shackles of nineteenth-century nationalism, along with its Eurocentric perspective, and recognize the high value of the past culture of the Middle Ages as foreign and yet rele-

¹⁴⁴ See, for instance, the not so impressive efforts by the contributors to *Past and Future: Medieval Studies Today*, ed. Maarten J. F. M. Hoenen and Karsten Engel. *Textes et Etudes du Moyen Âge*, 98 (FIDEM) (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021); for a critical but very realistic review, see Lauren Mancia in *The Medieval Review* 22.08.33 (online). Neither Islam nor Judaism are mentioned in that volume, and a vast majority of articles focus on medieval Europe, as if there continued to be iron borders separating that continent from the rest of the world. As Mancia comments, correctly, alas, “Yet the interdisciplinarity in the volume is limited, since it is rarely contained within a single article, and the disciplines represented are only music (1 essay), literature (3 essays), philosophy/theology (5), digital humanities (4), and history (6). This means that art history, archaeology, and material culture are completely ignored; more recent, revolutionary experiments in interdisciplinary work in Medieval Studies, like medical or environmental humanities, or the application of cognitive neuroscience to histories of experience/emotion/the senses, go unmentioned; and future interdisciplinarity (e.g., a scholarly landscape that has eliminated siloed departments entirely; a university where scientists, social scientists, and humanists all work together; or a dystopia in which there are only 5 humanists in each university) are not imagined.” Mathematics, for instance, proved to be a most fertile field, with Islamic, Jewish, and Christian experts exchanging extensively with each other throughout medieval Europe. See now the contributions to *Sourcebook in the Mathematics of Medieval Europe and North Africa*, ed. Victor J. Katz, Menso Folkerts, Barnabas Hughes, Roi Wagner, and J. Lennart Berggren (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016). To what extent Persian or Indian mathematicians and scientists were also involved, remains to be seen.

vant, both for then and for us today.¹⁴⁵ Of course, the roots of nationalism go back to the early Middle Ages, when territorialization transplanted traditional tribal structures. But we cannot really talk about nationalism until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, depending on where we look within European history.¹⁴⁶ Pushing for global approaches in everything we do in pre-modern scholarship builds critical bridges between the current student generation and research, especially because it contextualizes European works or products within a much broader framework, as the example of the many versions of the Alexander the Great myth in literary form indicates, having been highly popular both in the West and in the East.

The post-modern notion of the imminent *Clash of Cultures*, as formulated by the American political scientist, Samuel P. Huntington, first in several articles, then in a monograph under that title in 1996, is not only highly ideological and speculative, if not outright wrong. Studying globalism from a pre-modern perspective strongly suggests, to be sure, that we can assume much more a cooperation and intensive processes of exchange throughout time than a history of conflicts and wars over cultural concepts. The present book hence was put together in the strong hope that cultural-historical analyses can deconstruct polemic notions deliberately driving peoples apart when they really have much more in common and share

145 Mathias Herweg, “Alterität und Kontinuität: Vom interkulturellen Potential der germanistischen Mediävistik,” *Zeitschrift für interkulturelle Germanistik* 8.1 (2017): 11–23; here 15; he also points out the highly popular narrative of *Barlaam und Josaphat*, the story of Gautama Buddha’s life in Christian terms. As he concludes, “alt” heißt mitnichten ‘veraltet’” (21; ‘old’ does not at all simply mean ‘outdated’). See my own comments about both texts above.

146 England and France, along with the various Iberian kingdoms, witnessed much earlier form of nationhood than the Holy Roman Empire, which actually feel pretty much apart already in the fourteenth century (see the Golden Bull, 1355). Scandinavia, Italy, eastern Europe, and then the many other political entities in the eastern Mediterranean, all constitute different cases. See now the discussions about these complex issues by Jenő Szűcs, *The Historical Construction of National Consciousness: Selected Writings*, ed. Gábor Klaniczay, Balázs Trencsényi, and Gábor Gyáni (Budapest, Vienna, and New York: Central European University Press, 2022); online now at <https://openresearchlibrary.org/viewer/318d3e54-d421-4e3b-91a5-8fe0f0c56ac3/6> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). Did nationalism expand the opportunities for globalism, or did it hinder them because of growing political barriers? However, our interest here focuses more on the actual conditions on the ground in terms of commerce, literature, the arts, medicine, travel, philosophy, and generally communication across the linguistic divides. If we consider the establishment of Charlemagne’s empire, certainly an early form of national entity, we recognize that the internal stability built by the emperor evoked the respect and even awe from many different rulers, even those in the Middle East, such as Harun al-Rashid (see the comments about his gifts to Charlemagne above)!

much more their values and ideals than what authors such as Huntington envision for the future of the twenty-first century.¹⁴⁷

Medieval and Modern Globalism

This volume will shed more light on their accomplishments and wants hence to contribute to the deeper understanding of globalism as a universal phenomenon, which then hopefully will contribute also to an improved form of communication among all people as a huge collective community or even family today. There are significant differences, of course, and they will continue to exert their influence, but I believe that there are more elements, values, ideals, and dreams shared by people across the world than not.

If that observation holds true, then there won't be any difficulty comprehending the concept of globalism before globalism and to recognize it as a critically important component of the pre-modern world. We would hence get into an excellent intellectual, historical, and epistemological position to draw from those medieval and early modern experiences concerning interculturality for our own profit today.¹⁴⁸ It is very obvious that today no one single author can write global history;

147 For a good summary of the thesis concerning the clash of cultures, and the history of the term, which was actually used much earlier than in the 1990s, reflecting dangerous fascist concepts, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clash_of_Civilizations. Huntington, of course, tried primarily to predict the future of a post-Cold War world, but his theses could have major negative implications (without justification) concerning all previous cultures. For critical discussions, see Ahmed M. Abozaid, "‘Clash of Civilizations’ at Twenty-Five: Reappraising Huntington’s Legacy: View from the Arab World," *Contemporary Arab Affairs* 11.4 (2018): 135–58; Chiara Bottici and Benoit Chaland, *The Myth of the Clash of Civilizations*. Routledge Advances in Middle East and Islamic Studies, 18 (Abingdon, Oxon, England, and New York: Routledge, 2010). I want to stay clear of this entire political debate which was badly heated up following 9/11, misleading us into a terrible religiously driven ideological worldview.

148 See now the study by Martin Mulsow, *Überreichweiten: Perspektiven einer globalen Ideengeschichte*. Suhrkamp Wissenschaft (Berlin: Suhrkamp, 2022). He claims that the global pioneers in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries opened many epistemological windows onto the world but did not always or consistently manage to digest the wealth of new information. Instead, through duplications, odd analogies, and parallels, much data flowed back and forth across the world, which did not necessarily lead to a consistent new picture: "In diesem Buch wird die Frühe Neuzeit als ein Zeitalter der Überreichweiten interpretiert. Als eine Zeit, in der Quellen aus nah und fern sozusagen dasselbe funkten, ohne daß man mit dieser Verdoppelung zurechtkam oder sie manchmal auch nur bemerkte. Es war eine Epoche, in der sowohl zeitlich als auch räumlich die Weite des Ausgriffs nicht mit dem, was wir heute als die reale Reichweite erkennen, übereinstimmte" (17; In this book the early modern age is interpreted as an age of overextended outreaches, that is,

instead, we need scholarly teams, and this book is the result of such a teamwork. The present ‘introduction,’ however, serves as a platform for this team to start its operation. Martin Mulsow now claims that the global outreaches during the early modern period were mostly the result of miscommunication, misinterpretations, or faulty concepts of other cultures and conditions.¹⁴⁹ However, the evidence presented by individual authors such as Marco Polo, Odorico da Pordenone, or the anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* speaks a different language. Or, to return to the two previous examples, both the Vikings and the Arabs knew exactly where they were going, what they intended to do, and how to go about achieving their goals.

Similarly, the early Polynesians who reached the Hawai’ian Islands between 1219 and 1266 did not simply gamble on finding some firm land on their enormously long voyage. They would not have survived if they did not have very clear ideas about the route to those remote islands.¹⁵⁰ It would be absurd, for instance, to assume that the thirteenth-century Mongols embarked on their mighty military conquests of the entire northern Asian continent and of eastern Europe simply at random and would thus have been rather surprised about their own successes and discoveries. Military leaders throughout time have regularly operated with first-rate geo-political strategies and data and did not naively rely on happenstance or accident.¹⁵¹ The same applies to the Jesuits, founded in 1540 by Ignatius Loyola, whose central purpose was global missionary activities and who systematically set up global networks to achieve their goals most effectively and successfully.¹⁵² I doubt that the notion of “Überreichweiten” (Mulsow) properly addresses the phenomenon we are really dealing with.

as a period when sources from near and far sent out the same signals without the receivers fully grasping that or even noticing that phenomenon. It was an epoch in which both the temporal and the spatial extension of the outreach did not coincide with the real dimensions that we recognize today). I would like to express my gratitude to Reinhold Münster for pointing out this new study to me.

¹⁴⁹ Mulsow, *Überreichweiten* (see note 152).

¹⁵⁰ For the latest scientific data analysis concerning the earliest arrival of Polynesians, see now Janet M. Wilmshurst, Terry L. Hunt, Carl P. Lipo, and Atholl J. Anderson, “High-Precision Radiocarbon Dating Shows Recent and Rapid Initial Human Colonization of East Polynesia,” *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences (PNAS)* 108.5, online at: doi:10.1073/pnas.1015876108 (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

¹⁵¹ See, for instance, David S. Bachrach and Bernard S. Bachrach, “Military Intelligence and Long-Term Planning in the Ninth Century, the Carolingians and Their Adversaries,” *Mediaevistik* 33 (2020): 89–111.

¹⁵² Albrecht Classen, “Globalism *avant la lettre* from a Late Medieval and Early Modern German Perspective” (see note 54).

If we were to accept this theoretical notion at all, then I would rather become a little political and claim that especially the American military has been a victim of that kind of self-deceit and lack of comprehension of foreign cultures and peoples, if we consider the utter failures in Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq, to mention just the most glaring cases. The American hegemon has tried in vain over the last eighty years or so to impose its might globally without gaining a deep knowledge of the local cultures and mentalities, histories and religions, and was finally forced to withdraw its troops in a most humiliating fashion from those far-flung battlefields without having realized any of its promulgated goals and intentions. Exporting democracy by means of weapons has never worked and is a contradiction in itself.

Of course, the situation for the Russian ‘bear,’ i.e., President Vladimir Putin, particularly in the Ukraine (2022/2023), proves to be not much better since he is not at all interested in democracy but aims for a larger Russian empire, perhaps as in the days of the czars, so I wonder why those in power and with a global hunger do not consult with medievalists and early modernists and thus are bound to repeat the same mistakes over and over again. The present volume might not achieve this desired breakthrough for scholarship in modern politics, but it certainly demonstrates to anyone willing to listen that the experiences with globalism already in the pre-modern past offer us most valuable lessons for the present and the future, revealing, for instance, the existence of various global networks, of shared interests and values across continents, and the necessity for all people to observe a considerable degree of respect for the others across the world.

In essence, there is only one humanity, and already in the Middle Ages, if not long before that, the individual family members began to get to know each other through intellectual, cultural, economic, political, and social exchanges and contacts. This does certainly not imply that the premodern world witnessed less violence and wars than we do today, far from it; however, we must acknowledge that our postmodern arrogance regarding our global reaches today is certainly not the first, and certainly not necessarily the best approach in that matter.

Summaries of the Individual Contributions

It appears to be a convenient formula today to talk about globalism, and this also in earlier times, but such glib phrases do not necessarily live up to their expectations when we examine carefully the specific evidence used to support the cases or claims. For instance, many scholars, editors, and publishers have tried their hand at world literature, producing sometimes massive volumes of an encyclopedic kind. Those strategies make good sense when they imply that representative voices from

the entire world and from throughout time are given equal valence.¹⁵³ Whether any reader today can digest all that, remains a rather doubtful matter. Globalism as a concept thus would not necessarily make sense when it naively implies that we consider parallel phenomena next to each other without questioning how they related to each other, whether they formed parts of an intricate network, and influenced each other.

The contributions selected for this volume were hence carefully chosen to address the critical issue as meaningfully as possible. The original versions were mostly first presented at a symposium at the University of Arizona, Tucson, April 30–May 1, 2022, and subsequently thoroughly revised and edited. When we learn, for instance, about the ways how literary material wandered across the world, when we are informed about global economic contacts, or about intellectual, economic, and political contacts exchanges linguistic, religious, and cultural boundaries, then we can expect to recognize true elements of globalism, and this long before the rise of modernity, say, around 1800.

As one contributor to the symposium observed in response to this introductory study, this is a rather optimistic worldview presented here, and I think that I can fully confirm that because probing the issue of globalism in the pre-modern time indicates that there is, indeed, plenty of material or evidence available to confirm that people throughout times were not simply myopic, xenophobic, fearful of the foreign worlds, or parochial. The masses might have and continue to be victims of those negative characteristics, but if we want to understand the past as it laid the foundation for us today, then we must focus particularly on the leading intellectuals, artists, travelers, engineers or building masters to comprehend what was possible then and what some of the most daring and skilled individuals could achieve. All that should be a lesson for us today!

The contributors to this volume come from various parts of the world and represent a variety of disciplines, which is certainly a good sign for research that embraces the notion of globalism both in theoretical, analytic, and practical terms.

153 For a recent example of a successful comparative analysis of modern German and Egyptian literature, see Dalia Aboul Fotouh Salama, “‘Und ihr habt trotzdem keine Macht über mich.’ Chronotopische und heterotopische Aspekte an ausgewählten Figuren in Ala al-Aswanis Roman ‘Der Jakubijân-Bau’ (2002) und Uwe Tellkamps Roman ‘Der Turm’,” *“Die Wissenschaft ist ein Meer ohne Ufer”: Beiträge zum Forschungskolloquium an der Abteilung für Germanistik der Universität Kairo*, ed. Michael Fisch and Dina Aboul Fatouh Salama. *Beiträge zur transkulturellen Wissenschaft* 4 (Berlin: Weidler, 2008), 215–47. There are, of course, countless parallel cases in Medieval Studies; cf. now Albrecht Classen, “India, Persia, and Arabia” (see note 85), and id., “The Fable as a Global Genre” (see note 84). I would go so far as to claim that we would not be able to understand medieval and early modern literature, philosophy, or the arts without a global, comparative perspective in mind.

I am fully aware of major gaps here since no article dealing with engineering, trade, music,¹⁵⁴ or architecture¹⁵⁵ could be included; the focus rests on the history of literature, but in this “introduction” I have tried my best to take stock of what we know about globalism from many different perspectives. This required intensive interdisciplinary investigations, involving the history of textiles, economics, art history, medicine, philosophy, and literature, of course. I can only hope that this volume will thus become a useful rung of the research ladder taking us into the future, increasingly unraveling the true extent to which the many different cultures and peoples across the globe more often than not interacted and exchanged with each other already in the pre-modern period. It is certainly not the first to examine globalism in the pre-modern world, and hopefully also not the last.¹⁵⁶ As the result of a collective effort, it combines many different approaches from East and West.

Individual Perspectives

The contributions to this volume pursue two distinct concepts regarding globalism; on the one hand, the studies examine concrete cases of personal contacts across long distances, mercantile trade, diplomatic exchanges, and the like; on the other,

154 For modern approaches to music in a global context, see now the contributions to *Global – digital – medial: Musik in transkulturellen/traditionellen Räumen und Kontexten. Bericht über die Jahrestagung des ICTM Deutschland 2019*, ed. Edda Brandes, Ralf-Martin Jäger, and Dorit Klebe. Wissenschaftliche Schriften der WWU Münster, Reihe XXVI: Schriften zur Musikwissenschaft aus Münster, 28 (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 2022); cf. also the contributions to *The Music Road: Coherence and Diversity in Music from the Mediterranean to India*, ed. Reinhard Strohm (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019).

155 *City Halls and Civic Materialism: Towards a Global History of Urban Public Space*, ed. Swati Chattopadhyay (London and New York: Routledge, 2014). Cf. also the contributions to *Migration, Integration and Connectivity on the Southeastern Frontier of the Carolingian Empire*, ed. Danijel Dzino, Ante Milošević, and Trpimir Vedriš. East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450–1450, 50 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), which focus on the role of Croatia and its relationship with the Carolingian empire. Fortunately, I could attract at least one art historian; see the contribution to this volume by Nina Gonzalbez in which she reflects on the impact of Islamic architecture on Christian buildings, especially in Zaragoza. For a somewhat daring though certainly very appealing argument, see Diana Darke, “Stealing from the Saracens: How Islamic Architecture Shaped Europe,” online at <https://www.mei.edu/publications/stealing-saracens-how-islamic-architecture-shaped-europe> (Oct. 30, 2020); and her book, *Stealing from the Saracens: How Islamic Architecture Shaped Europe* (London: Hurst & Company, 2020).

156 See, for instance, the Global Middle Ages Project with many relevant papers and teaching material ready for downloading, online at: <http://www.globalmiddleages.org/> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

several authors pursue a broader method, looking at universal ideas, experiences, visions, or structures. **Fidel Fajardo-Acosta**, who launches the volume with his paper, at first discusses globalism and globalization in their distinction, and then turns to the archetypal experience or rather fear of the apocalypse, as expressed in a wide variety of texts from the early to the late Middle Ages addressing eschatological notions. Apocalyptic and eschatological narratives, Fajardo-Acosta proposes, are globalist insights into the problems and possible outcomes of globalization. Globalist knowledge develops as much spatially, by crossing physical barriers and boundaries, as temporally, time-traveling so to speak, learning about the past and also predicting the future. A vast amount of that knowledge, however, is already built into the human body by evolutionary mechanisms. Some of it is experienced as archetypes and informs human responses to, and representations of, the world and of the journeys by which humans have discovered their reality.

From early on in the history of humankind, the protagonist has to follow a certain path, which is unknown, as is its direction and goal. This path, however, whether we think of the Old English *Beowulf* or Dante's passage through *Inferno*, is encumbered by monsters, universal iconographic expressions of archetypal fears and obsessions. Geographic imaginations of otherworlds, of undiscovered continents (Atlantis), of countries with endless treasures (from a European perspective, India), have regularly accompanied medieval and early modern travelogues, both East and West.

The reflections on the Apocalypse thus have regularly served not only as end-points of human history, but also as the keys to the unknown world beyond. This made the idea of Gog and Magog so popular both in European and in Arabic narratives, and we could easily draw further analogies as to the universal desire for epistemological and spiritual enlightenment at the end of time.¹⁵⁷ Consequently, it makes sense, as Fajardo-Acosta helps us to understand, to compare Icelandic sagas with Arabic travelogues and the journey of Dante. The desire to learn what is at the edge of the human mindscape proves to be irrepressible, as modern-day space explorations indicate most stunningly. The sagas tell as much about the course of human history as does the *Divina Commedia*, outlining a map of the eternal migration from this life to the other. Human existence is, after all, determined by the

157 Albrecht Classen, "The Epistemological Function of Monsters in the Middle Ages: From *The Voyage of Saint Brendan* to *Herzog Ernst*, Marie de France, Marco Polo and John Mandeville. What Would We Be Without Monsters in Past and Present!" *Lo Sguardo: Rivista di filologia* 9.2 (2012): 13–34; online at: https://www.academia.edu/6744378/The_Epistemological_Function_of_Monsters_in_the_Middle_Ages_From_The_Voyage_of_Saint_Brendan_to_Herzog_Ernst_Marie_de_France_Marco_Polo_and_John_Mandeville_What_Would_We_Be_Without_Monsters_in_Past_and_Present (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

camino, the route through the material dimension to reach the spiritual sphere for its self-fulfillment.

The purpose of world literature hence would be to show the way how to break the barriers and to clear the path for the future traveler. But Dante's allegorical poem, like the Norse sagas, for instance, also indicates the risks and dangers in that process because all human beings are driven by sinful impulses and can easily fall and destroy the world. Of course, as is the case with all literature, there are endless potentialities, promises, hopes, desires, fears, and dangers. In a global sense, we all have to find our trails, and this realization would be the shared inheritance of pre-modern literature wherever it had been composed. There is always a sense of the abyss we all can fall into, but there is also the hope that we might avoid that horrible experience if we learn the lessons from the past. I am rather pessimistic about that perspective, however, in the current state of affairs globally. Medieval and early modern globalists were far ahead of us in that regard!

Material objects often have their own history, a history that is in many cases not at all simply local, national, or continental. As we have learned already above, many precious objects collected by rulers and high-ranking clerics (bishops) in pre-modern Europe consisted of valuable components that had originated from far away, such as Asia and Africa, which signals a global network on the material level which is difficult to identify but certainly existing.¹⁵⁸ For the medieval knight, in Europe and elsewhere, if we modify the specific label for the man's weapon accordingly, the sword was the most central representative object, and also icon, symbol, and image. **Warren Tormey** in his contribution focuses on the global network of swords and smithing because in many cases the production of swords was dependent on materials from many parts of the world, such as Wootz ore, and the expertise of the master blacksmiths. Famous swords were passed down throughout the generations, they were regarded as great trophies, and enjoyed virtually mythical status, as both literary and historical documents confirm, not to forget the archaeological evidence.¹⁵⁹

158 Again, see the valuable contributions to *Islam in Europa 1000–1250* (see note 50). Naturally, since the focus there rests on objects housed today in cathedral museums, no other secular objects are considered there.

159 Friedrich E. Grünzweig, *Das Schwert bei den "Germanen": Kulturgeschichtliche Studien zu seinem "Wesen" vom Altertum bis ins Hochmittelalter*. *Philologica Germanica*, 30 (Vienna: Fassbaender, 2009); see also the contributions to *Das Schwert – Symbol und Waffe: Beiträge zur geisteswissenschaftlichen Nachwuchstagung vom 19. – 20. Oktober 2012 in Freiburg/Breisgau*, ed. Lisa Deutscher, Mirjam Kaiser, and Sixt Wetzler. *Freiburger archäologische Studien*, 7 (Rahden, Westfalen: Leidorf, 2014); and to *The Sword: Form and Thought: Proceedings of the Second Sword Conference 19/20 November 2015 Deutsches Klingmuseum Solingen* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2019). See also the catalog to the exhibition *Faszination Schwert: große Sonderausstellung im Landesmuseum*

Swords were of extreme importance in military and political terms, and it did not matter where they originated from, as long as they met the demands and fulfilled their function as a noble weapon of the highest significance. This made the sword to a global symbol and a weapon of international value and fame, often associated with a mythical status, as the literary evidence from the Middle Ages confirms richly.¹⁶⁰

Tormey associates this phenomenon with an early form of “branding,” but the key observation still rests in the universal appreciation of the sword as a near sacred object conveying status, respect, and power, apart from its material and aesthetic properties. Hence, the naming of famous swords, as in many heroic epics, such as in the *Poema de Mio Cid*, the *Chanson de Roland*, and in the *Nibelungenlied*, but also in Arthurian romances (*Excalibur*).¹⁶¹ Undoubtedly, many other cultures, such as the Arabic world, Persia, India, China, but also African kingdoms equally treasured the fabled sword, and its universal status has not lost any of its aura, at least among certain social classes.

Tormey also considers various ancient examples, such as Homer’s *Iliad*, where we discover the same respect of, if not admiration for, the sword, and by the same token, the highly reputed blacksmith. The history of metallurgy thus easily opens up global perspectives, along with the focus on international trade in ores and metals and then weapons.¹⁶² Just as in the case of pre-modern architecture, for instance, the study of medieval swords leads us to dismiss many of the traditional myths about the past as underdeveloped, primitive, or barbaric. Little wonder that many times a deceased knight’s grave contained his sword and other weapons. This was not a minor artifact, but a central object and symbol at the same time, values which were shared by many cultures.

One of the most important historical documents mirroring worldviews, geographical awareness, and knowledge about foreign countries and peoples has always been the map, whether a medieval T-O map, a *mappamundi*, or a modern map, printed. Studying maps makes it possible to comprehend the standard, dominant, or innovative perspective behind the creator of such a work or determining the user’s

Württemberg 13. Oktober 2018–28. April 2019 Altes Schloss, Stuttgart (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft Theiss, 2018).

160 Albrecht Classen, “Symbolic Significance of the Sword in the Hero’s Hand: Beowulf, The Nibelungenlied, El Poema de Mio Cid, the Volsunga Saga, and the Njál’s Saga. Thing Theory from a Medieval Perspective,” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 80 (2020): 346–70.

161 Martin Aurell, *Excalibur, Durendal, Joyeuse: la force de l’épée* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2021). For an excellent list of famous swords in history and in literature, with good illustrations, see <https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Espada> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

162 For a good illustration of this economic and political aspect, see the contribution to this volume by Amany El-Sawy.

mentality and level of education. The genres of maps and also of geographical narratives are determined by the fact that each one of them has been based both on traditional learning and empiricism, with the latter being of ever greater importance in the early modern history. **Karen Pinto** once again endeavors to investigate this phenomenon by way of examining an early medieval Visigothic Latin manuscript of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de España (Ms. Vit. 014/003), which contains, she argues, significant glosses by the famous eleventh-century Andalusī geographers, Prince Abū 'Ubayd 'Abdallāh al-Bakrī (1040–1094).

Here we seem to face, contrary to much traditional scholarship, major evidence for direct intellectual exchanges between the Islamic world of learning and that of early medieval Christian scholars, such as Isidore, clearly a sign of early medieval globalism, that is, the creation of a network of learning, from Isidore to al-Bakrī, and from him to many generations of Arabic geographers. Although there are also Latin notes, those date from a later age when the manuscript had been returned to a Christian owner. Whoever actually copied down the Arabic terms, al-Bakrī or one of his teachers such as al-'Udhri, the manuscript appears to prove that the geographic questions pertaining the world in its pictorial representation deeply interested scholars across the religious and linguistic divide. To be sure, the Arabic scholars were certainly intrigued by Isidore's work and elaborated on it, which represents a perfect example of intercultural exchange, the basic foundation for globalism. Most strikingly, there are stunning parallels between Isidore's text and al-Bakrī's eleventh-century encyclopedic geographic treatise, his *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik* (Book of Routes and Realms). In short, it appears quite evident that here we face a scholarly community that shared much of its knowledge irrespective of the different religious and cultural background.

On the basis of wide-ranging evidence across the globe, **William Mahan** argues that human societies throughout time have always known the figure of the outsider, the prankster, the charlatan, the rogue, or the jester. He works as a kind of human mirror to reflect on people's foolishness, evilness, ignorance, and many kinds of failures. Best known in the West prove to be Robin Hood, The Stricker's literary character Pfaffe Amis (Priest Amis), and the uncanny Till Eulenspiegel. Some of them were outlaws, or pirates, or bandits, others were simply entertainers, satirists, or clowns who ridiculed their society and yet taught it valuable lessons. One of those proves to be that these vagrants transgress all borders, both geophysical and social-political ones because they mean little to nothing. For them, social structures were of no concern, whereas laughter is their ultimate goal. Mahan focuses also on historical figures, such as the "Jew" Reichard von Mosbach and the Arabian Banū Sāsān (pl.), underscoring thereby how much the idea expressed or lived out by these individuals was of a universal kind. Naturally, traditional society has always tried to eliminate them by means of excommunication, banishment, penalties, if

not execution, but all this normally to no avail. Other figures known from chronicles were Hannekin Baumgarten and his company of the Star, the English captain Sir John Hawkwood, and Richard Holm, a Yorkshireman. Sometimes, even women assumed the role of pirates or robbers.

Obviously, the desire to transgress the laws, to ridicule people and the authorities, belongs to a universal tendency in people, as the case of the Banū Sāsān illustrate, such as Abū Dulaf who belonged to that group.¹⁶³ Badī az-Zamān and Jammār al-Mashā'ili related many of their tales, which prove to be significantly parallel to the western cases. Mahan takes us even further east and discusses the noteworthy bandit and/or jester Song Jian. Although not a charlatan, but more like a diplomat and travelogue author, Rabban Sauma visited, coming from eastern China, many countries in the west and proved thereby that global travel was not as uncommon as we might have assumed.

Even when a direct comparison between two major political powers might not be possible at first sight, there could be many good reasons for such an analysis, which then would lay the foundation for further investigations of social and political structures that existed more or less parallel to each other. **Quan Gan** suggests to place the early Capetian dynasty in West Francia under Robert I (tenth century, with the chronicles from the eleventh century casting him as a worthy successor to the Carolingians dating) next to tenth-century Wuyue under Qian Liu where each time the ruling house made strong efforts to draw authority and reputation by way of establishing lines of memory of the earlier dynasty, both out of respect and, more importantly, for political calculations.

Power in the public arena is deeply predicated on the use of memory, as many rulers throughout the world have realized and practiced.¹⁶⁴ Ideologically leaning on a highly influential ruler from the past for the own political basis was of extreme importance both in the European and the Chinese kingdom. Ancestry provided a strong historical pedigree, even when a new clan was at the helm of the state. But,

163 See the contributions to *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, Its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 5 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010). See also Alison Williams, *Tricksters and Pranksters: Roguery in French and German Literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. *Internationale Forschungen zur Allgemeinen Vergleichenden Literaturwissenschaft*, 49 (Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi, 2000).

164 For a specific case among the early Habsburg rulers, so around 1500, see Albrecht Classen, "Art, Literature, Manuscripts, Architecture – An Emperor Wants to be Remembered: Emperor Maximilian and the Ambraser Heldenbuch, with a Focus on *Mauritius von Craün*," *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities* 5.2 (2022); online at: DOI <http://dx.doi.org/10.12944/CRJSSH.5.2.01>

as Gan indicates, both rulers, in the West and in the East, faced severe difficulties because of lacking authority due to various circumstances threatening their claims. Their desire to configure a centralized power structure clashed with the situation of the crown lacking that charisma, hence the need for contemporary or subsequent chroniclers' efforts to instrumentalize or manipulate memory for ideological purposes in favor of the new ruling house.¹⁶⁵ In parallel, in China, the Tang dynasty gave way to the Qian clan which was equally forced to utilize almost fabricated historical memory to establish its own authority through a form of self-stylization by way of rewriting political history in Qian Liu's favor.

Of course, Gan does not even suggest that there might have been contacts or communication between both parts of the world. Instead, he argues convincingly that the parallels in manipulating memory for new political ends highlight shared historical processes and invites us further to examine the formation of ideological power, or charisma.¹⁶⁶

There are important lessons to learn for the current political situation in our own world, if we think, for instance, of the Russian President Vladimir Putin's deliberate strategy to align his political and military moves with those of Czar Peter the Great and others.¹⁶⁷ History, or memory, is rather malleable in the hands of the powerful ones who more often than not feel the need to sustain their perhaps rather spurious political claims by way of referring to previous authorities as charismatic figures as a significant source for their own legitimization in a rather contested field.¹⁶⁸

165 See the fundamental study by Mary J. Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*. Cambridge Studies in Medieval Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

166 I have argued recently in support of comparing the charisma which Charlemagne enjoys until today with the charisma exuding from the Hawai'ian King Kamehameha; Albrecht Classen, "Royal Figures as Nation Builders – King Kamehameha and Charlemagne: Myth Formation in the European Early Middle Ages and in Eighteenth-and Nineteenth-Century Polynesian Hawai'i," *Advances in Social Sciences Research Journal* 3.2 (2016): 112–15; online at <http://scholarpublishing.org/index.php/ASSRJ/article/view/1837/pdf>; and in *Journal of East-West Thought* 4.6 (2016): 85–91; online at: <https://journals.calstate.edu/jet/article/view/43> (both last accessed on March 31, 2023).

167 See, for instance, the report on *BBC News*, June 10, 2022; online at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-61767191> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

168 At the very moment when this Introduction was completed, a new volume appeared in which the contributors raise very similar questions, comparing rising empires following the disappearance of ancient powers. I could not consult it yet. See now: *Emerging Powers in Eurasian Comparison, 200–1100 Shadows of Empire*, ed. Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2023). Online, the major thrust of this volume is described by the publisher as follows: "This book compares the ways in which new powers arose in the shadows of the Roman Empire and its Byzantine and Carolingian successors, of Iran, the Caliphate and China in the first millennium CE. These

Even though Christianity and Islam seem to have always been on hostile terms since late antiquity/early Middle Ages, there were many more concrete, personal, and also religious, intellectual contacts and exchanges. While lack of understanding often continued to be the *modus operandi*, and military conflicts dominated the relationship (Crusades, Reconquista, Ottoman attacks of Europe, etc.), there are many opportunities to identify specific forms of complex communication between both sides, as **Abel Lorenzo-Rodríguez** discusses in his contribution. He focuses on the report about the martyrdom of St. Peter and the subsequent ritual by the Catholic Church in Rome to cut the hair and nails of the corpse in memory of his suffering and as a means of imitating his suffering for their own purposes, which became the foundation for monks' tonsure.¹⁶⁹ However, shaving a felon's head, *decalvatio*, as part of a punishment for a crime was regarded as particularly shameful, a practice shared both by the Islamic societies of northern Africa and the Christian world in Europe.

Travelogue writers such as the Syrian-Christian Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā, and the Muslim writers Ibn Rustah and Al-Bakri also reported about this custom in Rome with the corpse of Saint Peter, but regularly with confusion and lack of understanding.¹⁷⁰ The differences between legal prosecution and religious rituals as part of an effort to self-humiliate under Christ seemed to blur fundamental boundaries between penalty and worship. By the same token, scalping the head was a practice promoted by many different cultures since the Roman period, so cutting St. Peter's hair as a sacred act deeply puzzled Muslim observers. After all, in the Muslim penal system, cutting a guilty person's beard or shaving his/her hair was an extreme sign of public shaming. By contrast, for Christians, since the early Middle Ages, scalping also meant deep humiliation, hence it was, in the context of St. Peter's martyrdom, a sign of extreme Christian humbleness. Muslims were aware of this phenomenon but read

new powers were often established by external military elites who had served the empire. They remained in an uneasy balance with the remaining empire, could eventually replace it, or be drawn into the imperial sphere again. Some relied on dynastic legitimacy, others on ethnic identification, while most of them sought imperial legitimation." Gan's article promises to add significantly to the discourse presented here.

169 Romedio Schmitz-Esser, *Der Leichnam im Mittelalter: Einbalsamierung, Verbrennung und die kulturelle Konstruktion des toten Körpers*. *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, 48 (2014; Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 2016), translated by Albrecht Classen and Carolin Radtke as *The Corpse in the Middle Ages: Embalming, Cremation, and the Cultural Construction of the Dead Body* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, Brepols, 2020), 446–49. He does not, however, engage with this specific ritual pertaining to the corpse of St. Peter.

170 Rome was, of course, constantly visited by many pilgrims, intellectuals, diplomats, clerics, etc. See now Julian Gardner, *Fracta Doces: Thirteenth-Century Insular Visitors to Rome*. *Viella History, Art and Humanities Collection*, 13 (Rome: Viella-libreria editrice, 2022).

it rather in light of their penal explanations, which led to considerable confusion. We face here a fascinating complex issue of transcultural translation and miscommunication because the interpretation of scalping did not necessarily work well across the divide of the legal and the religious discourse. St. Peter's martyrdom aroused much interest in both cultures, but the interpretation of *decalvatio* still diverged fundamentally, which indicates until today what difficulties there have always been to build epistemological bridges between cultures even when they were in contact with each other.

One of the most important conditions for globalism has always been human curiosity, the desire to learn more, or new ideas, and thus to progress in one's own development. Both philosophers and scientists, but then also poets and medical scholars have commonly pursued that path throughout history, sometimes with more, sometimes with less success. In order to comprehend today how this translation or transmission process took place, it proves to be most effective to look at individual intellectual giants who managed to draw from a large pool of older documents or images, for instance, either in a foreign language or their own, and to translate the information contained in them for their own purposes. That person's fame, wisdom, and charisma then assisted in spreading that knowledge even further, which thus set a global process into motion.

We have known already for a long time about the fundamental translation process from ancient Greek into medieval Arabic, and from there to Hebrew and Latin, which ultimately led to vernacular translations in medieval Europe (in Toledo and Salerno), all of which subsequently triggered in many ways the rise of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance.¹⁷¹ **Maha Baddar**, in her contribution, traces one of the most important lines of transmissions established by the Arabic scholar al-Kindī (800–873 C.E.), identifying in him thus a kind of early globalist who connected various cultures, philosophical schools, and major works of learning through his translation efforts and interpretations. While working in Baghdad, al-Kindī created intellectual bridges between Arabic, Syriac, Sanskrit, and Persian, and his work in turn became a major source of influence on Hebrew and Latin scholars in the West. Baddar observes a strong effort by al-Kindī and his circle of scholars to synthesize

171 Gerhard Endress, "The Circle of al-Kindī: Early Arabic Translations from the Greek and the Rise of Islamic Philosophy," *The Ancient Traditions in Christian and Islamic Hellenism: Studies on the Transmission of Greek Philosophy and Sciences Dedicated to H.J. Drossaart Lulofs on His Nineteenth Birthday*, ed. Gerhard Endress and Remke Kruk. CNWS Publications, 50 (Leiden: CNWS, 1997), 43–76; Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early 'Abbasid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998); *Texts in Transit in the Medieval Mediterranean*, ed. Tzvi Y. Langermann and Robert G. Morrison (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016).

and hybridize knowledge from the ancient Greeks and thus to make it available to many other scholars in different languages.

Particularly because al-Kindi examined the properties of the human soul, his own teachings, drawing from so many different traditions, also appealed to the Christian world. Most importantly, however, he adapted, for instance, Plato's teachings to the Islamic faith, omitting and adding texts to the original source. Many of his ideas soon became standard concepts in medieval Arabic philosophy and theology, reaching also the western world, for instance, through the *Liber sextos de naturabilis*. While Baddar focuses appropriately mostly on al-Kindi's theological writing, we always have to keep in mind the vast dissemination of his teachings and that of his successors to readers both in East and West. For instance, he introduced Indian numerals to the Arabic world, from where they migrated to the Christian universe. He was also deeply influential in mathematics and medical sciences, such as cryptanalysis and frequency analysis. Although scholarship has long acknowledged his major contributions to philosophy, his work also deserves to be viewed through the lens of global connections, translation, and influence both within the Islamicate world and in medieval Europe.¹⁷² Al-Kindi was overshadowed by subsequent Arabic philosophers, but his impact on the science of optics, for instance, had deep and lasting influence on medieval and early modern writers (such as Roger Bacon [ca. 1220–1290] who happily referred to him as one of their great role models and sources of inspiration.¹⁷³

Globalism does not mean that those involved in exchange of ideas and goods were simply in full agreement with each other. The entire history of toleration and tolerance underscores the discursive nature of the religious dialogue, for instance.¹⁷⁴ When people agree to disagree, for instance, they have already established a high level of mutual respect, though not acceptance. The situation at the

172 See, for instance, John Marenbon, *Medieval Philosophy: An Historical and Philosophical Introduction* (London and New York: Routledge, 2007), 69–70; for more global approaches, see *The Cambridge Companion to Arabic Philosophy*, ed. Peter Adamson. Cambridge Companions to Philosophy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

173 David C. Lindberg, "Alkindi's Critique of Euclid's Theory of Vision," *Isis* 62.4 (1971): 469–89; id., *Theories of Vision from al-Kindi to Kepler*. University of Chicago History of Science and Medicine (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), 19; David Deming, *Science and Technology in World History*, vol. 2: *Early Christianity, the Rise of Islam and the Middle Ages* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 92; Peter Adamson, "al-Kindi," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2006; with substantial revisions, 2020); online at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/al-kindi/#Leg> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

174 Albrecht Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern European Literature*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture, 8 (New York and London: Routledge, 2018; paperback, 2021); id., *Religious Toleration in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age* (see note 98).

court of the Mongol Khans, for instance, was such a case where the representatives of various religions competed against each other, but peacefully. The anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) also confirmed that religious toleration was mostly in place at the Mamluk court in Cairo.¹⁷⁵

One of our central questions hence pertains to the issue whether and how intellectuals and spiritual leaders across the various barriers communicated with each other during the Middle Ages. **Najlaa Aldeeb** in her contribution focuses on the letter sent by Paul of Antioch (mid-twelfth to early thirteenth centuries) to a Muslim friend to inform him about what the Byzantines thought about Islam.¹⁷⁶ This letter was later edited and modified by an anonymous Arabic-speaking Christian apologist in Cyprus in 1316, and then reached the Muslim theologian Ibn Taymiyya, who in turn wrote a refutation in his book *Al-Jawāb Al Ṣaḥīḥ* [The Right Answer]. Unsurprisingly, he argued strongly against Paul's reading, but just as in many other late medieval European cases (Peter Abelard, Ramon Llull, Nicholas of Cusa, etc.), no hostility sprang from that intellectual exchange; instead, a conversation was started in intellectual terms bridging time and space, at least in writing.

In the original letter, Paul did not belittle or dismiss Islam and the Qur'an; on the contrary, he quoted from it and engaged with it seriously, although he accredited Christianity with being the only true religion. Ibn Taymiyya responded, though not directly in person, of course, in a similar fashion, so an entire polemic emerged among Muslim scholars who were naturally opposed to Paul's claims. The dynamic exchange among the various Arabic authors concerning these allegedly false assumptions confirms that globalist channels existed already at that time, long before the Enlightenment, for instance. Both sides appeared to have agreed on some fundamental aspects concerning their respective Scriptures, and then, however, disagreed regarding others concerning their individual faith, as to be expected in all religious discourse.

One of the particular values of literature has always been, and this across the world, that it can be easily shared across all linguistic, religious, or philosophical divides. Of course, as I have already discussed above, the notion of world literature proves to be rather problematic, especially when texts from very different cultures are simply placed next to each other without any justification, apart from the fact that they might share generic features (the ballad, the heroic epic, the dawn song, etc.). But there are most important cases of poems, songs, or fables that truly migrated across the globe, such as the fable, as **Abdoulaye Samaké** and

¹⁷⁵ See my own contribution to this volume.

¹⁷⁶ David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch," *Christian-Muslim Relations 600–1500*, online at: https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/christian-muslim-relations-i/paul-of-antioch-COM_25473 (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

Amina Boukail demonstrate in their shared contribution. In particular, they trace the evolution of the fable of the “Ring Dove” contained in the Indian/Persian *Kalila wa-Dimna* first in the Arabic and Hebrew versions, and then in the Old French, Middle High German, and Castilian versions.

There are, quite naturally, specific changes as a result of new cultural conditions and linguistic requirements, but in essence, the philosophical and ethical values contained in that story has remained the same and actually continues to appeal to us until today. Here we face not only a ‘classical’ case of reception history (Jauss), but also a demonstration that peoples throughout times and across cultural barriers enjoyed many more connections and exchanges than we might have thought possible. Of course, today, successful stories, songs, movies, novels, etc., are quickly translated into various languages and thus can appeal to many different readers, all of them actually members of one global community. Even though that translation process took much longer in the past, it still took place because the ideals and values expressed in those fables were obviously shared globally.

Behind the animals speaking, we hear humans, and those face ethical, moral, religious, and other challenges, if not their own ignorance and stupidity. Learning from past examples, as strongly insinuated by fables, provides the crucial stepping-stone for people truly to learn, to draw from past experiences and to translate those into valuable lessons for the future. But who is reading fables any longer nowadays? Could it be that our predecessors were much more globally inclined than we might be, especially because we live in such a seemingly global world because they knew so much better how to appreciate the teachings coming from different cultures (friendship, mutual help, respect, intelligent handling of problems, collaboration, etc.)?

Intriguingly, despite the patriarchal framework in the various societies where those fables were disseminated, the ideal figure, the leader of the ring doves, is female and succeeds in rescuing her people (especially in the Hebrew version where she becomes the queen of all birds). Although we tend to talk about the rise of rationality as the crucial *modus operandi* only characteristic since the eighteenth century (Locke, Voltaire, Kant, etc.), the fables indicate how much rationality was already critically at work in ancient and medieval times, and this across the world.¹⁷⁷ Each literary-historical epoch witnessed, of course, some adaptations and

177 Dominik Büschken, *Herkunft als Argumentation: Wahrnehmung, Deutung und Funktion sozialer Mobilität in der englischen Gesellschaft des 12. Jahrhunderts*. Studien zu Macht und Herrschaft, 12 (Göttingen: V& R unipress/Bonn University Press, 2020), 154–59; Albrecht Classen, “Self-Control, Rationality, Ethics, and Mutual Respect: A Dominican Poet Addresses His Audience and Calls Them to Reason. Ulrich Bonerius’s *The Gemstone* (1350),” *Studien zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur / Alman Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* 47 (2022): 1–25. DOI: 10.26650/sdsl2021-1039647; id., “The

modifications, but in essence, fable literature continues until today to convey fundamental human values and ideals. Unfortunately, for many people today, fables are only texts for children, but in essence, as this study by Samaké and Boukail indicates, this genre confirms in strong terms the universal dimensions of sharing knowledge and especially wisdom across continents, languages, religions, and even ideologies.

In **my own** contribution, I draw on the anonymous account under the title *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) in which we encounter a major contribution to medieval globalism *avant la letter*. The author spent many years in the Middle East and left us highly detailed comments about the various kingdoms (including Armenia and Georgia), and especially about the Mamluk court in Cairo. Here we encounter a western observer who, though certainly Christian – he might have been a diplomat in the service of the Archbishop of Cologne – held surprisingly open-minded views of the other religions and paid considerable respect to the various cultures and peoples in that region.

Of course, this anonymous author was only one of the small elite group of international travellers, such as Marco Polo or Odorico da Pordenone. But he was in a good company of likeminded intellectuals, such as the Arab Ibn Battuta and the Chinese Rabban Sauma, almost all of them contemporaries who crisscrossed the world and demonstrated through their travels and then their subsequent writing that certainly well before the early modern age globalism was already alive and well. The author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* must have spent many years in the Middle East, and he also appears to have studied many texts from other authors about the various countries in that region. His account thus proves to be an ingenious amalgamation of personal experiences, learned comments, and also the typical monster lore and fantasies of the mysterious East. Most important proves to be the author's open mindedness, acknowledging that the foreigners whom he encountered must have viewed him and other Europeans just as 'others' as he regarded the people in the Middle East. In short, this significant treatise, unfortunately not popular at all at its time and rediscovered and recognized in its anthropological and historical significance only recently, firmly demonstrates that the pre-modern world was certainly aware of the global context and embraced global

Emergence of Rationality in the Icelandic Sagas: The Colossal Misunderstanding of the Viking Lore in Contemporary Popular Culture," *Humanities* 11: 110 (2022), <https://www.mdpi.com/2076-0787/11/5/110>. Special issue: *Medieval Scandinavian Studies Today: Whence, Where, Why*; online at: https://www.mdpi.com/journal/humanities/special_issues/medieval_Scandinavian Special Issue for *Humanities*, ed. Alexander van Nahl; <http://doi.org/10.3390/h11050110>; id., "Exploration of Rationality: The Stricker's Contributions to the Intellectual Revolution in the Thirteenth Century," to appear in *Arthuriana*.

networks wherever they could be found as a positive phenomenon. Of course, both here and in many other cases, the anonymous author was just one voice; the chorus was simply not there yet. Nevertheless, throughout the pre-modern age, there were many single voices, and they reached out far and wide and embraced the globe as their home.

The anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, like his predecessors and contemporaries Marco Polo or John of Piano Carpini (from the West), or Ibn Fadlān and Ibn Battuta (from the East) pursued their global travels for mercantile, religious, or scientific purposes. At the same time, less known for us as to how it actually worked, ancient Greek philosophy and medical treatises were handed down via translations to many different cultures. Knowledge, after all, easily overcomes any kind of barrier, and this was also very much the case in the early Middle Ages when particularly Arabic scholars translated Greek texts into Arabic and thus preserved that information not only for themselves, but later handed it down to their European successors via a variety of Hebrew and then Latin translations.

Chiara Benati and **Marialuisa Caparrini** jointly investigate the circulation of surgical information from the Cordoban medical scholar Albucasis (ca. 936–1013) into the Latin-speaking world of high and late medieval surgeons. Albucasis himself had drawn his insights from ancient doctors such as Hippocrates and Paul of Aegina, when he composed his encyclopedia *Kitab al-Tasrif* (The Method of Medicine), which also includes a section on surgery, and his work was then translated by Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187) after he had arrived in Toledo in 1170, into Latin, soon followed by other translations into French and Occitan. The majority of the Latin manuscripts were produced in northern Italy.

One of the most famous students was Lanfranc of Milan ca. hundred years later, who had to move from Milan to France for political reasons. But in Paris, he gained great respect as a teacher and practitioners, particularly in the field of surgery. His *Chirurgia parva* was translated into a variety of European vernaculars, so the ancient medical knowledge passed further on, ever widening the medical network. His *Chirurgica magna* represented a full-blown examination of surgery, and it was based both on Lanfranc personal experience and his extensive studies. So it was yet another channel for ancient Greek knowledge via the Arabs reaching the European counterparts. Although he mentions Albucasis only once, it is obvious that he depended on his writings quite heavily, as the specific instructions for various surgical operations indicate. In other words, here we observe a direct communication between ancient Greece, medieval Arabia, and medieval Europe in medical terms.

Lanfranc's translations, or rather his two medical treatises, also exerted a deep influence on medical schools in England. Although the name of Albucasia was mostly replaced by that of Mesue the Elder or Mesue the Younger (d. in Cairo in 1015), there

is no doubt that his insights continued to exert a great influence. We also observe that late medieval German surgeons such as Otto von Brunfels, Hieronymus Brunschwig, and Hans von Gersdorff followed the same path, recognizing easily the high value of Lanfranc's work for their own practice, that is, Albucasis's original insights based on his concrete experimentations. The history of medicine thus proves to be global from early on and continues to be so until today because every new knowledge about the human body and about healing methods or surgery has always been welcomed by the learned and the practitioners.

As I have already indicated numerous times above, to reach a good understanding of globalism in the pre-modern world, we must try to combine as much diverse data and collect evidence from different fields of investigation as possible. For that reason, the contribution by the art historian **Nina Maria Gonzalbez** who focuses on the influence of Arabic style on Iberian architecture in Zaragoza is most welcome. Both here and elsewhere, the Mediterranean was a major contact zone where many ideas and goods were exchanged, hence where people from many different cultures from far away met and engaged with each other, both from Africa, Asia, and Europe. Cosmopolitan individuals, such as the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Lope Fernández de Luna (r. 1351–1382), were at the forefront of promoting an international style for their own (funeral) monuments, in this case the funerary chapel of San Miguel. Most dramatically, it stands out because of its 'mudéjar' elements, especially in the impressive tile work. Gonzalbez urges us, however, not to confuse this artistic hybridization with strategies to elaborate architecturally a dimension of religious toleration. Instead, which fits much better within the larger picture of globalism before early modern globalism, Luna was, virtually, a very worldly man, a fully-fledged diplomat in the service of King Pedro IV of Aragón and delighted in bringing home with him, so to speak material elements from foreign cultures, especially from the Islamic world. Gonzalbez observes, for instance, also Italian style in the ceiling paintings, and she also points out that the chapel still reflected in some way the ancient Visigoth style in the original building.

The same approach was pursued by architects in other Mediterranean port cities such as Venice and Genoa since the 'mudéjar' style was so popular. It did not mirror religious open-mindedness, but cosmopolitanism which recognized the Arabic world as a respectable, if not even admirable partner in the wider world. Arabic style in textiles, architecture, paintings, and sculpture was highly attractive in the Christian Mediterranean context, but we might later cast our net more widely and study carefully further evidence of mudejar elements in neighboring countries to the north, maybe even beyond the Alps, such as in the imperial city of the Holy Roman Empire. Gonzalbez certainly identifies a form of "pan-Iberianism," as she calls it, but it might even be fitting to talk here of internationalism in architectural terms. To what extent, however, European Christian artists, muralists, or designers

exported their ideas or styles to the south, the Muslim world, remains to be explored in the future.¹⁷⁸

Unfortunately, contacts have also often led to conflicts, conquests, and bitter wars, which many times ironically brought together individuals from numerous countries and cultures. Far into the early modern time, there were not yet standing armies, and instead, many military units consisted of a mix of people, mercenaries from distant regions, territories, or kingdoms, just as the practical needs required. Icelanders, for instance, served in the Varangian Guard for the Byzantines, the Mongols employed countless troops recruited from the various countries they had conquered, and the Ottomans drew many of their fierce fighters from slaves they had captured on their previous war campaigns, and so on. A modern example would be the large contingents of Hessian troops fighting as mercenaries on behalf of the British in the Thirteen Colonies during the Revolutionary War (1775–1783). And currently (2023), it is hard to say how many internationals are supporting the Ukrainians directly in the front battles against the Russians, but they certainly exist.

In his contribution, **Leo Donnarumma** examines the clash of Ottoman troops against the Neapolitan army in the battle of Otranto in 1480, which was also a clash of divergent war technologies, fighting strategies, weapons, and leadership structures. As we have already noted, and as Donnarumma specifies, the Neapolitan army consisted of fighters from many parts of Europe, just as we would see it later in the Thirty Years' War waged on the soil of the Holy Roman Empire (1616–1648). Those Neapolitan fighters belonged to a number of specific military units with unique tasks when fighting with their particular weapons, strategies, and operations. It would be justified to talk here about a real European Renaissance army.

By the same token, the Ottomans had also built up their army by recruiting from a large number of different peoples, including their slave mercenaries (Janissaries) who made up a separate and fierce military unit. Both armies pursued contrastive strategies and thus enjoyed both advantages and disadvantages over the other side, also depending on the availability of their specific weapons, including cavalry and artillery. Although the Ottomans conquered Otranto on August 11, 1480, only a year later, the Neapolitan army was successful in its siege and could recapture the city after the opponents had surrendered in August of 1481, and then left Italy a month later. In other words, this war was a remarkable instance of an international clash, with troops from many nations, cultures, and religions. It would be intriguing to

¹⁷⁸ For a fairly strongly worded argument in favor of the dominance of Islamic art in medieval Europe, see Darke, *Stealing from the Saracens* (see note 155); for an excellent selection of striking examples of tapestry, glassware, paintings, and architectural elements, see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_influences_on_Western_art (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

examine further how they all communicated with each other, but we can be certain that here we face an unexpected phenomenon of (military) globalism.¹⁷⁹

Many of those more peaceful global contacts, meetings, influences, and exchanges were often only possible after the political groundwork had been established, which is still the case today. Diplomats already then operated much more strategically and intensively than we might know generally in public, as I have already argued in light of the case of the anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, and as a good number of literary texts illustrates, such as Rudolf von Ems's *Der guote Gêhart*.¹⁸⁰ We have also heard of the exchange of gifts between the fifth Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid in Baghdad and Emperor Charlemagne, including an elephant. To be sure, they have always been the major promoters of globalism, and that also in the Middle Ages and beyond.¹⁸¹ What do we hence know about the practical aspects of the life and activities of diplomats?

179 See the contributions to *La conquista turca di Otranto (1480) tra storia e mito: atti del convegno internazionale di studio, Otranto – Muro Leccese, 28–31 marzo 2007*, ed. Hubert Houben. 2 vols. Saggi e testi / Università del Salento, Dipartimento dei Beni delle Arti e della Storia, 42 (Galatina: Congedo, 2008); and Liviu Pilat and Ovidiu Cristea, *The Ottoman Threat and Crusading on the Eastern Border of Christendom During the 15th Century*. East Central and Eastern Europe in the Middle Ages, 450 – 1450, 48 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018). Contemporaries were quite aware about the imminent danger of an Ottoman attack on Otranto and the conquest of the city, which seemed like a fable for the western world as if Rome would then soon suffer the same destiny as Constantinople in 1453; see Ludwig von Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*. Vol. 2. Ninth ed. (Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1925), 560–61, and Agostino Pertusi, *Martino Segono di Novo Brdo, vescovo di Dulcigno: un umanista serbo-dalmata del tardo Quattrocento, vita e opere*. Studi storici, 128/130 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1981), 69–71.

180 See, for instance, Fritz Ernst, “Über Gesandtschaftswesen und Diplomatie an der Wende vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit,” *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 33.1 (1950): 65–95; or the contributions to *Ambassadors, Artists, Theologians: Byzantine Relations with the Near East from the Ninth to the Thirteenth Centuries*, ed. Zachary Chitwoog and Johannes Pahlitzsch. Byzanz zwischen Orient und Okzident, 12 (Mainz: Verlag des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums, 2019). Cf. also the contributions to *Der Bruch des Vertrages: die Verbindlichkeit spätmittelalterlicher Diplomatie und ihre Grenzen*, ed. Georg Jostkleigrewe, with the assistance of Gesa Wilangowski. Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung. Beiheft, 55 (Berlin: Duncker&Humblot, 2018). In fact, much of political history has been determined by diplomatic history, so there is a rather large body of relevant research available that could support our investigations of pre-modern globalism. As to Rudolf's romance, see Albrecht Classen, “Modelle politischer und persönlicher Kommunikation in der Literatur des deutschen Spätmittelalters” (see note 134).

181 See now Nick Ridley, *Diplomacy Through the Ages: From Liar Abroad to Global Peace-Maker* (New York and London: Routledge, 2023). His focus rests on the last 500 years and does not extend backwards to the Middle Ages or antiquity, but the history of diplomacies can certainly be traced even to antiquity. See also Dante Fedele, *Naissance de la diplomatie moderne (XIIIe–XVIIe siècles)*. Studien zur Geschichte des Völkerrechts, 36 (Baden-Baden: Nomos/Dike Verlag Zürich/St. Gallen, 2017).

In his study, **Peter Dobek** focuses on the narrow but meaningful aspect of public houses, or inns, taverns, and alehouses where diplomats stayed and about which they reported regularly in their letters, such as those composed by Ioannes Dantiscus (*Jan Dantyszczek*) (1485–1548). He served various Polish kings and attended many European courts as part of his duties. Although he does not seem to have crossed into non-European territory, we observe in him one of the best travelled individuals in the West during his time. Instead of tracing this diplomat's larger political agenda or the exchanges with his colleagues, Dobek takes into view all of their many personal comments about public houses, that is, their accommodations and the meals they took alone or in company. As mundane as this focus might be, it proves to be critical for all travels throughout time, whether we think of Marco Polo or modern-day travelers. In other words, the specific details about the public houses and their owners shed much light on the material conditions of the global network constituted by diplomats. Those included payments, food, drinks, a stable for the horse, wagons, the availability of messengers, etc. Only if this network of public houses existed, was the full establishment of the diplomatic connections possible. As the correspondence reveals, the cost factor was enormous and represented a true hardship on those diplomats; something we hardly ever hear from famous travelers such as Marco Polo or Felix Fabri. Ironically, the topic of alcoholic beverages mattered much, probably because many times the diplomats had nothing to do while waiting for an audience with the king or other authorities.

Public houses were also centers of communication because the diplomats received letters and sent out their own during their longer stays at those locations. Not surprisingly, this also meant that many political negotiations took place in those public houses. Dobek also points out that diplomats helped each other out to arrange for accommodations, or food and drinks, and they all operated like an international corps of colleagues. Other issues of concern were illness, loneliness, sexual desires (hence, the availability of prostitutes), and essentially communication, both political and personal in nature.¹⁸²

While Ioannes Dantiscus operated mostly within Europe 'only,' the English crown during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries realized a great need to circumvent the 'blockade' by the Habsburgian empire, especially Spain, but then also Genoa and Venice, all of them trying to control the profitable trade with the Ottomans and hence with the Middle Eastern and Far Eastern markets. The war between England and Spain, with the Spanish armada getting destroyed in 1588,

¹⁸² For this huge topic, see now the contributions to *Communication, Translation, and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: New Cultural-Historical and Literary Perspectives*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 26 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2022).

left England in a grave economic plight, so the crown under Elizabeth I embarked on a new diplomatic endeavor, which was to translate into rather successful new trade connections with the Ottoman empire. **Amany El-Sawy** explores this intriguing diplomatic history by way of studying the rich correspondence exchanged between the various English diplomats stationed in Istanbul, such as William Harborne, Edward Barton, and Henry Lello, and the court back home. Correctly refuting the rather misleading theoretical concept by Edward Said (*Orientalism*, 1978) at least in this case, El-Sawy observes that those English diplomats approached their task not with an Orientalist attitude but with a deep sense of responsibility for their obligation of creating an efficient political and then economic trading system supporting both countries in defiance of the other European powers. Essentially, both partners would need each other for their respective products, and the relevant correspondence clearly indicates the degree to which Harborne or Barton embraced the Ottomans with great respect and as equals in their political negotiations.

Their activities led to the formation of a major trading company which then could engage in actual business with Istanbul. Contemporary literature by Marlowe and Shakespeare here comes, not so surprisingly, to our aid insofar as these new diplomatic relations were also reflected in their plays, which in turn influenced the English public to accept this new paradigm in international relationships.

El-Sawy also notes that Queen Elizabeth I operated somewhat on her own to promote this new alliance with the Ottoman Empire by way of establishing a significant correspondence with Murad III's favorite concubine, the most powerful Sultana Safiye, a former Albanian slave, who gained the highest possible position a woman could hold at that court, a Haseki Sultan (chief consort).¹⁸³ While Murad increasingly turned to religion, Safiye basically took over the political business and thus became the ideal person whom Elizabeth could contact personally to achieve the greatest breakthrough in establishing this connection between both powers. Significantly, the Sultana tended to use her own female scribe to compose her letters, which were simpler and more direct in style than those by the male diplomats. This also means that Edward Said's famous notion of Orientalism is in dire need of being strongly modified and corrected, at least for the early modern period with respect to countries such as England and the Holy Roman Empire regarding their relationship with the court in Istanbul. Both Elizabeth I and the Sultana Safiye acknowledged each other and recognized the great value of political and economic ties between

¹⁸³ Leslie Penn Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire*. Studies in Middle Eastern History (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Maria Pia Pedani, "Safiye's Household and Venetian Diplomacy," *Turcica* 32 (200): 9–32; online at: doi:10.2143/TURC.32.0.460; Simona Negruzzo, *La "cristiana impresa": L'Europa di fronte all'Impero Ottomano all'alba del XVII secolo*. Acta et studia, 16 (Milan: Cisalpino, Istituto editoriale Universitario, 2019).

both powers. There would not be any need to underscore or explain further why El-Sawy's study fits so well into our volume, providing an excellent case study in support of globalism before modern globalism.

While world history has often been determined by religious conflicts, pitting, for instance, Hindus against Buddhists, Christians against Jews, Muslims against all others, etc., there have also been attempts throughout time by some individuals to reach out across the aisle and to understand the other side, at least by trying to translate the various Scriptures and other major documents. Hermeneutically speaking, of course, all Scriptures have provoked different interpretations, translations, and comprehension.¹⁸⁴ Most difficult proved to be, for medieval and early modern Christians, starting with Robert Ketton in the twelfth century, the effort to translate properly the Qur'an, which was attempted numerous times for a variety of reasons.

But translation, until today, is a rather complex operation, and every good translator knows only too well of the deep challenges every word and sentence can constitute. What knowledge, what text, deserves to be translated? And how trustworthy is the translation? In her contribution, **Sally Abed** engages not with biblical texts or verses from the Qur'an, but with a major travelogue provided by Leo Africanus, a first significant description of parts of Africa which was to influence much of early modern geographical scholarship.

This *Description of Africa* (1526, originally in Italian) has remained one of the very few accounts of the southern continent – it covered mostly the northern coastline and west Africa, plus some territory below the Sahara region – and was happily read by early modern Europeans who obviously appreciated it considerably as indicated by the various renderings into other languages. It was first translated into English by John Pory in 1600, which remains surprisingly the only one until today. Pory was an extensive traveler himself and made his way both to the Ottoman Empire and to the New World, so it is not surprising to learn of his great interest in Leo's account.

¹⁸⁴ Reinhold Rieger, "Neue theologische Hermeneutik im 15. Jahrhundert," *Das 15. Jahrhundert*, ed. Günter Frank, Franz Fuchs, and Mathias Herweg. Melancthon-Schriften der Stadt Bretten, 15 (Stuttgart-Bad Canstatt: frommann-holzboog, 2021), 403–35; here 403–04; this section I have translated into English for my students because it is so well formulated and concise, even though Rieger focuses on fifteenth-century philosophy; online at: <https://aclsassen.faculty.arizona.edu/sites/aclsassen.faculty.arizona.edu/files/Rieger.hermeneutics.pdf>. There is, of course, much philosophical literature on hermeneutics. See, for a good summary, Theodore George, "Hermeneutics" *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta; online at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2021/entries/hermeneutics/> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

However, Pory offered additions, remodeled the text to some extent, and injected his own perspective, which Abed discusses in her contribution through a close comparison of the original Italian with the English translation. In contrast to the source, Pory commented on the various African princes, discussed the various religions practiced, and drew strongly from the narrative models for this genre provided by classical authors. We could say, as Abed notes, that Pory imposes himself extensively on his source and adapted it considerably for his own purposes, casting Africa mostly in the traditional model determined by monsters and also the mythical Prester John. Leo, on the other hand, was primarily concerned with the real facts on the ground, which he then contextualized globally concerning trade between various African kingdoms and the Mediterranean powers. We could say that Pory mythologized Leo's report, transforming it into a palimpsest for his own purposes, and thus achieved particular success on the early modern book market for himself.¹⁸⁵

Globalism finds excellent expression in the translation and adaptation of literary texts, such as fables, in the copying of architectural designs (such as in Zaragoza), in diplomatic relations, in shared archetypes across the world, in travelogues and related texts, and also in the export of and commerce with economic or medical products. **David Tomíček** pursues this angle by way of looking at the evidence from late medieval Czech sources dealing with medical products and spices imported to Bohemia from the Middle East, especially pepper and bezoar. The situation on the Czech/Bohemian markets was not particularly different from that in other European cities, so his case studies shed important light on the global conditions of international trade in medicinal goods. The great popularity of John Mandeville's *Travels* in Bohemia during the late Middle Ages had already underscored the popular concept of the Orient/East with its various markets from which spices were exported to Europe. What was particularly relevant for the Bohemian audiences, Mandeville explained specifically where relevant production sites, markets, and trading routes existed, irrespective of the fact that the author was, in all likelihood, an armchair traveler. As fanciful as the *Travels* certainly were, the practical or informative side of this account was obvious and so appealed to wide audiences.

Another major source of information was the account about the eastern world by Franciscan friar John of Marignolli (ca. 1290–1358/59), who discussed many details pertaining to the eastern fauna and flora as well in his *Chronicle of the Czechs*, and who argued specifically against the myths of giants and monsters in the

¹⁸⁵ For parallel strategies in early modern Germany, see Stephanie Leitch, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). She does not, of course, engage with Leo or with Pory.

classical tradition. Of course, Marco Polo's *Travels* were also popular in the Czech language. While pepper assumed a central role in all of those texts, bezoar as a panacea against poisoning was mentioned many times as well, such as by Johannes de Göttingen (ca. 1280–1349) and Peter of Abano (1257–1316). Knowledge about bezoar originated in the Arabic world, first discussed more extensively by Ahmad al Tifashi (1184–1253), otherwise known as Mahamed ibn Ririfus.

A fairly large number of Czech travelers and hence travelogue authors reported at length about the wealth of food items, spices, and other products on Islamic markets, especially in Egypt, such as the merchant Martin Kabátník (1428–1503), the nobleman Bohuslav Hasištejnský of Lobkowicz (1461–1510), Jan Hasištejnský of Lobkowicz (1450–1517), or the scholarly burgher Oldřich Prefát of Vlkavov (1523–1565). Their accounts indicate through what venues the Eastern products ultimately made their way to the west, mostly via Venice and Nuremberg to Prague, and what items were particularly popular in this global trade. Tomíček quarries, among other publications, especially the *Bohemian Cosmography* (1554, in Czech) by Zikmund of Puchov, an encyclopedic work of truly global reach which illustrated what medical products and foodstuff circled the globe and so also reached Bohemia. Because of its universal comprehensiveness and focus on trade, ports, and merchandise, this *Cosmography* mostly replaced the previously popular *Travels* by John Mandeville. The focus here rests both on Asia and the New World, on the Arabic market and the European hubs of trade. The physician Jan Černý (ca. 1456–1530) published a *Medical Book* (*Knieha lékařská*) in 1517 in which he listed a large number of medicinal products from all over the world. Other medical authors also demonstrated how much they were influenced by global perspectives, such as the Italian Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501–1577) and his Czech translator, the physician Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek (1525–1600).

All these authors were particularly interested in the properties of bezoar as a life-saving medication, and they reflected an astounding awareness of latest discoveries of foreign worlds and hence also of new products on a global scale. In short, studying the evolution of pharmacy and medicine in the sixteenth century and beyond allows us impressively to understand better the extent to which globalism was already a fact of life in the pre-modern world. The situation in Prague, where many of these treatises appeared in print, was certainly paralleled at other urban or university centers across Europe. Future research will have to tell us more about the state of the arts in those science and medical fields in non-European countries, especially in Arabic centers of learning.¹⁸⁶ Altogether, as we can claim in light of

186 Franz Rosenthal, *Science and Medicine in Islam: A Collection of Essays*. Collected Studies Series, 330 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990); Aldema Alavi, *Islam and Healing: Loss and Recovery of an Indo-Muslim*

Tomíček's investigation, the history of medicine certainly proves to be deeply determined by global perspectives from very early on, and this until today, of course.

The western world of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries certainly experienced a massive paradigm shift in many areas, and global perspectives became much more common. As we have already seen, the British crown endeavored successfully to establish good diplomatic and economic ties with the Ottoman Empire. In England itself, scientists and diplomats such as John Dee, whom **Thomas Willard** studies in his contribution, began to explore and develop the notion of England as a kind of empire as well, based on their increasingly global awareness and knowledge about the northern countries/islands and the New World. Dee, a highly learned scientist and owner of a huge library of classical literature and relevant texts and maps about the wider world, was the first to talk about the British Empire which included not only the northern parts of the island, but also countries far beyond that.

Willard notes, however, that Dee combined his global perspective with a definitively nationalist concept to support the glory of his own country. He strongly urged Queen Elizabeth I to embrace this notion and to take on the role of a global ruler over vast territories, including the northern parts of America. Partly for this reason, he was also concerned with protecting trade along the coast. Hence, Dee promoted a strengthening of the royal navy to take on that pivotal role of conquering and protecting those lands for the British crown. Much needed new resources could be drawn from there, which were in great demand in England especially following the defeat of the Spanish Armada in 1588.¹⁸⁷ Both Dee's maps and his narratives contributed effectively to his agenda to project a northern world under British rule, but they also suffered from many inaccuracies and faulty data Dee was not aware of.

Granted, Dee ultimately did not achieve his goals of elevating Elizabeth and her successor, James I, up to the status of world leaders, especially because many of his friends eventually died, and his reputation and influence at court faded fast. Yet, he was still a remarkable and influential figure during his lifetime and well beyond because he developed such boldly global perspectives, though only for Britain alone,

Medical Tradition, 1600–1900 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Johann Christoph Bürgel, *Ärztliches Leben und Denken im arabischen Mittelalter*, ed. by Fabian Käs. *Islamic History and Civilization*, 135 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 216); see also the contributions to *Death and Disease in the Medieval and Early Modern World: Perspectives from Across the Mediterranean and Beyond*, ed. Lori Jones and Nükhet Varlık. *Health and Healing in the Middle Ages*, 4 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2022). For even more eastern perspectives, see Hakeem Abdul Hameed, *Exchanges Between India and Central Asia in the Field of Medicine* (New Delhi: Institute of History of Medicine and Medical Research, Department of History of Medicine and Science, 1986).

¹⁸⁷ On this, see the contribution to this volume by Amany El-Sawy.

and this in direct competition with the Habsburg Empire, and other huge national entities, not even talking about the Middle and Far East, or Africa. We could recognize in him a personality who aroused much national pride among the intellectuals and envisioned a new world dominated by the British crown, which was, in a way, to come after all in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in the wake of imperialism and colonialism.

Much of previous research on global connections, trade, exchanges, or diplomatic relations in the pre-modern world has been focused primarily on the Mediterranean as a central contact zone, or the Black Sea as a major hub of Genoese and Venetian trade with the Golden Horde and the Ottomans. But northern Europe was certainly also very interested in international outreach, or was built upon global connections, as the examples of the Vikings and later of the Hanseatic League demonstrate. I have referred above already to the major traveler, diplomat, philologist, translator, and author Adam Olearius (1599–1671) who on his second ‘global’ travel (1635–1639) even reached Isfahan in modern-day Iran to create a trade agreement between the Shah and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp in Schleswig (today, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern).¹⁸⁸

Just as much as the Mediterranean ports such as Venice, Genoa, or Barcelona were major launching hubs for global economic trade, the harbor city of Hamburg emerged as a major global center since the sixteenth century dedicated not only to the Hanseatic League, which was already in a steep decline by then, but especially with many Iberian/Spanish harbor cities. **Reinhold Münster** introduces the economic and publishing conditions there, especially the rise of newspapers carrying international news, and then focuses on the writings by the near contemporary Hamburg author Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690), in whom we can recognize, just as in the case of Olearius, already a global citizen, at least as far as his literary interests were concerned. Many of his novels were situated all over Europe, but then also in the Ottoman Empire, and even in China. His two-volume *Mundus mirabilis tripartitus, oder wunderbare Welt in einer kurtzen Cosmographia fürgestellt* (1687; The Three Parts of the *Mundus mirabilis*, or of the world filled with wonders, presented in a short Cosmography) reflected truly global knowledge and served exceedingly well to instruct his contemporary audience about the fauna, flora, currencies, cities, harbors, universities, and geographies of many parts of the world, all very useful for the economic and political interests of the Hamburg merchants.

Münster notes that Happel intended to mix entertainment with instruction in the Horatian manner, but it is also worth considering that he included the latest scientific understanding of the cosmos into his works and proffered considerable

¹⁸⁸ See note 134 with many references to the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*.

criticism of the teachings of the Bible. He was already an empiricist, especially in his focus on water and the geophysical features of the earth, and he publicly protested against slavery – such as in his *Relationes curiosae* (1683–1691, reprinted numerous times until the end of the eighteenth century [1784]) – and the abuse of the native population in South America.¹⁸⁹ Importantly, Happel rejected the use of torture in the legal process and trials, so we could almost recognize in him a man of the early Enlightenment, long before that intellectual movement actually emerged. Although he himself did not travel much, he was well read and drew from a wide range of printed sources. Most important, Happel argued strongly against fanciful reports based on sheer imagination and endeavored to base his presentations on factual data from all over the world. Moreover, again long *avant la letter*, he was sharply opposed to global capitalism, as best epitomized already then in the Tulip mania from 1634 to February 1637.

Although Happel opposed the barbarity of the slave trade and bitterly lamented the primitive conditions in some African or American countries where slaves were sold or used, he was fully aware of highly developed cultures and societies across the globe with different cultures and acknowledged them fully through his praise of their major libraries, for instance. He regarded himself as a global citizen and made great efforts through his writing to teach his audience about the many different facets of the countless societies and people all over the world, praising some, criticizing others, condemning especially slavery as the worst form of abuse of human beings. Although his work appeared already in a period we would call, perhaps still somewhat deprecatorily, the early modern time (Baroque), Happel demonstrated most impressively what an educated person like him could learn about foreign countries and cultures and what he then would teach his readers. His contributions strongly added to the condition of Hamburg as a global city already in the seventeenth century where globalism actually bloomed most impressively through its trade, publishing media, and open-minded intellectuals such as Happel. But we should not forget that he was by far not the first and not the last author to pursue a global agenda. In the late Middle Ages, Venice, or Alexandria, the entire region of the Black Sea, and other localities in the Middle and also Far East were similarly advanced hubs of international contacts in political and economic terms.

As we may conclude, both here and throughout the entire volume, the concept of globalism is, of course, intimately tied in with the experience of border crossings, in concrete physical terms and intellectually, spiritually, artistically, or scientifically. We would grossly misunderstand the pre-modern world if we character-

¹⁸⁹ See now the contributors to *Regulating Knowledge in an Entangled World*, ed. Fokko Jan Dijksterhuis (see note 16).

ized it as myopic, self-centered, xenophobic, and filled with fear of the Foreign, or Other. Of course, many people already at that time were victims of those issues in mentality, ideology, and knowledge. But as Münster and all the other contributors have demonstrated, global thinking and global awareness were certainly already in place long before our own age.¹⁹⁰

To help readers gain a quick overview of the entire volume and the collective findings by all contributors, I have also written an epilog in which I try to summarize and conceptualize the essential and overarching issues concerning us all. Although I back up some of the critical points there as well with references to most recent research – our topic here proves to be a hot item at the current moment – the epilog will serve only as a sort of recap of both this Introduction and the essays following it. I shared it with all contributors asking for their input, and then responded to some of their comments. This Introduction and the epilogue should hence serve as bookends for this collection of articles altogether. While this essay offers a hopefully thorough review and critical assessment of the relevant research literature on globalism prior to modern globalism, the epilog basically summarizes and draws final conclusions, adding new angles and some very recent scholarly publications.

Acknowledgements: Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to the contributors to this volume for their excellent research, their patience with my editorial efforts, and their comments on this introduction. One major challenge proved to be that a good number of the authors are Ph.D. students or young scholars at the beginning of their career at universities across the world, so not at all native speakers of English. It is a considerable challenge to make every contributor comply with the western, primarily American scholarly standards and then also the specific norms that I have set up for our series, “Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Studies.” After all, this is a highly interdisciplinary volume, and the various authors were normally accustomed to a different set of formatting standards. In my comments above I have also made efforts to identify additional research on the various topics which at times goes even beyond what the respective scholars comment on. I am grateful to Karen Pinto who helped me eliminate some errors regarding the spelling of Arabic names and various background information in my own work and that of other contributors.

As always, I am deeply indebted to my co-editor of this book series, Marilyn Sandidge, Westfield State University, MA, to my colleague Thomas Willard, English

¹⁹⁰ See now also the contributions to *Von Aachen bis Akkon* (see note 47), which appeared in print while I completed this Introduction. It seems as if the colleagues serendipitously explored the same topics, though they investigate different cases or examples.

Department at the University of Arizona, and to the editorial staff of Walter de Gruyter for their assistance in small and large matters, especially Dominika Herbst and Eva Locher who took good care of the final manuscript. Most importantly, I am very appreciative of the publishing house itself, one of the best in the world of scholarship, which continues to welcome these new additions to our book series, “Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture.” Hopefully, this is the last result of a completely online scholarly meeting at the University of Arizona. The next symposium here in Tucson is already scheduled for April 28–29, 2023, in person.

Fidel Fajardo-Acosta

Global Inferno: Medieval Giants, Monsters, and the Breaching of the Great Barrier

Abstract: Globalism and globalization are processes having to do with the exchanges, forms of awareness, influences, and effects that come about as a result of connections and interactions between different cultures and human groups spread out over the span of the known world at a given point in time. While globalism is merely the fact of connectedness, globalization is the exploitation of that connectedness for the political and economic benefit of one of the points in the overall global network of connections. The infrastructure of globalism comes into being in the first place because of the aggressive trailblazing of globalization. Once in place, however, globalism can generate knowledge that runs contrary to the spirit and tendential growth of globalization. Apocalyptic narratives, this essay argues, are an example of a globalism that is critical of globalization, predicting the failure of imperialist enterprises of world domination. Through comparison of medieval Islamic travel narratives, Old Norse literature, and Dante's *Divina Commedia*, this essay proposes that their prophetic, otherworldly, and eschatological dimensions can be considered a form of pre-modern globalism and also a figuration of its modern counterpart, a connecting of past, present, and future into an intertemporal globalism in which we too participate by historical and comparative thought, and by the formulation of our own projections of the future. Rather than merely pointing out the predictability of the rise and catastrophic fall of empires, what this study seeks to illuminate is globalism's collective adumbration of a much larger drama unfolding in dimensions of existence of considerably greater consequence than the cyclical births and rebirths, the comings and goings, of individuals, nations and empires.

Keywords: Pre-modern globalism, globalization, medieval literature, comparative literature, apocalypse, Dante, Islamic travel narratives, Ibn Khurradādhbih, Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān, Old Norse mythology, Old Icelandic literature, Snorri Sturluson, *Edda*, *Poetic Edda*, Raganarök, *Völuspá*, *Gylfaginning*, archetypes, myth and mythology, intersubjectivity

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Introduction

The end of the world, as a narrative motif, is shared across cultures and times, but has become notably manifest in our own days, across the globe, due to the economic, political, and social crises confronting an overpopulated planet devastated by overproduction, overconsumption, waste, and the reckless abuse of nature. As it is often noted, however, apocalyptic thought, even in its most unhinged forms, is nothing new and can be seen recurring throughout time, perhaps even never absent from the concerns of at least some of those living within a given time, place or culture.¹ After all, as Frank Kermode noted, the end is an immanent aspect of all narrative, a figure for our own deaths and a concern that follows us, consciously or

¹ “As much as the feeling that the world is in grave peril is sincerely felt, it is also hardly a new one, and pervades contemporary political and public discussions . . . Climate change has been widely recognised as a worrying issue since at least the 1990s, and before that the cold war held the attention of a whole generation that was convinced a civilisation ending nuclear war is either imminent or at least a real possibility . . . These fairly contemporary fears and crises are joined by a long line of apocalyptic and millennial/utopian expectations about the imminent end that stemmed from various religious denominations or humanist expectations of inevitable collapses of the current order,” Hauke Riesch, *Apocalyptic Narratives: Science, Risk and Prophecy* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire, and New York: Routledge, 2021), 2. Stephen D. O’Leary, *Arguing the Apocalypse: A Theory of Millennial Rhetoric* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5: “From the beginning of time, humanity has attempted to imagine and predict the end of time. Every culture that has developed a myth of its divine and cosmological origin has sought to peer ahead toward its own ending. The mythologies of Hinduism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Judaism, and Christianity all offer evidence that the desire to fix humanity in a divinely instituted order of cosmic time has played a significant role in the formation of cultures. Though there are significant differences between the Hindu myth of the Kali Yuga, the Teutonic legend of Ragnarok, and the Judeo-Christian vision of the Last Judgment, these traditions exhibit a common concern: to understand the successive human ages and their culmination in a catastrophic struggle between the forces of good and evil.” In the mythology of the Maya – who flourished in the period corresponding to the European Middle Ages – time is divided into four ages when the gods try to create intelligent creatures who can speak and honor their creators through proper rituals. The first three ages involve deer and birds, humanoids made from mud, and more human-like beings made of wood, but all three end in catastrophic failures. By the end of the first age, the birds and deer fail to speak and are cursed to become food for other animals. By the end of the second age, the mud creatures prove unintelligent and physically unstable. At the end of the third age – about 3,000 B.C.E. according to the Maya Long Count Calendar – the wood-based humans are destroyed by a great flood and torn apart by monstrous beings with names like “Gouger of Faces,” “Sudden Bloodletter,” “Crunching Jaguar,” and “Tearing Jaguar.” The gods then make the humans of the fourth age from white and yellow corn, as well as water. The end of that world came with the Spanish conquest in the sixteenth century, when the *Popol Vuh* was written down to preserve the beliefs of the old days: *Popol Vuh: The Mayan Book of the Dawn of Life*, trans. Dennis Tedlock. Revised Edition (New York and London: Touchstone/Simon & Schuster, 1996), 66–73, 145–46. See also the contributions to *The End-Times in Medieval*

not, through every moment of our lives.² In a very general sense, then, Apocalypse, like the figure of Death, can be said to be a universal motif, an archetype which is deeply seated in the human mind and that is relevant to all people across all time and all spaces inhabited by humans. Intersubjective, transtemporal, transcultural, and also place-independent psychic contents of that sort would seem, *prima facie*, relevant to the notions of globalism, both modern and pre-modern, which are the concern of this volume of essays.

Globalism however is a very fraught term with many different meanings and in process of being appropriated by different groups. In its most general sense, it is a word that denotes the interconnected nature of phenomena in a world that we think of as a *globus* (Latin: sphere, ball, globe) and is hence also related to the idea of the earth that we inhabit being round. It is also, however, a term with social and other significance, as it also means a tightly-knit group of people and an object that has come together by the aggregation and compacting together of other things.³ Religion in that latter sense is broadly synonymous with globalism, because it is a word derived, most likely, from Latin *religare*, which means to unite, bind, or tie something back together again.⁴ Globalism is furthermore a spatial and synchronic concept, having to do with three dimensions of space, at a given time, but without necessarily a consideration of other time periods. Ideas, myths, archetypes or other such mental constructs shared by people all around the world are indeed an example of globalism, as those constructs speak of shared contents and structures of the human mind regardless of place, but, in this case, also time. A globalism that takes into account both dimensions of time and space is therefore not just globalism of this or that time but of multiple times, hence a four-dimensional structure. Indeed, the earth now is not the same planet it was in times past or what it will be in times future. The global concept that embraces the earthly globe at multiple times is more similar to a planetary system or even a universe.

German Literature: Sin, Evil, and the Apocalypse, ed. Ernst Ralf Hintz and Scott E. Pincikowski. Studies in German Literature, Linguistics, and Culture (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2019).

2 Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (1967; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 6–7. Commenting on the medievalism of postmodern discourses, Bruce Holsinger sees the apocalyptic genre as a rhetorical structure that figures the recurrence of the past, a reactive formation re-living, and perhaps relieving, but not overcoming, the trauma of the conquered at the origin of empire. As it revisits the horrors of its birth, the apocalyptic subject of empire appears then to desire the return of the very conditions for which it wishes a catastrophic end: “Empire, Apocalypse, and the 9/11 Premodern,” *Critical Inquiry* 34.3 (2008): 468–90.

3 “glōbus”: Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1879).

4 “rēligiō” (reverence for the gods, piety, holiness) < rē (a turning backward; a restoration of a thing to its original condition) + ligo/ligare (to tie/bind together, unite): Lewis and Short, *Latin Dictionary* (see note 3).

Yet additional dimensions of spacetime can be added to this already complicated four-dimensional globalism by considering the earth not just as what it is, or was, or will be, but also as it could be now, or could have been, or could be in future times in relation to differing hypotheticals of past and present. The addition of imagination makes globalism mind-bogglingly multidimensional. When looked at in that way, we exist in multiple universes all at once, real and imagined, actual and hypothetical, out there, as it were, in our collective/shared understanding, and also in our own individual minds, the mini-globes inside our also round heads, where the world is never the same as it is in other people's minds. Shared knowledge and mental contents and structures, including myths and archetypes but also the very idea that what we know is not the same as what others know (the not-shared shared by the common fact of its contingency, i.e., we are all unique individuals, equal in our uniqueness), seem then all important in the approach to possible definitions of a globalism of globalisms – an epistemic hyperstructure made possible by both knowledge and imagination, by science, history and philosophy, as much as by literature, religion, mythology, and even the fact of our unique perspectives as observers and participants in the multiverses between which we ceaselessly and seamlessly shuttle and dwell.

Strictly speaking, however, globalism is not an existential or even a temporal phenomenon. Instead, it is a rather narrow postmodern political and economic concept concocted by neoliberal ideologues attempting to justify the domination of the world by transnational capital in the present moment. The rhetoric of globalism is useful in creating the illusion of a common interest of humanity in complying with the demands of capital, which of course would have us all happily coming together under the banners of private profit, which, as we are falsely told, is in everyone's best interest. And it must be granted that behaving ourselves and obediently following the orders of our horrible bosses – getting up early, eating our breakfast of cheerios in the peace and quiet of our kitchens, and showing up for work in person and on time – looks a lot more appealing, perhaps, than the zombie apocalypse of global-scale anarchy. The downside of the rule of global capital, on the other hand, is that it doesn't last, for multiple reasons but mainly because it devours itself by consuming, wasting, and burning up the very resources on which it relies for its existence. Capitalism is the proverbial dim-witted farmer who kills the goose that lays the golden eggs and then guts himself, still looking for golden eggs. Capitalism, in other words, is actually a guarantee of the recurrence of pretty ugly scenarios quite nicely fitting the image of a catastrophic end of the world. Generally, after the devastation, something else comes about, whatever that may be, but likely something similar to what came before, with a similarly predictable end.

One of the founding fathers and champion of western neoliberal globalism, Joseph Nye, defines for us the term and its relations to other terms, like globalization:

Globalism, at its core, seeks to describe and explain nothing more than a world which is characterized by networks of connections that span multi-continental distances. It attempts to understand all the inter-connections of the modern world – and to highlight patterns that underlie (and explain) them. In contrast, globalization refers to the increase or decline in the degree of globalism. It focuses on the forces, the dynamism or speed of these changes.

In short, consider globalism as the underlying basic network, while globalization refers to the dynamic shrinking of distance on a large scale. Globalism is a phenomenon with ancient roots. Thus, the issue is not how old globalism is, but rather how “thin” or “thick” it is at any given time. As an example of “thin globalism,” the Silk Road provided an economic and cultural link between ancient Europe and Asia. Getting from thin to thick globalism is globalization – and how fast we get there is the rate of globalization. Of course, the Silk Road was plied by only a small group of hardy traders. Its direct impact was felt primarily by a small group of consumers along the road. In contrast, the operations of global financial markets today, for instance, affect people from Peoria to Penang. Thus, “globalization” is the process by which globalism becomes increasingly thick/intense.⁵

Nye’s message is unequivocal, so long as global capital can function and continue to grow undisturbed, i.e., provided globalization proceeds, we too, its children, grow more interconnected, experiencing the thick and intense globalism of a worldwide community of believers who know that the alternative is to go back to the less interconnected Middle Ages when the food was lousy and everyone had leprosy.⁶ I get the message and, not enjoying poverty and daily witch burnings at the stake, I fall in line and follow orders. While eating my cheerios one morning, however, I realize that global capital has reached virtually every cavity of the existing world but is still figuring out how to colonize the inside of my stubborn head. I withdraw then into that little cave to spin out fantasies of my own, some of which are the subject of this essay.

5 Joseph Nye, “Globalism Versus Globalization,” *The Globalist*, April 15, 2002, <https://www.theglobalist.com/globalism-versus-globalization/> (last accessed on Dec. 14, 2022).

6 Medievalists are well-aware that the discourse of the Dark Ages is a construct by modern culture as it attempts to create a false binary between itself and the Middle Ages that it maligns as uncivilized and backward. The Middle Ages were indeed uncivilized and backward, but no less so than our own times: see, Fidel Fajardo-Acosta, *Courtly Seductions, Modern Subjections: Troubadour Literature and the Medieval Construction of the Modern World*. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (MRTS), 376 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies [ACMRS], 2010). In those regards, witch hunts and burnings are modern realities, and chastity belts may have never existed, at least not in the Middle Ages: Albrecht Classen, *The Medieval Chastity Belt: A Myth-Making Process*. The New Middle Ages (Houndmills, Basingstoke, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007).

Theoretical Considerations

In his recent and groundbreaking study, *Tracing the Trails in the Medieval World* (2021), Albrecht Classen proposed the concept of the trail as a way of re-envisioning medieval mapping and literary practices as complex representations of physical and imaginary geographies built out of the connection, by invisible pathways, of multiple narratives.⁷ Imaginative art works, medieval maps and medieval literature, Classen argues, define multidimensional worlds, the chronotopes of narrative and of *mappaemundi*, that come into being as trails are established linking the minds of myriad witnesses – travelers, storytellers, merchants, adventurers, also poets, liars and dissemblers. The acts of reception and retransmission are, of course, a further step in the tracing, redrawing, and extending of those trails, also the blazing of new ones.

The product of an ongoing reconfiguration and retelling of the story of the world, the picture that emerges from such processes is not that of a single spherical object with specific physical features, but of an infinitely interconnected network of such spheres, existing all at once in multiple times and with different features, also contained within and containing infinitely many other such spheres. Such a “picture” is not representable in graphic form but only as an intellectual and imaginative reality, a whole universe, or, rather, a multiverse where universes exist simultaneously within an intuited, but never actually fully realized, sphere of transcendental consciousness, the mind of God, as it were, the ultimate globalism.

As Geraldine Heng has pointed out, and as Albrecht Classen also does in the introduction to this volume, a distinction has to be made between globalism and globalization, in a way that is useful to cultural historians, sociologists, and literary scholars. In that sense, globalism is a consciousness of the interrelatedness and interdependences of the phenomena that take place within the spacetimes made possible by our perceptions, cognitions, and imaginations. Globalization, on the other hand, is an imperialist attempt at the domination and reduction of all otherness to the identity of the globalizing power. One of the main features of a true globalism, this study claims, is the pointing out of the apocalyptic consequences of globalization and its characteristic procedure of othering and devouring, extinguishing the other by its reduction to the identity of the self. The three-faced image of Satan, which, in the ninth circle of Dante’s *Inferno*, devours at once three souls,

7 On the theoretical aspects of the concept of the trail, see Albrecht Classen’s “Introduction. Epistemological Explorations, Orientations, and Mapping: Forging Ahead – Trailing and Orientation in Medieval Literature and Early Modern Literature,” *Tracing the Trails in the Medieval World: Epistemological Explorations, Orientation, and Mapping in Medieval Literature*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), 1–63.

one in each of his mouths, constitutes a powerful portrayal of that reduction of others to the monolithic identity of an imperious self that seeks to own and control everyone and everything (*Inferno*, XXXIV.55–57). The consequences of such an approach to existence, however, as seen in the unfolding history of appropriation of the world by aggressive and uncompromising western nations, is an entirely predictable, but also avoidable, global-scale catastrophe. No doubt the outcome would be the same if aggressive and uncompromising eastern nations were carrying out the same operations. Orientalism and Westernism might just share some degree of truth in that they define human beings pretty well. The globalism of eschatological medieval narratives creates then a clear picture of the potentials of our world and of the dependence of given outcomes on the choices of paths – economic, political, moral, and spiritual – that we make at the crossroads of our lives.

In terms of modern science, these insights began to emerge in the early and mid-twentieth century, in the ideas of Albert Einstein and others who developed the theories of relativity and the field of quantum mechanics. By means of heuristic techniques like “thought experiments” – what in literature we would characterize as acts of intelligent imagination – theoretical physicists challenged the up-until-then widely accepted idea that time and space are linear and uniform dimensions of the physical world. The then-new and controversial theories, which by now have been confirmed to a significant extent by experimental observations, opened up mind-boggling possibilities of existence. Depending on the position of the observer and factors like gravity and speeds of motion and acceleration, it became possible to envision multiple time dimensions, curved spacetimes, parallel worlds, time travelers visiting the future, *doppelgängers* meeting themselves, cats that are dead and alive at the same time, states of entanglement of phenomena taking place in entirely different and far distant places.⁸

Such ideas were echoed in literature by Jorge Luis Borges in his 1941 short story, “The Garden of Forking Paths,” where the garden is a metaphor for a universe of infinitely many different times, defined as alternative “paths.” Identifying the “garden” with an imaginary ancient novel authored by a fictional Chinese writer, Ts’ui Pên, the also fictional Dr. Stephen Albert (a name meant to evoke that of Albert Einstein) explains the novel to Yu Tsun, the great grandson of Ts’ui Pên, who, unknown to Stephen Albert, is about to kill him:

The Garden of Forking Paths is an incomplete, but not false, image of the universe as Ts’ui Pên conceived it. In contrast to Newton and Schopenhauer, your ancestor did not believe in a

⁸ *The Many Worlds Interpretation of Quantum Mechanics*, ed. Bryce Seligman DeWitt and Neill Graham. Princeton Legacy Library. Princeton Series in Physics (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1973).

uniform, absolute time. He believed in an infinite series of times, in a growing, dizzying net of divergent, convergent and parallel times. This network of times which approached one another, forked, broke off, or were unaware of one another for centuries, embraces all possibilities of time. We do not exist in the majority of these times; in some you exist, and not I; in others I, and not you; in others, both of us. In the present one, which a favorable fate has granted me, you have arrived at my house; in another, while crossing the garden, you found me dead; in still another, I utter these same words, but I am a mistake, a ghost.⁹

In literary theory, the question of the spacetime alternatives defined by human choices made at the crossroads of the here-and-now is embodied in the “chronotopes” of Mikhail Bakhtin and the “trails” of Albrecht Classen, our third Albert so to speak.¹⁰ As Classen notes, the motivation of mapping and storytelling is the desire to avoid bad paths and choose the best possible ones, so as to be able to complete a successful journey, one that leads to a gain of profit (for merchants), knowledge (for explorers), experience (for adventurers), or salvation (for the spiritual pilgrim). Being able to consider alternative routes and anticipate the dangers and obstacles associated with given paths, a traveler in spacetime, or in spiritual dimensions, would be much more likely to avoid catastrophe, shipwreck for example, a representative concern of sea voyagers for whom a good map, or a good story, can make the difference between life and death.¹¹ Classen writes:

9 Jorge Luis Borges, *Labyrinths: Selected Stories and Other Writings*, ed., trans. Donald A. Yates and James E. Irby (New York: New Directions, 1962/1964), 19–29; here 28. Originally in *El jardín de senderos que se bifurcan* (Buenos Aires: Sur, 1941). On the connections of Borges's story and modern physics, see, Dominic Moran, “Borges and the Multiverse: Some Further Thoughts,” *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89.6 (2012): 925–42. Tales of alternate realities, particularly in the fantasy and science fiction genres are countless, suffice to note, as an example, Michael Ende's famous and globally popular *Die unendliche Geschichte* (1979; *The Neverending Story*).

10 Classen, *Tracing the Trails* (see note 7), 15. Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, trans. Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (1975; Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981); originally, *Вопросы литературы и эстетики: Исследования разных лет* (*Voprosy literatury i estetiki: Issledovaniia raznykh let*; *Questions of Literature and Aesthetics: Studies from Various Years*) (Moscow: Khudozh, 1975).

11 As Classen observes, in his introduction to this volume, medieval travelers did not use physical maps to orient themselves but were instead guided by mental maps constituted by multiple oral narratives, directions, and on-the-fly revisions of such “maps” according to the actual experiences and new information being collected by the traveler in the course of the journey. The stars were also no doubt a highly effective guide in terms of providing directions in both space and time, since the stars not only identify points in space but also, like a giant clock, keep a record of the exact time. Furthermore, as the ancients believed, the stars also predicted the future. In this way, we can speak not just of pre-modern globalism but of a pre-modern universal consciousness fully aware of the relatedness of earthy and cosmic phenomena.

Throughout world history, geographic orientation has been possible through narration or songs about such catastrophes [shipwrecks], or about successful journeys, as many native cultures continue to practice until today. The trail thus operates as the pilot light for the actual traveler and the narrator. Bruce Chatwin was one of the first to identify and record the so-called “meaning of the ancient ‘dreaming tracks’ of the Aborigines – the labyrinth of invisible pathways by which the ancestors ‘sang’ the world into existence.” . . . Literature thus merges surreptitiously but highly meaningfully with geography, and both combine with philosophy and religion in order to develop intellectual pathways across the world and trails into the afterlife.¹²

Very much wishing to avoid catastrophe and safely arrive at the most rewarding possible destinations/destinies, including salvation in the afterlife, medieval thinkers tapped into the physical, literary, cultural, religious and philosophical mapping devices available to them, and came up with intriguing hypotheses regarding what the future could bring, and about the specific pathways that were likely to lead to successful/comedic or unsuccessful/tragic outcomes. One of the most intriguing varieties of such mappings is the genre of apocalyptic narratives that bring together geographical observations with moral, historical, and spiritual adventures of the utmost consequence, where the protagonists can end up reaching paradise or suffering shipwreck and sinking down into the deepest underworld.

In that way, picking up the homeward bound trail of Homer’s wandering Odysseus, Dante extends that ancient narrative in an admonitory direction, enriched by the Christian spirituality of the Middle Ages, suggesting that the seemingly happy ending of the *Odyssey* is but a stage in the life journey of the hero. In Dante’s version, the hero’s restlessness and craving for adventure cause him to leave home, once again, this time heading out west, beyond the pillars of Hercules, but ending his journey in shipwreck, and in the wreck of his soul in the eighth circle of hell (*Inferno*, XXVI.52–142). More than just a tale of individual failure, this story constitutes an indictment of the greedy, violent, and predatory way of life of ancient peoples – exemplified in characters like Ὀδυσσεύς ποταπύρροτος (Odysseus, raider/sacker of cities) – who could not live in peace within the confines of their homeland and had to engage in piracy and raiding of the homes of others.¹³

In that sense then, the western-bound direction of Odysseus’s last voyage is not only an allegory of the setting of the sun of antiquity but also a strangely prophetic

¹² Classen, *Tracing the Trails* (see note 7), 233. Bruce Chatwin, *The Songlines* (1987; New York: Penguin, 2012).

¹³ On the idea that Homer’s *Odyssey* is itself a critical treatment of the character of Odysseus, fully prefiguring his tragic future, see, Fidel Fajardo-Acosta, *The Hero’s Failure in the Tragedy of Odysseus: A Revisionist Analysis*. Studies in Epic and Romance Literature, 3 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1990).

vision of the future of western Europeans, who, heirs to the ambitions and excesses of the empires of Antiquity and the Middle Ages, were destined to pursue their own imperialistic aims and raid and devastate the rest of the world in the modern age. As postmoderns, we are living the tail end of those depredations and witnessing first-hand the sunset and last voyage of the West itself, which, unfortunately, drags down with itself also the East and every other geographical direction. That the outcomes would be exactly the same if the Huns, the Mongols, the Ottomans or other eastern powers had prevailed in their struggles with the West is perfectly clear. Western critics have been, and continue to be, right on target when commenting on the savagery and deviousness of eastern despots, from Attila and Genghis Khan to Suleiman the Magnificent and all the way into the supreme leaders, dictators, oligarchs, and kinglets of supposedly communist Far Eastern powers, theocratic states, and Middle Eastern petro-monarchies. We are just not very good at self-criticism.

Participants and witnesses of the highly predatory, violent, expansionist, also commercial and cunningly self-interested enterprises of their contemporaries and ancestors, medieval and early modern authors, from Boethius to Thomas More, and from Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān to Snorri Sturluson and Dante, were no strangers to the oppressiveness and unreason of power, or to the turns of fortune's wheel and the sense of the vanity and transitoriness of the things of this world.¹⁴ Whether dialogues of comfort in the extremities of impending personal doom, travelogues of exiles to the land of darkness, or trumpeting of doomsday by the disgruntled, narratives of the end have dual functions of trying to make sense of the world, seeking some degree of certainty and stability, and also denouncing that world as fatally flawed and hopelessly irrational.

The first of those functions, narrative as a fortification and a "great barrier" intended to hold at bay the threat of the other, human or monstrous rival, death itself, is an aspect of globalization as the establishing of frontiers and consolidation of the gains of empire, or of one's personal situation within the institutions

14 Much like Boethius and Thomas More, the authors of the narratives discussed in this study were actively involved in politics and/or were connected to royal figures, as advisors, ambassadors, or historians, and those involvements often resulted in significant upheavals of their personal lives. Dante wrote his *Divine Comedy* while in exile, between 1302 and 1321, due to his conflicts with Pope Boniface VIII. Snorri Sturluson was an Icelandic politician who was assassinated in 1241, apparently by orders of the king of Norway, Hákon Hákonarson. Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. 911/913) was an official in the intelligence and postal services of the Abbasid Caliphs of Baghdad, like Al-Wathīq (r. 842–847), and was especially close to Al-Mu'tamid (r. 870–892). Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān (d. 960) was an ambassador sent by the Caliph of Baghdad, Al-Muqtadir (r. 908–929), on a mission to the Volga Bulgars. Such missions were harrowing adventures, to say the least, also death sentences of sorts, as the designated ambassadors had somewhat questionable chances of ever being able to return from their visits to the hinterlands.

and structures of a given empire. The second function, narrative as warning of the imminent collapse of the same “great barrier,” is a globalist insight, a positive act of cognition that demolishes ideological fantasies of permanence by recognizing an interdependence of the self and the marginalized other. To the extent that someone is living outside the walls, their crumbling is assured, sooner or later, as per the writing on those walls.¹⁵

Those two functions of narrative, as forms of globalization and of globalism, are aptly illustrated in Quan Gan’s chapter in this volume, which discusses narratives – manufactured in elite settings in as widely disparate contexts and times as post-Tang China and Capetian France – sharing in the aim of legitimizing and lending historical depth and authority to ruling dynasties.¹⁶ The Capetians and the clan of Qian presented themselves, Quan argues, as heirs, by blood and institutional continuity, of the Carolingians and the Tang respectively. While noting those similarities, Quan makes an important distinction between the more systematic, regulated, and unified character of the Chinese accounts and the more fragmented versioning of a given story among Capetian writers. Quan’s approach then is structuralist, a formalism of similarities and differences relying on concepts such as Lévi-Strauss’s *bricolage*. Those observations are valuable and helpful to this study because they point to the similar ideological purposes of the authors, while explaining the differences in terms of the specific cultural, social and other contexts. The narratives in both cases seek to establish and stabilize political power by creating valorized mental constructs of the concepts of royal dynasty and of office in institutional settings. Productive of ideology, the narratives create fictionally unified political worlds across time, similar ways of understanding and justifying the present by misremembering and distorting the past. In itself, that is a manifestation of an incipient globalizing mentality that begins by colonizing the past and subsuming it to present-time political imperatives. The taming of past time then justifies the possession of place in the present. That the phenomenon was occurring simultaneously in different cultures and geographical settings, on the other hand, allows us

¹⁵ See Albrecht Classen’s discussion, in the introduction to this volume, of the different perceptions of the globalism/globalization phenomenon, particularly Geraldine Heng’s *The Global Middle Ages: An Introduction*. Cambridge Elements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 17. Interestingly, mural art with magical, divinatory, prophetic or eschatological significance, inscriptions and painting on the walls of dwellings, temples, tombs and fortifications, began in prehistoric times, in the form of cave paintings, and were common in antiquity and medieval times, as much in Mesopotamia and Egypt as among the Maya and other cultures of Mesoamerica.

¹⁶ Quan Gan, “Modifying Ancestral Memories in Post-Carolingian West Francia and Post-Tang Wuyue China,” in this volume.

an insight into a pre-modern globalism, observable in past time, but generated by Quan's re-description in the present.¹⁷

What is also interesting about such efforts, in addition to their formal homologies, is their very reality as cultural and political endeavors, as opposed to the fictionality of their content – a reality suggesting instability and faulty structures in need of buttressing. The phenomenon is visible in multiple historical and cultural settings. In Augustan Rome, for example, Virgil's *Aeneid* was unquestionably attempting to support the nascent Roman empire by the claim of ancestry of Roman rulers in the Trojan Aeneas, son of the goddess Venus, thus establishing divine origins for Roman authority, a guarantee of *imperium sine fine* (*Aeneid* I.279; empire without end). Since the claim involved different places, Troy, in Asia Minor, and Rome, in Italy, and different times, the twelfth, the eighth and the first centuries B.C.E., the globalization was quite totalizing, extending in both space and time.

The matter of Troy that was so central to that political mythology continued to be enormously influential in medieval narratives, like the *Roman de Brut* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, the whole Arthurian genre indeed, which had similar legitimizing and stabilizing aims for the European kingdoms of the post-Carolingian age, including not just Capetian France but the Angevin empire and Anglo-Norman England. The King Arthur stories, with their mystique of the *rex quondam rexque futurus* (the once and future king) have continued to be productive of ideologies of empire and globalization in the modern and postmodern periods. This reproduction and remaking of political worlds across time is most intriguing in that it seeks to create stability in the present and yet it can also be said to betray its absence, as evidenced in the revisionary efforts themselves.

The fact that revision of ancient narratives was perceived as necessary in order to legitimize and stabilize the claims of supposed descendants of admired ancestors points to the limits, the gaps, and the barriers already predicting, in the very attempt at preventing, the failure of the political worlds in question. Stories of the rise and fall of past dynasties, in effect, cannot be rewritten in support of desires of everlasting present power, without tackling the problem of the instability inherent in the maldistribution of power and its inescapable tropes of historical repetition. Virgil poses that issue in the two different exits that Aeneas faces, as he departs from the underworld: the gate of the false dreams (ivory) and the gate of the true dreams (horn) (*Aeneid* VI.893–901). Since Aeneas leaves the underworld through the gate of the false dreams, the whole story of Roman greatness that he hears from

17 On the concept of re-description, Quan relies on Oliver Freiburger, *Considering Comparison: A Method for Religious Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019), but adds that such re-description corresponds to “globalism through comparison.”

the ghost of his father, Anchises, is put in serious doubt. Perhaps not surprisingly, there is a similar issue in Dante's narrative, as there is something less than fully convincing about his coming face to face with the vision of God at the end of the *Paradiso*, at least less convincing than his encounter with Satan in the *Inferno*. Like Virgil, Dante might have been critical, though perhaps only unconsciously so, of the project of everlasting global/universal empire to which he seemed so committed, and which is not exempt from the taint of globalization.

Any attempt at universalization, in effect, has to make explicit its own barriers and limitations, also its own conditions of possibility. For Dante, barriers that cannot be surmounted occur at various points, particularly at the end of the *Inferno* and of the *Paradiso*. A notable problem occurs as Dante confronts Satan and indicates that the three souls he devours in the circle of the traitors are those of Judas, Cassius, and Brutus, i.e., one third betrayal of Jesus Christ and two-thirds betrayal of Julius Caesar. The peculiar proportions Dante uses in his characterization of the deepest evil are frankly disturbing, as they would seem to make the betrayal of Caesar into a doubly serious matter than the betrayal of Jesus Christ. The father of globalization, as violent western imperialism, and the King of Peace whose kingdom is not of this world, Caesar and Jesus, could not be more incompatible than Ingeld and Christ appeared to Alcuin in later Carolingian days. Though we could excuse Dante, as we sometimes do Ezra Pound, for his political naïveté, the problem cannot, nonetheless, be that easily dismissed. An equally serious problem occurs at the end of the *Paradiso*, in Dante's encounter with God in a vision that is unequivocally evoking the idea of absolute *Imperium*, represented as a trinity of colored circles superimposed on one another, also a mirror where Dante beholds "nostra effigie" (*Paradiso* XXXIII.132; our image):

Ne la profonda e chiara sussistenza
de l'alto lume parvermi tre giri
di tre colori e d'una contenenza;

O luce eterna che sola in te sidi,
sola t'intendi, e da te intelletta
e intendente te ami e arridi!

dentro da sé, del suo colore stesso,
mi parve pinta de la nostra effigie:
per che 'l mio viso in lei tutto era messo.
(*Paradiso* XXXIII, 115–17, 124–26, 130–32)¹⁸

¹⁸ Dante Alighieri, *La Commedia secondo l'antica vulgata a cura di Giorgio Petrocchi* (Milan: Mondadori, 1966–1967). Digital Dante Project, Columbia University. <https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/dante/divine-comedy/> (last accessed on Dec. 12, 2022).

[In the profound and shining essence
of the supreme light, I discerned three circles
of three colors but one size;

Oh, eternal light, residing alone in yourself,
alone knowing yourself, and, being perceived
and understood by yourself, you love yourself and in yourself rejoice.

within itself, in its own color,
our human form seemed to be depicted,
and all my attention was on it.]

On some level an amazing vision within which Dante finally loses himself, embraced by and embracing it, the vision of God is a strangely narcissistic form of self-contemplation that brings the pilgrim's journey to an end, but without convincing transcendence of the self that we first encountered "nel mezzo del cammin de nostra vita" (*Inferno* I.1). As it is often noted, Dante was not a dualist, hence the trinitarian structure of his universe. The vision of God, on the other hand, appears as a three-circle signifier that cannot be disentangled from, or explained without, its opposite, the three-faced, also three-colored, Satan that ingests human souls through his three mouths. Has Dante merely returned to the starting point? Is he being swallowed into open mouths not unlike those of the underworld? Is he trapped in a dualistic cage within which good and evil are perpetually inseparable, caught in the anxieties inherent to linguistic and symbolic signification?

Evidently, the problem here is one of language, the tool and instrument of vision by which humans make sense of their experience, the very medium within which humanity comes into existence. Language, with its inescapably dualized structures of signifiers and signifieds, is the prison within which humans are confined in so far as their humanity is concerned. To escape such a prison, to transcend humanity, it would be necessary to develop tools of cognition and consciousness that go beyond the symbolic mechanisms of language. It can be said, in a way, that, as language-dependent creatures, we live in a very narrow two-dimensional universe encoded in endless strings of yes and no, one and zero, self and other. A direct apprehension of the dimensions of reality beyond symbolic representations is likely impossible with only language as our guide. An intuition into the existence of translinguistic realities, however, is possible by means of the juxtaposition of multiple symbolic representations, the store of knowledge constituted by the collected insights of literature, religion, philosophy, science, and of all other disciplines and human endeavors.

Knowledges resulting from language are limited by their own two-dimensionality, but might constitute something else, at least the shadow of something else, when put together, an object with a more intelligible depth. Language in that sense

may not be as limiting as it seems, at least when its multiple representations are assembled and allowed to interact with one another, the still unrealized idea of interdisciplinarity, which also corresponds to true globalism. Language then, even with all of its limitations, might very well constitute the condition of possibility of globalism itself, understood as the putting together of a common story stitched together from the knowledges accumulated by humans in the course of their existence as self-conscious symbol users. That story begins about 100,000–70,000 years ago, when language use is first suggested, at least by the currently available evidence, such as the findings at Blombos Cave in South Africa.¹⁹

Apocalyptic events involving creation and destruction, birth, life, death, and rebirth, monsters and giants, serpents and dragons, vast journeys over land and water, barriers and chasms, heroes and enemies, are recognizable elements of that story and parts of an inventory of primordial ideas first recorded and preserved in oral narratives. Events like the creation of the world, in *Genesis* or in the *Enuma Elish*, are speech acts, the uttering of words that bring the world, and the self, into being. They are also datable to the advent of language, for, prior to that, the world did not “exist,” except perhaps as a chaotic, watery darkness continuous with the animal bodies immersed in it. Once language came into being, the world assumed form and order, direction and purpose, dimensionality, so to speak. Battles with giants and enormous beasts, fire-breathing serpents, and other such elements of age-old narratives no doubt had a foundation in actual experiences of *Homo sapiens* as it migrated, spreading over Africa and into Asia and Europe, somewhere in between 50,000 and 100,000 years ago. Chasing after assorted megafauna, entering Ice-Age Europe and encountering Neanderthals, and likely also other robust, large and cannibalistic hominins, were more than enough reason for the crafting, telling and retelling of stories of clever humans overcoming gigantic humanoids and immensely large animals. From the Cyclops to Jack and the Beanstalk to Big Foot, our narratives are teeming with remnants and recraftings of such stories. As those stories have never ceased to be orally transmitted, from generation to generation, and carried across the whole world by migrating humans, they constitute, together with the language capacity itself, the most evident form of the reality of globalism, the kind of shared contents and structures that were precipitated by language and that continue to reside in our minds, our consciousness and our

¹⁹ Christopher S. Henshilwood, Francesco d’Errico, and Ian Watts, “Engraved Ochres from the Middle Stone Age Levels at Blombos Cave, South Africa,” *Journal of Human Evolution* 57 (2009): 27–47. Writing of course is only 5,000 years old, and our alphabetic system only 3,500. For a recent history of the exploration of language and the development of the alphabet, see Johanna Drucker, *Inventing the Alphabet: The Origins of Letters from Antiquity to the Present* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2022).

unconscious, our communicative rationality, intersubjectivities, and our collective representations.²⁰

Although the different languages that people speak in our world today, over 7,000 of them according to Ethnologue.com, could be seen as evidence of the irremediable division and difference among humans, comparative historical linguistics and philology have described the mechanisms by which languages change over time, and have also demonstrated the common origins of seemingly very different languages, such as those belonging to the Indo-European family. The hypotheses of language macro-families and of a single Proto-World language ultimately constituting the source of all known languages are supported by the picture of human migrations that is emerging from DNA evidence, also suggestive of the common ancestry of all living humans in individuals who lived in Africa 200,000–300,000 years ago.²¹ It is DNA also that suggests that the common history of humanity goes way beyond human language and the *Homo sapiens* species. DNA is, after all, a symbolic system of encoding, storage, communication, and rewriting of information. That information, furthermore, tells the cumulative story of our evolution over millions of years, in fact going back to the very origins of life on earth, some 4 billion years ago. That story takes us through a truly epic journey that begins as one-cell organisms first developing in ocean waters, all the way into our reality as bipedal primates using, interestingly, a symbolic system of communication, namely, language, to ponder the questions of our origins and the journeys that we have shared in the course of that evolution.

As Albrecht Classen notes in his introduction to this volume, water creatures like mermaids and mermen, melusines, sirens, the Arabic *hourriyat al-bahr* (beautiful woman of the sea) and *insan al-maa* (man of the water), are notorious archetypes that appear to be shared across different cultures, times, and places. The fascination that imagery of human-like water dwellers exerts on the human mind is

20 Carl Gustav Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, trans. Richard Francis Carrington Hull (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1959). Edmund Husserl, *Zur Phänomenologie der Intersubjektivität: Texte aus dem Nachlass*, ed. Iso Kern (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973). Jürgen Habermas, *Theorie des kommunikativen Handelns*. 2 vols. (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1981). Robert D. Stolorow and George E. Atwood, *Contexts of Being: The Intersubjective Foundations of Psychological Life*. Psychoanalytic Inquiry Book Series, 12 (Hillsdale, NJ, and London: The Analytic Press, 1992).

21 The recovery of Neanderthal DNA by Svante Pääbo and other scientists associated with the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology in Leipzig and the growing awareness of the interbreeding that took place between *H. sapiens* and Neanderthals makes the interconnectedness of humans and other hominins dramatically evident. M. Hajdinjak, F. Mafessoni, L. Skov, et al., “Initial Upper Palaeolithic Humans in Europe had Recent Neanderthal Ancestry,” *Nature* 592 (2021): 253–57. <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41586-021-03335-3>. For an overview of DNA and migrations, see, Gary Stix, “Traces of a Distant Past,” *Scientific American* 299.1 (July 2008): 56–63.

very powerful and often seen deployed in contexts of cultural integration.²² Not accidentally, the mythologies of the world give central places to water and water beings, entities such as the Mesopotamian sea goddess, Tiamat, the Canaanite sea-god, Yaw, and his later incarnation, the Hebrew, Jehovah, who, in Genesis 1:2, hovers over the waters (*mayim*), as he speaks the world into being.²³

Pre-Modern Globalism, Future Topology

Building on ancient ideas of Greek, Babylonian, Jewish, Persian, and Indian origin, medieval writers, geographers, astronomers, and mathematicians envisioned the world as a sphere, estimated its circumference, and pictured the known land surrounded by the waters of the great sea, *Oceanus*, which Arab merchants and travelers called *Baḥr al-Zulamat*, the Sea of Darkness, or *Baḥr al-Muḥīt*, the Encircling Sea.²⁴ Finding the sea was possible simply by traveling by land far enough, in any

²² Manal Shalaby, “The Middle Eastern Mermaid: Between Myth and Religion,” *Scaled for Success: The Internationalisation of the Mermaid*, ed. Philip Hayward (East Barnet, UK: John Libbey Publishing, 2018), 7–20.

²³ In Maya mythology, the world also emerges from the water and is also spoken into being by the creator deities: *Popol Vuh* (see note 1), 30–31, 64–66. See also Albrecht Classen, *Water in Medieval Literature: An Ecocritical Reading*. Ecocritical Theory and Practice (Lanham, MD, Boulder, CO, et al.: Lexington Books, 2018); and the contributions to *Meanings of Water in Early Medieval England*, ed. Carolyn Twomey and Daniel Anlezark. Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 47 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2021).

²⁴ The idea of a spherical world with the land encircled by an ocean goes back to remote antiquity and could be inferred from, for example, the imagery of the shield of Achilles, descriptions in Plato’s *Timaeus*, and many other sources. As Karen Pinto notes, “Metaforms influence visual practice and thought and emerge in all premodern maps of the world, including Islamic mappamundi [sic], as manifestations of a geographical discourse that transcends time and place . . . the girding shape of the Baḥr al-Muḥīt (Encircling Ocean) . . . is a crucial metaform that conceals behind its circular simplicity the quintessential stamp of every premodern imago mundi The iconographic roots of the Encircling Ocean plunge deep in time.” The image of a circular cosmos, including a world surrounded by an ocean, represented by multiple concentric circles, can be traced back to prehistoric art and monuments, and likely informs structures such as Stonehenge and even older ones, like the religious buildings at “Göbekli Tepe in southeastern Anatolia, which may be the earliest extant Neolithic site, dating back 11,000 years. Earlier than Jericho, the site predates settled civilization, the pyramids, Stonehenge (another site with a curious double-ringed circle layout), and even the earliest evidence for agriculture. It is now recognized as containing the oldest known human-made religious structures, probably constructed by hunter-gatherers. The site consists of a series of double-walled concentric circles with two T-shaped pillars at the center of each set of concentric rings. They bear an uncanny resemblance to early medieval mappamundi forms Scholars, including the chief archaeologist of the site, have interpreted these structures as symbolic

direction.²⁵ The medieval belief in another continental mass located somewhere in the midst of the Sea of Darkness was more of a leap of imagination, but a reasonable hypothesis, which, of course, turned out to be correct. Medieval science, practical and theoretical, was in effect quite sophisticated, and the same can be said of the more imaginative products of medieval culture both east and west. Global awareness, in the Middle Ages, and its accurate intimation of hidden realities were not confined to matters of geography, but extended into the realm of temporal topographies, the characterization of landscapes of the future associated with specific paths of life and action.

One variety of such chrono-topographies, the apocalyptic narrative, takes as its cue the nature of the past and the present, particularly its violence and the arrogance and greed that tend to dominate human endeavors, and projects it forward, in a logical and both preternaturally and chillingly rational way, into visions of things to come.

In such narratives, dark forces and creatures are characterized as destined to destroy the whole world – invading armies, monsters and demonic entities, and various other antagonistic powers, including those of death itself – are represented in such stories as temporarily held at bay by a great barrier that can take a variety of forms. The eventual breaching of that barrier, however, is seen to be as inevitable as the catastrophic events that follow it. Quite interestingly, the forces and creatures that bring about the end of the world in these narratives are represented as, at least in certain respects, shadows of the speaking self, visions of one's own nature and way of life, but figuratively distanced and rendered in othered form.²⁶

of humans stretching their arms out to the cosmos symbolized by the double-ringed circles": *Medieval Islamic Maps: An Exploration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 80–82, 114–16. For a comprehensive overview of early Christian cosmology and geography, which certainly entailed that the earth was round, see Frank Schleicher, *Cosmographia Christiana: Kosmologie und Geographie im frühen Christentum* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2014).

²⁵ As noted, for example, in Strabo's *Geographica*, a view also shared by the Romans, e.g., *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*: Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps* (see note 24), 116, 120–21.

²⁶ See Classen's discussion and bibliography on Imagology, the "theoretical approach [that] pertains to the perception of the 'other' through the 'self'," as well as the related field of Xenology, which exposes "the countless images projected upon the other in all communities, among people across the world": Albrecht Classen, "Imagination, Fantasy, Otherness, and Monstrosity in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern World: New Approaches to Cultural-Historical and Anthropological Epistemology. Also an Introduction," *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Projections, Dreams, Monsters, and Illusions*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture* 24 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020), 1–229; here 20–23, 111–12. As Warren Tormey notes, such othering often served as justification of appropriation and expansionism, as in the case of the demonization of the other in early medieval narratives in the "Hell Tour" genre: "Hell tour motifs served patristic writers on the peripheries of the expanding

The great barrier that separates the realms of evil and darkness from the spaces inhabited by humans, this essay claims, is not a physical obstacle so much as a cognitive one, a blind spot/gap that separates the self from awareness of its own nature and the consequences of its actions. The breaching of the barrier then can be interpreted not just as the inevitable coming about of the consequences of a faulty way of life but also the anticipatory act of coming to understand, in advance of the actual events, what indeed is likely to occur as a result of who we are and what we do to the world and to one another. In that sense, medieval thinkers not just represented but breached that cognitive barrier, in the form of symbolic works strongly pointing to their anxieties and hinting at the sense that such anxieties are underwritten by a problematic personal and cultural identity that are the true causes of the expected catastrophes.

Monstrous creatures like Dante's Lucifer and the giants around him, the tribes of Gog and Magog, Grendel and his mother, the Nordic *Jötnar* (giants; sing. *jotun/jötunn*, giant, eater/devourer), the hellhound *Garmr*, the giant wolf *Fenrir*, the serpent *Jörmungandr*, and the underworld giantess, *Hel*, are symbolic devices pointing to the relations of self and other, including how the self defines itself in opposition to the other, and what the self does not know about itself, or the other. Not accidentally a duality, Gog and Magog, as well as the Grendels, and even a triad, as Dante's three-faced Lucifer, the monsters are conceptualizations of an otherness that the self struggles to comprehend, except as others that split into further others, like a Hydra of ever-proliferating heads, an abyss of othernesses hiding an obvious but intensely threatening truth. The great barrier in that sense is a psychic structure and self-defense mechanism, a series of seals that keep a frightening reality at bay, but only temporarily. Apocalypse, of course, is not just mass destruction but also revelation and release from the shackles of an ignorance connected to the understanding of one's own identity. When the barrier collapses, catastrophe ensues, but full knowledge is realized, especially self-knowledge, bringing with it hope that another world could rise out of the ruins of the one that, at least under the assumption of no change in our present character and way of life, we have already lost. But, following the logic of our shared mental archetypes and collective representations, the collapse of our defensive barriers and its catastrophic after-

Christian world as an othering template in multiple ways – as a supernatural frontier borderland and boundary, a demarcation of imaginative borders, and as an important construct and vocabulary to distinguish the Continental Christian 'self' and the non- (or imperfectly) Christian 'other' during the conversion-era transitions across England and Ireland between the eighth and tenth centuries": "Otherworldly Pilgrims: The Hell Tour and the Establishment of (Continental) Christian Territoriality on the Anglo-Saxon and Irish Peripheries," *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Classen (see this note above), 321–53; here 321.

math, the stories of the end also speak of an eventual recovery and rebuilding of life, a new world rising out of the ashes of the old one.²⁷

Islam's Global Consciousness and the Great Barrier

Drawing from their own experiences and also the learning of classical and Jewish antiquity, Arab travelers told of a great barrier of mountains and fortifications separating the civilized world from lands of savagery associated with the tribes of Gog and Magog. Endlessly chipping away at the barrier, the peoples of Gog and Magog were expected eventually to be able to break through it. The end of the world would occur when the barrier was breached and the monsters and giants would pour into the lands of humans, killing everyone and devouring and devastating everything. Such accounts occur in various medieval travel narratives, including those of Sallām al-Turjumān (Sallām the Interpreter) (fl. 842–844), Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān (ca. 879–960), and the twelfth-century Andalusian traveler, merchant and chronicler, Abu Hamid al-Gharnāṭi (ca. 1080–1170).²⁸

Even earlier references to Gog and Magog are found in Genesis 10, where Noah's son, Japheth, is said to be the father of Gomer, Magog, Madai, Javan, Tuval,

27 For the case of the Icelandic sagas, particularly *Njáls Saga*, Albrecht Classen has noted those narratives embody the rise of rationality, law, order and constructive approaches to the solution of human conflicts: “. . . we can observe, after all, a critical effort by the various poets to distance themselves from the traditional ideology of blood feuds, revenge, and slaughter in the name of heroism by way of exposing that cycle of violence as endless and devastating for everyone. Instead, . . . there was, in general, a new focus on the employment of rationality, justice, and legal principles, certainly tenuous, but undoubtedly present in many of the situations described in the sagas”: “The Emergence of Rationality in the Icelandic Sagas: The Colossal Misunderstanding of the Viking Lore in Contemporary Popular Culture,” *Humanities* 11.5.110 (2022): 1–14; here 2. <https://doi.org/10.3390/h11050110> (last accessed on Dec. 11, 2022).

28 Emeri van Donzel and Andrea Schmidt, *Gog and Magog in Early Eastern Christian and Islamic Sources: Sallām's Quest for Alexander's Wall*. Brill's Inner Asian Library, 22 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009). The story of Sallām occurs in Ibn Khurradādhbih's *Kitāb al-masālik wa'l-mamālik (Liber viarum et regnorum)*, trans. (French) Michael Jan de Goeje. Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum 6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1889). Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān, *Mission to the Volga*, trans. James E. Montgomery, ed. Shawkat M. Toorawa. Library of Arabic Literature (New York: New York University Press, 2017). Id., *Ibn Faḍlān and the Land of Darkness*, ed., trans. Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone (London and New York: Penguin, 2012). Id., *Ibn Faḍlān's Journey to Russia*, ed., trans. Richard Frye (Princeton, NJ: Marcus Wiener, 2005). Abu Hamid al-Gharnāṭi, *Tuhfat al-Albāb wa Nukhbat al-I'jāb* (Gift of Secrets and Selections of Wonders), ed. Ismail al'Arabi (Abū Ḥabīb, Morocco: Dar al-Afaq al-Jadida, 1993). Sally Abed, “Wonders and Monsters in the *Travels of John of Mandeville* and in Abu Hamid al-Gharnāṭi's *Tuhfat al-Albāb*,” *Imagination and Fantasy*, ed. Classen (see note 26), 487–509.

Meshek, and Tiras (10:2). In Ezekiel 38, “Gog, of the land of Magog” is said to be “the chief prince of Meshek and Tubal” (38:2), which indicates that the names of the sons of Japheth mentioned in Genesis were later understood as the names of lands and tribes ruled by “Gog,” likely the “Gomer” of Genesis. In Revelation 20, Gog and Magog are the names of tribes of enemies of God associated with Satan at the time of the Apocalypse:

When the thousand years are over, Satan will be released from his prison and will go out to deceive the nations in the four corners of the earth – Gog and Magog – and to gather them for battle. In number they are like the sand on the seashore. They marched across the breadth of the earth and surrounded the camp of God’s people, the city he loves. But fire came down from heaven and devoured them. And the devil, who deceived them, was thrown into the lake of burning sulfur, where the beast and the false prophet had been thrown. They will be tormented day and night for ever and ever. (Revelation 20:7–10; NIV)

Drawing from those traditions, Qur’ān 18:83–110, tells the story of the traveler, Dhu al-Qarnayn (Zul-Qarnain; an Arabicized form of the ancient Greek, Ἀλέξανδρος [Alexander the Great]), who first journeys to “the place where the sun sets” (18:86) and then to “the place where the sun rises” (18:90).²⁹ There he finds a passage between two mountains and a tribe of people who can barely understand his language. The inhabitants of the place ask Dhu al-Qarnayn for protection against Gog and Magog (18:93–94). Dhu al-Qarnayn agrees to help them and fills the gap between the mountains with a steel-like alloy of iron and copper, thus creating a barrier tall enough and strong enough to keep Gog and Magog at bay (18:93–97). Dhu al-Qarnayn explains, however, that the wall will stand only until Judgment Day when God allows it to crumble and hell is unleashed on earth as punishment to the unrighteous (18:100–10).

The regions inhabited by Gog and Magog were believed to be situated in the far north. A world map in a mid-sixteenth-century Ottoman imperial scroll shows the lands of Gog and Magog marked in bright red and corresponding to the Arctic Circle³⁰:

The Arab geographers placed the lands north of the Caucasus in the Sixth and Seventh Climes, the northernmost of the seven divisions into which the globe was divided. The peoples who inhabited this huge region were all considered descendants of Japheth, son of Noah, meaning that Chinese, Turks, Bulghārs, Khazars, Alans, Avars, Magyars, Slavs, Lombards, Burgundians and Franks shared a common ancestry Beyond the Seventh Clime lay the Land of Darkness, a mysterious, mist-shrouded land, inhabited by the tribes of Gog and Magog.³¹

²⁹ *The Quran: The First American Version*, trans. T. B. [Thomas Ballantine] Irving (Brattleboro, VT: Amana Books, 1985); online at Quran.com, <https://quran.com/en> (last accessed on Nov. 24, 2022).

³⁰ Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps* (see note 24), 37.

³¹ Lunde and Stone, *Ibn Fadlān* (see note 28), xvii.

The account of the journey of Dhu al-Qarnayn alludes to a gradation of linguistic, religious, and cultural differences between Arabs and their various northern neighbors, leading up to a point where the differences are so great that a physical barrier is erected. This situation likely corresponds to contacts with groups with whom Arabs traded, and other groups, represented by Gog and Magog, with whom there was much lesser, or no trade at all, and with whom contacts were rare and mostly hostile.³²

The account of Sallām the Interpreter, however, makes clear that the journey to the Great Barrier is not one that goes to the Arctic but from Samarra (in modern Iraq) to Armenia, Georgia, the land of the Khazars (in the area between the northern ends of the Black and Caspian Seas), and then east to what is now the Chinese province of Xinjiang and the Jade Gate/Pass (Yumen Guan) on the Silk Road, a point corresponding to the westernmost reaches of the Great Wall of China. The Great Barrier of Dhu al-Qarnayn is almost doubtless the Great Wall of China. Gog and Magog, in that sense, would correspond to nomadic tribes of Central Asia, such as Huns and Mongols, whom the Chinese attempted to hold at bay by means of the Great Wall. The terror that groups, led by the likes of Attila and Genghis Khan, brought on to Europeans since Roman times, and into the high Middle Ages, attests to the historicity and the fierceness of the peoples of “Gog and Magog.” For the Roman Empire, the attacks of the Huns were indeed the beginning of the end of the world, as Hunnish invasions in turn precipitated the overrunning of Roman territories by Germanic tribes.³³

Gog and Magog also appear in western narratives, ultimately derived from Arabic and Jewish sources, such as the fourteenth-century, *Travels of Sir John Man-*

32 Sally Abed points out that some accounts, like Ibn Hawqal’s *Surat al-Ard* (977; *Picture of the Earth*) reported trade occurring between Arabs and Gog and Magog. Al-Gharnāṭī’s *Tuhfat*, however, does not show any interactions and portrays the peoples of Gog and Magog as mostly uncivilized and animal-like; “their number is as countless as cattle, they practice archery, possess the mightiness of ferocious lions, and have no religion”: “Wonders and Monsters” (see note 28), 501–02.

33 How exactly the Roman empire fell, declined, faded away, or was gradually infiltrated by other polities, is a matter of dispute among scholars. The narrative of sudden and massive invasions is convenient but not necessarily exactly how it happened: “we should reverse the usual ways of seeing the barbarian migrations and the end of the Roman West. Instead of viewing the end of the Western Roman Empire as the result of the barbarian invasions, we should see the barbarians as being drawn into the politics of an empire already falling apart for quite other reasons; the barbarian migrations were the result of the end of the Western Roman Empire”: Guy Halsall, “The Barbarian Invasions,” *The New Cambridge Medieval History*. Volume I: c. 500–c. 700, ed. Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 35–55; here, 37.

deville.³⁴ Mandeville believed that the peoples of Gog and Magog were descendants of the lost Ten Tribes of Israel that stayed behind after the Persians released the Jews from captivity in Babylon and granted them permission to return to Jerusalem.³⁵ In the Judeo-Christian tradition, the lost tribes are said to be destined to return on the last days when God sends the Messiah to enact the Last Judgment.³⁶

Scandinavian Narratives

Medieval Scandinavian myths and legends – as told in the *Völuspá* (The Seer's Prophecy) and *Gylfaginning* (The Deceiving of Gylfi) – also make reference to barriers, fortifications, mountains, chasms, hinterlands, bodies of water, and magical chains, keeping at bay monsters and giants destined to break free at the end of the world, when they will invade and destroy Miðgarð, the land of humans, and also Ásgarð, the home of the gods.³⁷

As in Greek and Arabic cosmologies, the Scandinavian peoples believed the earth to be round and encircled by a great ocean. In the *Gylfaginning*, Gylfi, disguised as the old man, Gangleri, travels to Ásgarð and asks numerous questions about the creation of the world, the origins, identities and ways of life of the gods, and the things to come, including the battle of the end of the world, Ragnarök. In the course of his conversation with Hár (High), Jafnhár (Just as High) and Þriði (Third), Gangleri asks how the earth was made. Hár replies:

34 Sir John Mandeville, *The Voyages & Travels of Sir John Mandeville* [sic], *Knight* (London: R. Scot, T. Basset, J. Wright, and R. Chiswel, 1684), online at Sylvia Ioannou Charitable Foundation Digital Library, 2022: <https://sylviaioannoufoundation.org/en/collection/digital-library/b1804/> (last accessed on Nov. 24, 2022). Id., *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, trans. C. W. R. D. Moseley (London and New York: Penguin Books, 1983/2005). Iain MacLeod Higgins, *Writing East: The "Travels" of Sir John Mandeville*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). Abed, "Wonders and Monsters" (see note 28).

35 Flavius Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* XI.133, in *Josephus*, trans. Ralph Marcus. 9 vols. Loeb Classical Library (London: William Heinemann; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1958), 6: 377, 379.

36 In 2 Esdras 13: 39–47, God, through the angel, Uriel, explains to the prophet Ezra his dream visions as being related to the return of the Messiah and the Last Judgment: *The New Oxford Annotated Apocrypha: New Revised Standard Version*, ed. Michael D. Coogan. Revised Fourth Edition (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 350–51.

37 *Völuspá* text in *Norræn Fornkvæði: Íslandsk Samling af Folkelige Oldtidsdigte om Nordens Guder og Heroer almindelig kaldet Sæmundar Edda hins Fróða*, ed. Sophus Bugge (Christiania [Oslo, Norway]: P. T. Mallings, 1867), 1–11. Snorri Sturluson, *Edda: Prologue and Gylfaginning*, ed. Anthony Faulkes. Second Edition (London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2005).

Hon er kringlótt útan, ok þar útan um liggr hinn djúpi sjár, ok með þeiri sjávar ströndu gáfu þeir lönd til bygðar jötna ættum. En fyrir innan á jörðunni gerðu þeir borg umhverfis heim fyrir ófriði jötna, en til þeirar borgar höfðu þeir brár Ymis jötuns ok kolluðu þá borg Miðgarð. (*Gylfaginning* 8)

[She is circular on her outer edges, and around her there lies a deep sea. And on the shore of that sea, they [Óðin and his brothers] gave land to the tribes of giants so they could dwell there. In front of it, inland, they built a fortification around their home, to protect it against the malice of the giants. For their fortification they used the brows of the giant Ymir and they called the fortification, Miðgarð.³⁸]

Miðgarð itself then, the land inhabited by humans, is used by the gods, the family of the Æsir, including Óðin, as one of the barriers intended to keep the *jötnar* (giants) at bay. The southern regions of the outlands, the fiery Muspellheim, are guarded by Surtr, a fire giant awaiting the end of times: “Sá er Surtr nefndr; er þar sitr á landsenda til landvarnar. Hann hefir loganda sverð, ok í enda veraldar mun hann fara ok herja ok sigrá öll goðin ok brenna allan heim með eldi” (*Gylfaginning* 4; He is named Surtr, and he sits at landsend and guards it. He has a fiery sword, and, at the end of the world, he will travel to attack and defeat all the gods and burn down all the lands with fire). Quoted in *Gylfaginning* 4, the event is predicted by the Sybil in a passage of the *Völuspá*:

Surtr ferr sunnan
með sviga lævi,
skínn af sverði
sól valtiva.
Grjótbjörg gnata,
en gífr hrata;
troða halir helveg,
en himinn klofnar.
(*Völuspá* 52)

[Surtr fares from the south
with the destroyer of branches
shining from his sword,
the sun of the powerful ones.
The cavernous mountains crack open
and ravenous trolls emerge.
Men tread the road to hell,
while heaven is torn apart.]

Confined to the northern hinterlands of Niflheim (home of mist and ice), Hel – daughter of the treacherous Loki and the giantess, Angrboða – presides over the

38 My own translation, except where otherwise specified.

nine realms of the dead: “Hel kastaði hann í Niflheim ok gaf henni vald yfir níu heimum” (*Gylfaginning* 34; He [All-Father/Óðin] cast Hel into Niflheim and gave her power over nine domains). Hel’s realm receives “sótt dauðir menn ok ellidauðir” (*Gylfaginning* 34; men who die of disease and old age) but is also the eventual destination of evil people: “en vándir menn fara til Heljar ok þaðan í Niflhel. Þat er niðr í inn níunda heim” (*Gylfaginning* 3; but wicked men will journey to Hel’s [realm] and from there to Niflhel, which is the lowest level of its nine homes). Like other monsters, Hel too awaits the day when the throngs of the dead in her domains will be unleashed on the world of gods and humans, along with Loki himself, the frost giants led by Hrym, and the hellhound, Garm: “Þar er ok þá Loki kominn ok Hrymr ok með honum allir hrímpursar, en Loka fylgja allir Heljar-sinnar . . . Þá er ok lauss orðinn hundrinn Garmr, er bundinn er fyrir Gniphelli. Hann er it mesta forað” (*Gylfaginning* 51; there Loki will come and Hrym with all of the frost ogres and the entire company of Hel’s . . . then also the hound Garm will become loose, which now is bound in front of the mountain cave. He is the most harmful). Submerged in the ocean encircling the world, the Miðgarð serpent, Jörmungandr, is also said to be destined to rise out of the waters and become the slayer of Óðin’s son, Thor. Similarly, the monstrous wolf, Fenrir, held by a magical device called Gleipnir, will break free and devour Óðin himself: “Þórr berr banaorð af Miðgarðsormi ok stígr þaðan braut níu fet. Þá fellr hann dauðr til jarðar fyrir eitri því, er ormrinn blæss á hann. Úlfrinn gleypir Óðin. Verðr þat hans bani” (*Gylfaginning* 51; Thor delivered the death-word to the Miðgarð serpent and staggered away from there nine steps. Then he fell dead to the ground in front of him on account of the poison that the serpent exhaled on him. The wolf swallows Óðin. That will be his death).

The narrative of the *Gylfaginning* suggests that the downfall of the gods is very much to be expected, not just because of the prophecies of the Sybil in the *Völuspá*, but because of the character of the gods themselves, who are dishonest, arrogant, treacherous, cruel, irrational, and irascible. Thor is notorious for losing his temper and crushing skulls with his hammer at the slightest provocation, often simply because he is frustrated by his own failures, as in his dealings with the giants Skrímir and Utgarðaloki, who are stronger and more clever than he is (*Gylfaginning* 45–47). An interesting illustration of the thuggish character of Thor and the dishonorable nature of the Æsir is the episode of their agreeing with a visiting stranger to let him build a stronghold meant to strengthen the defenses of their home against giant attacks. The builder requests to have Freyja as his wife, in addition to the sun and the moon, in payment for the work. The gods agree to the wages, if he can complete the work by the first day of summer and also allow the builder to use his horse, Svaðilfœri. The horse, as it turns out, is capable of tremendous feats transporting giant stones for the project.

Thus assisted by Svaðilfœri, the builder works day and night throughout the winter and is nearing completion of the work, when the gods change their mind and determine to cheat him of his pay. For that purpose, they send the trickster, Loki, to try to delay the construction and cause the builder to miss the deadline for the completion of the work. Loki transfigures himself into a mare and lures away Svaðilfœri, causing a whole night's delay in the work. When the builder realizes that the work could not be completed in time, he becomes angry. The gods decide that his reaction, which is characterized as a “jötunmóð” (giant rage/fury), proves he is a giant and that they are therefore not obligated to keep their promises to him. They then send Thor to take care of the problem, in his usual way:

En er Æsirnir sá þat til viss at þar var berggrisi kominn, þá varð eigi þyrmt eiðunum, ok kǫlluðu þeir á Þór, ok jafnskjótt kom hann ok því næst fór á lopt hamarrinn Mjöllnir, galt þá smíðarkaupit ok eigi sól ok tungl, . . . er haussinn brotnaði í smán mola, ok sendi hann niðr undir Niflhel. (*Gylfaginning* 42)

[When the Æsir determined that it was a mountain giant that had come there, there was no honoring of their oaths, but instead they called on Thor to come to their aid. He came immediately and thus, next, the hammer, Mjöllnir, was lifted upward. Thor paid then the smith's wages, neither sun nor other star . . . but smashed his skull into small pieces, and sent him down into Niflheim.]

Ironically, the Æsir acquired their own lands in and around Sweden by the cheating of Gylfi, who was the king of Sweden at the time of their arrival there. The trick was accomplished by means of a woman of their family, Gefjun (Gefjon), who visits Gylfi disguised as a “farandi konu” (*Gylfaginning* 1; wandering woman), and to whom Gylfi gives a piece of ploughland “at launum skemtunar sinnar” (as a reward for her pleasant entertainment). The stipulation Gylfi establishes is that she can take as much land as she can plough with four oxen in a day and a night. For that task, Gefjun gets four oxen from Jötunheimr, who are said to be her own sons with a giant. The oxen proceed to plough and split off an enormous piece of land, the entire island of Zealand, from the Scandinavian peninsula. Apparently, the work of giants was acceptable to the Æsir; to cheat others of their land, but not when others used such forces in the earning of a wage which the Æsir did not want to pay.

Gylfi is deceived not just by the schemes of Gefjun but also by the stories the Æsir tell him about themselves – the very contents of the *Gylfaginning* – so as to cause him to think they are deities, fear them, and subject himself to their dominance, including the paying of tributes and the surrender of his lands. Snorri is explicit about the belief in the divinity of Óðin and his associates being a product of the stories told about them and their deeds: “En hvar sem þeir fóru yfir lönd, þá var ágæti mikit frá þeim sagt, svá at þeir þóttu líkari goðum en mönnum” (Prologue 10, *Gylfaginning*; wherever they traveled over land, great deeds were said of them, so

that they were thought to be more like gods than men). As we can surely infer, the stories were actually concocted, spread, and encouraged by the Æsir themselves.³⁹

The dishonesty and treachery of the Æsir is evident as well in their deceiving the giant wolf, Fenrir, into allowing himself to be bound with the magical Gleipnir fetter. The gods tell Fenrir they will release him, but do not intend to keep their promise. In fact, they leave Fenrir tied up with Gleipnir and also anchor him to the ground and pierce his jaws with a sword, laughing at the success of their scheme. But, since the god, Týr, had put his hand in Fenrir's mouth as pledge of the gods' honesty, he loses it to the justifiably enraged wolf. At Ragnarök, Fenrir will break free and devour and kill Óðin, as seems only fitting (*Gylfaginning* 34, 51).

Deceiving, robbing, and harming others, by force or fraud, is, ironically, the defining behavior, the ethos, of the Nordic "gods." Such traits do not bode well for them, however, at any stage in their adventures. The stories they themselves craft tell of a way of life predicated on mindless brutality and lacking in any substance of justice or morality. That malice and trickery, embodied in Loki's misdeeds, turn against the gods themselves in multiple ways, Loki being the father, and one, of the monsters that will be released at the end of the world.⁴⁰ Loki also causes the gods' greatest tragedy, which is the killing of Óðin's son, Baldr, by his blind brother, Höðr (*Gylfaginning*, 22, 49). It is also interesting that, while enticing away the horse, Svaðilfœri, Loki becomes pregnant and gives birth to the eight-legged horse, Sleipnir, which becomes Óðin's mount, metaphorically his own gallows, as a symbolic equivalent of Yggdrasil (Óðin's horse). The nine-night ordeal on the horse/tree by which Óðin learns to read the runes is a peculiarly selfish sacrifice of himself to himself: ". . . ek hekk / vindga meiði á / nætr allar níu / geiri undaðar / og geffin Óðni, / sjálfir sjálfum mér; / á þeim meiði" (*Hávamál* 138; I hung / on the wind-blown tree / nine entire nights / wounded with a spear / and I gave to Óðin / myself to myself / on that tree).⁴¹ The sacrifice, appropriately, results in his learning the songs and the wisdom that grow from the experiences of the past and that predict the future, i.e., the downfall of the gods at the hands of the monsters they create. In a similar way, the Sybil that is awakened from the dead by Óðin, in the *Völuspá*, tells

³⁹ The self-conscious management of the stories told about the Æsir is seen most transparently in the response of Hár to Gangleri's question whether Thor was ever bested by others in his exploits. Hár admits Thor has met some difficult situations but notes: "þá er eigi skylt segja frá . . . ok því eru allir skyldir at trúa, at Þórr er mátkastr" (*Gylfaginning* 44; that should not be spoken of . . . and therefore everyone should take this to be true, that Thor is the strongest).

⁴⁰ Destined to be the bane of the gods, Loki is also the begetter of his own trouble, as suggested by the fact that the gods capture and bind him in a cave where he is tied to three stones with his son's, Narfi's, intestines, and also subjected to the dripping venom of a snake above him. "Þar liggir hann í þöndum til ragnarökr" (*Gylfaginning* 50; there he lies bound till Ragnarök).

⁴¹ *Hávamál*, ed. David A. H. Evans (1986; London: Viking Society for Northern Research, 2000), 68.

of the consequences of what has already occurred, including Óðin's own loss of his eye, about which she taunts him by telling him she knows where it is, suggesting a hidden and shameful aspect of the circumstances surrounding the deal Óðin made at Mimir's well.⁴² The cyclopean blindness of Óðin's ways is thus dramatized by the irony of a vision of the future acquired by a lack of foresight at the moment when the misdeeds are committed. Thus, Óðin gained an awareness of his tragic future by performing deeds in themselves already enacting and advancing his own destruction, an idea consistent with Dante's notion of the *contrapasso*, which identifies the sin and the punishment and suggests their simultaneity.

The gods' injuries and disabilities – lacking an eye, a hand, some entirely blind, like Hoðr, who kills his brother Baldr – are representations of their character flaws, their decay while still alive, and the necessarily tragic destiny awaiting them. This corresponds to a consciousness, on the part of the poets, seers, and storytellers, of the predictable future of a predatory and dishonest human society that is, not at all surprisingly, doomed to be destroyed by the very monsters it creates through its own injustices and abuses. Monsters like Fenrir, Jörmungandr, Hel, the giants, and other marginalized creatures, literally cast out onto the outer edges of the world, are all foils brought into being by the character and deeds of the gods themselves and the culture they represent, one grounded on predatory violence, deception, and perverse sexuality (including bestiality, incest, and gang rape).⁴³ Just as Óðin

42 According to *Ynglingasaga* 4, Mimir was a seer sent to the Vanir as a hostage, along with Hoenir, claiming they were their very best people: Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla eða Sögur Noregs Konunga Snorra Sturlusonar*, ed. Nils Linder and K. A. Haggson (Uppsala: W. Schultz, 1869–1872), Vol. 1 (1870), 4–42; here 6. Hoenir is a fraud, and the Vanir are upset and kill Mimir, sending his head back to Óðin, who embalms it and keeps it in a “well” where the head can drink mead (*Völuspá* 28), in exchange for providing information to Óðin. The “well” would seem to be a container of an alcoholic beverage where the embalmed head is kept, whereas the half-blindness of Óðin is the circumstance of the attempt to deceive the Vanir, by sending Hoenir as a hostage, resulting in the loss of Mimir, Óðin's private “eye” in Vanir land. Keeping the preserved head in a jar is characteristic of the mumbo-jumbo of Óðin who pretends to communicate with the dead to impress and frighten others with his supposedly supernatural powers. The chicanery of Óðin as a smooth-talker, trickster, and astute magician is explicit in *Ynglingasaga* 6–7. Ironically, the stories contain a great deal of truth regarding the tragic future of the Æsir themselves and the ways in which they work their own destruction through their trickery and dishonesty. The Æsir are, in that sense, telling their own story and also catching themselves in the web of their own lies, foretelling their own doom.

43 Indo-European, and specifically Germanic and Celtic, but also Roman and Indo-Aryan varieties of sexual perversity are inescapable in the corresponding mythologies and legends, as well as eye-witness reports, e.g., Aḥmad ibn Faḍlān, *Ibn Faḍlān*, ed. Lunde and Stone (see note 28), 50–53. Gerald of Wales, *Topographia Hibernica*, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. James F. Dimock. 8 vols. (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1861–1891), Vol. 5 (1867), *Topographia Hibernica et Expugnatio Hibernica*, III.25, 169. Óðin's eight-legged horse, Sleipnir, is the offspring of the bestial

casts the Miðgarð serpent, Jörmungandr, out into the ocean that encircles the land, the serpent grows to encompass the entire circumference of the ocean and comes to bite its own tail. The ouroboros image is clear then, not as a symbol of the cycle of life, death and rebirth, but as a representation of the self-destruction of those who craft their own deaths through their own abuses. Accordingly, Thor kills the serpent, and the serpent kills him. Similarly, the hellhound Garm, and Týr, kill one another. The moral malaise that accompanies the end of the world is made clear by the Sybil and is in fact the reason for the disaster⁴⁴:

Bræðr munu berjask
ok at bönum verðask,
munu systrungar
sifjum spilla;
hart er í heimi,
hórdómr mikill,
skeggjöld, skálmöld,
skildir 'ru klofnir,
vindöld, vargöld,
áðr veröld steypisk;
man engi maðr
öðrum þyrma.
(*Völuspá* 45)

[Brothers will smite one another,
also become their slayers.
Cousins will

intercourse of Loki and the stallion, Svaðilfari (*Gylfaginning* 42); Loki and the giantess, Ángrboða, in turn, are the parents of the wolf Fenrir, the serpent Jörmungandr, and Hel herself (*Gylfaginning* 34). Further references in Calvert Watkins, “The *Ásvamedha* or Horse Sacrifice: An Indo-European Liturgical Form,” Ch. 25 in *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 265–76.

44 The prophecies of the Sybil to Óðin in the *Völuspá* are similar to the ones issued in the *Grottasómgr* (Mill Song) by the giantesses, Fenia and Menia, to the Danish king Frothi, who keeps them enslaved and working in his mill at Lejre. Frothi's abuses against his slaves are the reason for their warning of the upcoming loss of his throne: “Hendr scola höndla || harðar triónor; / vápn valdreyrug, || vaki þú, Fróði, / vaki þú, Fróði, / ef þú vill hlýða / söngom ocrom || oc sögom fornóm” (18; Hands shall grip the hard tree-shafts / bloody weapons. Wake up, Frothi, / wake up, Frothi / if you want to hear / our songs and sagas of former times): *Grottasómgr* in *Beowulf and Lejre*, ed. John D. Niles and Marijane Osborn. *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (MRTS)*, 323 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies [ACMRS], 2007), 303–12; here 306. The prophesied events in this text are connected to the eventual revenge of Hrolf Kraki, the “burr oc broðir” (*Grottasómgr* 22: son and brother) of Yrsa (Ursa, the she-bear), who begat Hrolf with her own father. The revenge in question addresses Hrolf's grandfather's, Halfdane's, murder by his own brother, Frothi.

break their kinship bonds.
 Hard it will be on earth,
 much whoredom,
 time of axes, time of swords.
 Shields will be cleft,
 time of storms, time of predators.
 The world of old collapses.
 Men will not
 spare others.]

Dante

The most dramatic and influential of the medieval apocalyptic narratives, on the other hand, is, without doubt, Dante's *Divine Comedy* (completed ca. 1320). Though his narrative is more optimistic regarding the possibility of an eventual universal salvation, Dante's work is most representative of the medieval breakthrough in consciousness of the world, its future, and its positive and negative potentials. Perhaps the most important image of Dante's work occurs in Canto VIII, where he speaks of a great barrier, the Wall of Dis, separating the upper and lower areas of hell. At the deepest level, giants surround the winged Lucifer, who is entrapped in a lake of ice. Veiled references to the earthquake at the time of Christ's crucifixion, crumbling cliff sides and bridges, and allusions to the Second Coming offer a disquieting picture of what, according to Dante, can be expected at the time of the Apocalypse.

In terms of the poetics of geography, the surface of the physical earth which humans inhabit stands in metonymic relations to hell, purgatory, and heaven. There is no dimensional/material separation between those seemingly different realms of existence. Unquestionably set in the material world, the journey of Dante the pilgrim works along the lines of a very well-defined logic of learning, on his part, about the nature of an afterlife which is in fact a representation of this life. In that way, during his visit to hell and its various levels, Dante is challenged to understand why specific souls inhabit specific circles and why they are punished in specific ways. As the idea that the sin equals the punishment, the *contrapasso* is a radical notion which does not allow for any wiggle room in terms of its implications. The state of suffering in hell is synonymous with the act of sinning, making hell into a present, earthly and living reality, as it is the case for Dante the pilgrim, who is in hell, not as a tourist, but as a sinner given an opportunity to learn from the mistakes of others.

Dante is in hell to prove that one enters, and creates, hell while one is still alive, in the act of sinning. Dante of course is not the only one of the souls who enters

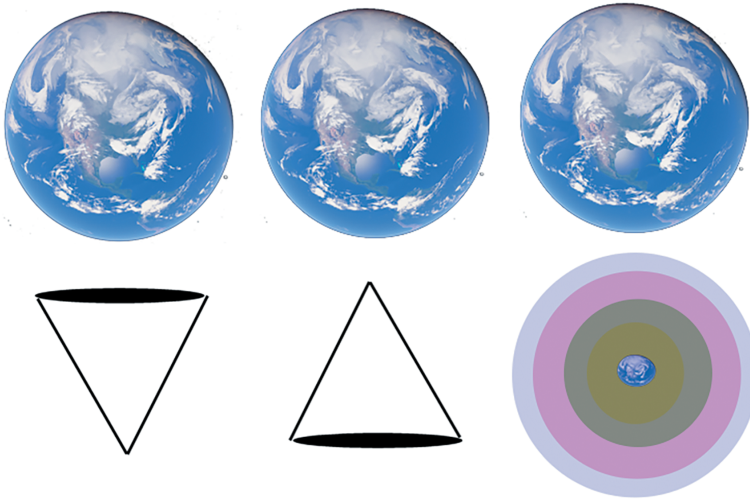


Fig. 1: Earth as Hell. Earth as Purgatory. Earth as Paradise. Image by Fidel Fajardo-Acosta (2022) CC-BY-SA 4.0, from modified screenshot of Google Earth, © Google.

hell while his body is living, as demonstrated by the case of Fra Alberigo, one of the traitors in the ninth circle. As an early Humanist prefiguring the ideas of the Renaissance, Dante was proposing his *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso* as symbols of the potential states of the soul of individual human beings but also of the physical earth we all inhabit, where the quality of the human existence is defined by the sum total, or sum global, of all our choices and actions, which can make life on earth a living hell or a paradise, with other states in between leading in one direction or the other.⁴⁵

The true innovation of Dante is his suggestion that the soul dies at the moment of sin, not just in the case of the worst sinners but of all sinners, and Dante is one of them, which is why he is in hell. Fra Alberigo's answer to Dante regarding whether he is dead or alive is of capital importance to the overall message of the *Inferno* and to its fundamentally humanist spirit:

⁴⁵ Dante appears to have been inspired by Joachim of Fiore's meditations on a coming "Age of the Spirit" that will suffuse the quality of life on earth. As noted by Marjorie Reeves, "the *Commedia* is in many ways a this-worldly poem, still concerned with all that hinders the realization of the earthly beatitude"; "Dante's vision, as expressed in the prophetic words of the *Divina Commedia*, involves a fundamental, internal, and spiritual transformation": Reeves, "Dante and the Prophetic View of History," *The World of Dante: Essays on Dante and his Times*, ed. Cecil Grayson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), 44–60; here 50–51, 52.

“Oh,” diss’ io lui, “or se’ tu ancor morto?”
 Ed elli a me: “Come ’l mio corpo stea
 nel mondo sù, nulla scienza porto.

Cotal vantaggio ha questa Tolomea,
 che spesse volte l’anima ci cade
 innanzi ch’Atropòs mossà le dea.”

(XXXIII.121–126)

[“Oh,” I said to him, “are you then already dead?”
 And he to me: “How it stands for my body
 in the world above, I have no knowledge.

For such an advantage has this Ptolomea,
 that oftentimes the soul falls here
 before Atropos gives it motion.”]

The seemingly special case of Ptolomea, the circle of the traitors against guests and hosts, is the general case for all sinners, as sin and punishment are inseparable, by the law of *contrapasso*, and all are guests at the communion banquet where any sin is a betrayal of the host. Thus, Judas is said to be possessed by a demon at exactly the moment, when he is still alive, when he accepts the bread of the communion from Jesus⁴⁶:

“I am not referring to all of you; I know those I have chosen. But this is to fulfill this passage of Scripture: ‘He who shared my bread has turned against me.’

“Very truly I tell you, one of you is going to betray me.”

“It is the one to whom I will give this piece of bread when I have dipped it in the dish.” Then, dipping the piece of bread, he gave it to Judas, the son of Simon Iscariot. As soon as Judas took the bread, Satan entered into him. (John 8:18, 21, 26)

In the same way, as Alberigo explains to Dante: “. . . tosto che l’anima trade / com fec’
 ò, il corpo suo l’è tolto / da un demonio, che poscia il governa / mentre che ’l tempo

⁴⁶ The identification of possible sources of the living damned motif – in John 13:27, Numbers 16:30, and Psalm 55:15 (“Let death take my enemies by surprise; let them go down alive to the realm of the dead, for evil finds lodging among them” [NIV]), Psalm 54:16 in the Vulgate – was made already in the earliest commentaries, such as that of Pietro Alighieri, *Comentum Super Poema Comedie Dantis: A Critical Edition of the Third and Final Draft of Pietro Alighieri’s Commentary on Dante’s The Divine Comedy*, ed. Massimiliano Chiamanti. Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (MRTS), 247. Mediterranean Studies Monographs and Texts (MSMT), 2 (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies [ACMRS], 2002). Maurizio Fiorilla, “Et descendant in infernum viventes”: *Inf.* XXXIII, 109–57 e il Salmo 54,” *L’Alighieri* 27 (2006): 133–39; here 135–36. Fiorilla cites further parallels of the motif in St. Ambrose’s sermon, *De bono mortis*, and in the *Polycraticus* of John of Salisbury (138).

suo tutto sia vòlto” (XXXIII.129–32; as soon as a soul commits treachery, / as I did, his body is taken away from him by a demon, which controls it / until his time runs out). The first death in that sense is the spiritual death that occurs at the moment of sin, whereas “la seconda morte” (I.117; the second death), which refers to the Second Coming and the Last Judgment, corresponds, in material terms, to physical death, in itself a last judgment in the sense that it forecloses forever any possibility of spiritual or behavioral change, hence its absolute finality and eternity.⁴⁷

Thus, at the moment of sin, the soul dies and enters hell, whether the sinner is aware of it or not, as in the case of Fra Alberigo, whose soul in hell has no knowledge of what may be happening to its still living body on earth. That state of spiritual death/damnation, however, is not truly final till the moment of physical death, if it occurs while the sinner remains unrepentant. Dante is someone whose soul is in hell, due to his own sins, but who will be able to get out thanks to the help of Beatrice and Virgil, embodiments of earthly love and reason, with Christ, the spirit of divine love, as the third person necessary for Dante’s salvation. Christ, Beatrice, and Virgil constitute then the trinity that opposes and overcomes the sins represented by the lion, the leopard, and the wolf that, in the first place, chased Dante into the “. . . selva oscura / ché la diritta via era smarrita” (I.2–3; dark jungle where the righteous way was lost). Dante the pilgrim, then, is not an exceptional case but an embodiment of the situation of all sinful humans and how we create a living hell for ourselves and others while we are still alive, “nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita” (I.1; in the middle of the journey of our life). The seeming peculiarities of a few individuals being alive on earth and yet already in hell and of the living Dante entering and leaving hell – in full defiance of the fearsome inscription at its gates: “Lasciate ogne speranza, voi ch’intrate” (III: 9; Abandon any hope, you who enter) – are not oddities but the rule of when and how sinners enter hell, and how they can also leave it, as we also see Virgil doing while escorting Dante up the mountain of Purgatory.⁴⁸

47 As Fiorilla noted, the situation of the damned in Ptolomea baffled early commentators, as it would appear to contradict Christian belief in the chance to repent during one’s life time, as these sinners are still alive but apparently damned forever without possibility of redemption: “. . . l’eccezionale castigo inflitto ai dannati della Tolomea, contrario alla dottrina cristiana che lascia a tutti uno spazio per pentimento fino all’ultimo istante di vita”: “Et descendant” (see note 46), 135. Figures like Alberigo and Branca Doria, however, are not damned forever anymore than Dante the pilgrim himself is, as all of them share in their sinfulness but also in the possibility of opening their eyes before the last moment of their lives, as Dante does, hence escaping hell.

48 Warren Tormey, “The Journey within the Journey: Catábasis and Travel Narrative in Late Medieval and Early Modern Epic,” *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 22 (Berlin and New York: Walter De Gruyter, 2018), 585–621.

The mobility of Virgil, who can exit and enter hell seemingly at will, also defies the inscription on hell's gates but appears an exception to the rule that it is necessary to be still physically alive to escape damnation. That, however, was also the case of the souls recovered by Christ during the Harrowing of Hell. Although Virgil has already suffered physical death, his case is like that of the virtuous pagans rescued by Christ, i.e., he does not belong in hell, and never did, except by the strictures of questionable dogmas damning all of the unbaptized. A similar situation is the case of the suicides, who bring about their first and second deaths simultaneously, thus depriving themselves of the possibility of repentance and escape from hell. Whether the suicides, the unbaptized, or the virtuous pagans like Virgil belong in hell is subtly but definitely put into question by Dante. The *Divine Comedy* in effect is not only hinting at the ideas that hell is not necessarily forever and that many who may be in hell for a variety of reasons may not deserve such a punishment, but that a universal salvation could be the destiny of all creation. Such is Christ's love, in other words, that it can redeem both the living and the dead.

What is to come, however, to sinners and the world they create, could be truly terrifying, as hinted at in Virgil's veiled answers to Dante's questions regarding what can be expected at the Second Coming. Virgil indeed suggests to Dante that the suffering of the sinners will be "più perfetta" (VI: 110; more perfect) at that time. Though the comment is very cryptic, it is illuminated by the observations Dante makes of the destructive effects, on the structures of hell, of the earthquake that occurred when Christ first entered hell, at the moment of his death on the cross, and rescued virtuous souls entrapped in hell prior to his First Coming. At that time, hell shook to its foundations, hillsides crumbled, and bridges collapsed. What is to come then is implied to be a full breach of the structural integrity of hell, the complete rending asunder and destruction of the place, its total erasure from existence altogether.

If all humans were to be found unrepentant sinners at the moment of the Last Judgment, the event would correspond to the extinction of the human race, death with a capital D, final, eternal, and irrevocable. How that could happen is evident in the notion of Armageddon, or Ragnarök, the battle of the end of the world when all hell breaks loose and the armies of the evil living are joined with those of the resurrected evil dead, as they carry out their work of mutual and comprehensive self-destruction. The Last Judgment, however, can also allude to the complete eradication of evil, which is most perfect in absolute non-existence, as it is, after all, a process of death and decay which finds its fulfillment in nothingness.

An interesting question arises in these respects regarding what might be the tipping point and when exactly it is that God decides enough is enough and judges humans, either annihilating all of them or sorting them out into the saved and the damned. In the story of Noah, God's decision to exterminate humanity nearly completely is motivated by the excess of violence on earth and the correspondingly

nearly complete lack of good people (Genesis 6:11–19). The end, on that occasion, marked a new beginning, the reentrance of the earth into a new cycle of possibilities: Hell? Purgatory? Heaven? That cycle, however, has not gone well and is the reason for the predictability of an apocalyptic ending, and perhaps a new beginning. The ending of the *Inferno* and the *Divine Comedy* as a whole are very optimistic regarding the human potential for learning, changing and being saved, but there are nevertheless ambiguities about the future that are contingent on that learning and transformation, which are far from guaranteed, and not entirely certain, even in Dante himself, who is not exactly consistent in his assessments of good and evil, in hell or in heaven.

It could be said that, on a global scale, the earth cannot be saved or plucked out of its cycles of mass destructions and painful rebirths, unless a sufficiently large number of the living acquire the self-knowledge needed to face the ugly truth of who we are and enact the necessary self- and world-transformation. One good person does not make a paradise. That is where the matter of global consciousness comes in, both as awareness of the radical interconnectedness of the lives of all living things but also the consciousness of the need for that awareness to spread to many, which is essential if a global salvation is ever to occur, or if the earth is going to be pulled out of the spiral of its decay into just another dead rock floating out in empty space.

As Dante presents it, neither the state of the individual soul, nor the overall condition of the planet, are necessarily inevitable, or irreversible, at least until physical death, or the extinction of the human race, at which point indeed there would no longer be any hope of change and all would stand judged according to the actions they undertook while they still could. A hellish end of the world comes about when humans – completely unshackled from any morality, humane feelings, or rational thought – fully give vent to their lusts and destroy everything, themselves included. Dante is in hell, however, to prove that, by accepting identification with the damned and understanding and acknowledging his errors, he can actually escape hell, provided of course he is still alive and capable of making choices and amends, as Dante does. For Dante then, entering and leaving hell is the breaching of a barrier preventing him from understanding himself and how he brought himself down into the underworld. The gap that Alberigo cannot bridge, between the state of his soul and that of his body, is closed by Dante, who brings his body to face the state of his soul and thus comes into consciousness of the full meaning of hell and of his role in creating it.⁴⁹

49 Hollander characterizes the motif of the living body on earth and the soul in hell as, “the poet’s extraordinary innovation,” a daring idea that challenged already the earliest commentators to find

Not surprising for an early Christian Humanist, the key to salvation Dante offers is the *imitatio Christi* (imitation of Christ), which calls for love, forgiveness, and sympathy, even towards one's own enemies. The entire journey through the *Inferno* is a challenge to the pilgrim to open his eyes to the reality of his own sins and the necessity to imitate the example of Jesus. In the upper levels of hell, Dante has relatively little trouble identifying and sympathizing with the souls there, the pagan philosophers and poets, the lustful, even the gluttonous. By the time he reaches the fifth circle, the level of the angry, however, his sympathy begins to run out.⁵⁰

The events narrated in Cantos VIII and IX of the *Inferno* constitute a very significant moment in the pilgrim's journey, as they present to him a serious obstacle to the continuation of that journey.⁵¹ Here Dante exhibits a shockingly harsh reaction to the apparition of Filippo Argenti, a personal rival who had slapped and humiliated Dante and whose family inherited the property confiscated from him as a result of his involvement in the politics of the White Guelph party.⁵² Seeing Filippo in the mud of Styx causes Dante great joy but also enrages and causes him to curse Filippo and wish him even greater torment. As a pagan who lived in the days before Christ, Virgil can only concur and approves of Dante's anger.⁵³ Dante clearly, at least

biblical sources: Cited from the commentary to Canto XXXIII.122–33 by Robert Hollander, *Inferno*, trans. Robert and Jean Hollander (New York: Doubleday/Anchor, 2000), as found on *Dante Lab*, ed. Daniel Rockmore, Graziella Parati, Scott S. Millspaugh, and Laurence E. Hooper (Hanover, NH: Dartmouth College, 2022), <http://dantelab.dartmouth.edu> (last accessed on Dec. 22, 2022).

50 "This is the first time in the poem that we hear an angry debate between the protagonist and one of the sinners. These are often, as here, couched in a form reminiscent of *tenzoni*, poems in the low language of streetwise insult, that were a popular pastime of thirteenth-century Italian poets, including Dante": Cited from the commentary to Canto VIII.31–39 by Hollander, *Inferno*, (see note 49).

51 As noted by Christopher Kleinhenz, Canto VIII is unusual in that it embodies a delay in the pilgrim's progress: "... canto 8 is set off, suspended as it were, different from the others because of the double halt in the forward movement"; "set off from the cantos that precede and follow it ... this is the first canto which follows the structure of pause – movement – pause and which is, in a very special way, self-contained," *"Inferno 8: The Passage Across the Styx," Lectura Dantis* 3 (1988): 23–40; here 24–25.

52 Kleinhenz, *"Inferno 8"* (see note 51), 31. Daniel J. Donno, "Dante's Argenti: Episode and Function," *Speculum* 40 (1965): 611–25. Fiorenzo Forti, "Filippo Argenti," *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, ed. Umberto Bosco. 6 vols. (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1970–1975), 2: 873–76; most recent edition is *The Dante Encyclopedia*, ed. Richard Lansing (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).

53 *"Inferno 9 constitutes a first exploration of Virgilio's limitations, and by extension an indictment of classical culture"*: Teodolinda Barolini, *"Inferno 9: Virgilio's Dark Past: From Erichtho to Medusa."* *Commento Baroliniano*, Digital Dante (New York: Columbia University Libraries, 2018). <https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/dante/divine-comedy/inferno/inferno-9/> (last accessed on Nov. 13, 2022), n. 46.

at this point, is not ready to turn the other cheek and the ironies of his angry reaction, in the circle of the angry, are unmistakable.⁵⁴

Dante, at this point in his journey, has reached an obstacle, which manifests itself in the form of the Wall of Dis, whose gates the Furies proceed to shut close, also threatening Dante with showing him the head of Medusa and turning him to stone, thus causing him to dwell forever in the circle of the wrathful, as a monument to his own errors. Virgil, however, the allegorical embodiment of reason, has a sudden insight that saves the day. He tells Dante to cover his eyes with his hands and he further covers Dante's hands with his own.

"Volgiti 'n dietro e tien lo viso chiuso;
ché se 'l Gorgón si mostra e tu 'l vedessi,
nulla sarebbe di tornar mai suso."

Così disse 'l maestro; ed elli stessi
mi volse, e non si tenne a le mie mani,
che con le sue ancor non mi chiudessi.
(*Inferno* IX.55–60)

[Turn backwards and keep your eyes closed,
for if the Gorgon showed herself and you were to see her,
there would be no way to ever return above.

Thus spoke the teacher, and he himself
turned me around, and not trusting in just my hands,
with his own even further enclosed me.]

The image is profoundly symbolic and intended to be interrogated for its underlying significance. Dante himself tells the reader to pay attention:

O voi ch'avete li 'ntelletti sani,
mirate la dottrina che s'asconde
sotto 'l velame de li versi strani.
(*Inferno* IX: 61–63)⁵⁵

54 Scholars have debated whether Dante's angry reaction in this circle is appropriate (*ira bona*) or a matter of concern (*ira mala*): Kleinhenz believes that here, Dante "... falls victim yet another time to the snare of sin, yielding, as he did with Francesca, to his passions": "*Inferno* 8" (see note 51), 32, 39 n. 19. Antonietta Bufano and Fausto Montanari, "Ira," *Enciclopedia Dantesca* (see note 52), 3: 513–16.

55 Dante, *Commedia* (see note 18). Hollander notes this direct address to the reader "has caused more difficulty than any other, and 'solutions' are so abundant that it is fair to say that none has won general consent, from the first commentators' exertions until today": Cited from the commentary to Canto IX. 61–63, Hollander, *Inferno* (see note 49). Amilcare Iannucci offers a brief overview of interpretations and explores the relations of the situation with the Harrowing of Hell, the main source of which is the *Gospel of Nicodemus*: "Dottrina e allegoria in 'Inferno' VIII, 67–IX, 105," *Dante e le*

[Oh, you who have a healthy mind,
observe the doctrine hidden
under the veil of the strange verses]

As noted by Barolini, in Canto IX, Dante the poet “opens up a space of interiority in his characters – the ‘dentro’ (‘inside’) of verse 3 – not common in medieval poetry.”⁵⁶ What is involved here is indeed the urgent necessity to go inside and to ponder deeply what lies hidden there. As hinted at by the peculiar imagery, the issue to be faced is one of blindness itself, dramatized by the gesture of covering and recovering Dante’s eyes. The blindness is not connected to external objects but to an inner reality that has to be faced. The solution Virgil figures out is clear, the outside world and its others have to be blocked from view so as to give undivided attention to the true source of the obstacle, the rage and vengefulness brewing in Dante himself, among other sins, and that are the very reasons why he is in hell in the first place. The relevant biblical passage underlying this episode and the question of blindness to one’s own sins is of course:

“Why do you look at the speck of sawdust in your brother’s eye and pay no attention to the plank in your own eye? How can you say to your brother, ‘Let me take the speck out of your eye,’ when all the time there is a plank in your own eye? You hypocrite, first take the plank out of your own eye, and then you will see clearly to remove the speck from your brother’s eye” (Matthew 7:3–5, NIV).⁵⁷

Dante’s angry reaction to the apparition of Filippo Argenti was an enormous failure, sanctioned by the failure of Virgil who, at this point, is at his weakest. A solution

forme dell'allegoresi, ed. Michelangelo Picone (Ravenna: Longo, 1987), 99–124; here 99–101. Iannucci correctly points out that “soltanto attraverso Cristo e imitando Cristo si potrà disserrare la porta del Tartaro” (104).

⁵⁶ Barolini, “*Inferno* 9” (see note 53). Barolini further notes, “In these dense first tercets of *Inferno* 9 Dante-narrator informs us about the respective changes of Virgilio’s and Dante’s faces in order to open up a space of subjectivity, signaled by the contrasting “di fuor” (“outside”) and “dentro” (“inside”) in verses 1 and 3. The space of interiority is carved out by the interchange between the pilgrim’s fear which pushes its way out of him and Virgilio’s concern which he bottles up within. Subsequently, in the next tercet, this inside space – the space of interiority and subjectivity that the poet is working to uncover – is reflected discursively: in Virgilio’s articulation of his thoughts and especially in the unfinished clause of verse 8” (n. 13).

⁵⁷ The obscurity of the episode might be related to the verses in Matthew that follow these ones: “Do not give dogs what is sacred; do not throw your pearls to pigs. If you do, they may trample them under their feet, and turn and tear you to pieces.” Dogs, interestingly, as noted by Singleton in his comment to VIII.42, tracing the idea to Aquinas, are closely connected to anger: *The Divine Comedy: Inferno*, trans. with commentary by Charles S. Singleton. 2 vols. Bollingen Series, 80 (1970; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 2: 126.

involving the efforts of both pilgrim and guide is then imperative.⁵⁸ As soon as the gesture of self-blinding, doubled up by Virgil, is performed, an admission of the error is enacted, and the obstacle can then be removed. It is of course at that point that an angel from heaven descends into hell and commands the Furies to open the gates so Dante can continue his journey. This situation is then a very significant moment that illustrates the breaching of the cognitive barrier between Dante and his salvation. As an image of simultaneous confession and self-critical introspection, the doubly-stressed gesture of covering one's eyes, represents Dante's coming into awareness of the fact that his anger and lack of identification with, and sympathy for, others are the obstacles that were preventing him from moving forward. As soon as Dante looks inward, the gates of self-knowledge are opened, and the journey can proceed.

A similarly serious challenge to the pilgrim's progress emerges in the ninth circle, where cold-hearted treachery is punished. Flanked by the giants of classical and biblical antiquity – Nimrod, Ephialtes, Antaeus, Briareus, Tityus, Typhon (XXXI.31–145) – the circular lake of ice holds Lucifer prisoner and prevents him from being released into the world above. The ice is also both an obstacle and an aid to Dante, in his quest for the knowledge he needs to escape from hell. As Dante walks on the ice, he looks down and converses with the protruding heads of the sinners there. One of those souls, Fra Alberigo, asks Dante for help removing the crust of ice from his eyes. Dante promises to help him if he reveals his identity. Fra Alberigo proceeds to tell Dante his name and that his soul is already in hell, though his body is still alive and walks the earth. Dante however refuses to fulfill his promise and does not remove the ice from Alberigo's eyes.⁵⁹

58 “*Inferno* 9 begins with the apparently simple information that Dante and Virgilio are both distressed, albeit in somewhat different ways Dante is afraid because he has deduced that the devils’ obstinate intransigence has discomfited Virgilio, causing his guide a loss in confidence and an increase in anger. Both emotions were noted in *Inferno* 8, where Virgilio comes back from his parley with the devils notably demoralized: . . . Virgilio then instructs Dante not to become fearful on account of his having grown angry, since he will ultimately win this contest”; “Virgilio . . . engages in a literal “cover-up” of his own speech. Virgilio “covers up” (“ricoperse”) what he had started to say with what he says afterward: “I vidi ben sì com’ ei ricoperse / lo cominciar con l’altro che poi venne” (But I saw well enough how he had covered / his first words with the words that followed after [*Inf.* 9.10–11]):” Barolini, “*Inferno* 9” (see note 53), n. 7, 21.

59 Giuseppe Borgese correctly pointed out that the “savagery” of Dante in Canto VIII “. . . is only matched in the nethermost pit of Hell when Dante, a traitor among traitors, thumbs his nose, so to speak, at friar Alberigo, whom he has cheated, or when, shortly before, he has actually struck at Bocca degli Abati, pulling some locks of hair from his eternally frozen head,” “The Wrath of Dante,” *American Critical Essays on the Divine Comedy*, ed. Robert J. Clements (New York: New York University Press; London: University Press of London, 1967), 158–73; here 161. Although these scenes allow Borgese to sense the tragedy involved, he fails to understand them as errors and ends up

This is a chilling moment to say the least, as Dante is engaging in treacherous behavior in the circle of the treacherous, no less. The image of Alberigo, blinded by the ice and physically alive but already in hell, could not more clearly reveal to Dante its not-so-hidden significance. As suggested by his description of the frozen waters of Cocytus having the appearance of glass, the images in front of him are telling him something about himself:⁶⁰

Per ch'io mi volsi, e vidimi davante
e sotto i piedi un lago che per gelo
avea di vetro e non d'acqua semiante.
(*Inferno* XXXII.22–24)

[At that, I turned around, and saw before me
and under the feet, a lake that, being frozen,
had the appearance of glass rather than water.]

One of the most interesting words in this passage is “vidimi davante” (22) which is of course the idea of seeing something in front of oneself: “I saw before me.”⁶¹ The object of the vision in this line would seem to be held in suspense, even further delayed by the elaboration, “e sotto i piedi” (23; and under the feet). The expression “vidimi davante,” however, can also be construed as “I saw me/myself in front,” even as poetic wordplay, “vidi mi Da . . . nte” (I saw myself, Dante), in that way suggesting the vision as that of the self, right in front of us, under our noses, as it were. The

celebrating them as “Michelangelesque” and “poetic genius” (169, 171–72). Hollander is similarly mistaken in thinking that Dante is a “privileged visitor” in hell and that he can get away with trickery such as “swearing a misleading oath in order to reassure him [Alberigo] (of course he is going to the ‘bottom of the ice,’ but not as a sinner”): Cited from the commentary to Canto XXXIII.115–117, Hollander, *Inferno* (see note 49).

⁶⁰ Singleton noticed but was disconcerted by the implications of XXXII.54, where one of the traitors, Camicion de’ Pazzi, asks Dante, “Perché cotanto in noi ti specchi?” which Singleton translates as “Why do you gaze so much on us?” (*Divine Comedy: Inferno* [see note 57], 1: 343): “In this case *specchiarsi* in probably implies nothing more than ‘to gaze on,’ as it is far from clear how the wayfarer could be said to ‘mirror himself’ in any more literal sense” (2: 589). Barolini acknowledges, “[t]he smooth ice of Cocytus, which the extreme cold has caused to take on the appearance of glass (‘avea di vetro e non d’acqua semiante’ [it looks like glass, not water *Inf.* 32.24]), serves as a mirror of the self . . . Cocytus is a lake of glass in which the self is mirrored, for the journey through Hell, which now draws to an end, is about recognizing evil not only in others: we must also recognize evil in ourselves” (n. 16): “*Inferno* 32: Erotic Ice to Frozen Core,” *Commento Baroliniano*, Digital Dante. New York, NY: Columbia University Libraries, 2018. <https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/dante/divine-comedy/inferno/inferno-32/> (last accessed on Nov. 17, 2022). Ead., *The Undivine Comedy: De-theologizing Dante* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992), 93.

⁶¹ Singleton proposes, “mi vidi davante” (XXXII.22), and translates the line, “At this I turned and saw before me . . .”: *Divine Comedy: Inferno* (see note 57), 1: 341, 2: 584.

forms *me/mi* in effect are interchangeable and can have object or subject/reflexive senses. Thus, as he looks at the sinners in Cocytus, particularly Fra Alberigo, Dante is looking down into an image of himself, a blind traitor staring into the face of a blind traitor, and, again, as in the circle of the angry, in danger of staying there forever. Both situations, among the angry and the traitors, feature then the motif of blindness, of identity with the other, and the danger of being petrified, into stone or ice, and not being able to continue the journey.⁶² At this point then, the shiny surface of the lake fully reveals its true nature as a spiritual mirror and an aid in the understanding of the central and most terrifying secret of the *Inferno*: the figure of the three-headed Lucifer stuck at the center of the lake.

The vision here is of the highest importance in the revelation of the nature and problems of globalization. The three faces of Lucifer – yellow, white and black – speak of the racial and also cultural differences of the peoples of the world, reduced here to the common identity of the Prince of this World (John 14:30), the voracious emperor that devours, through his three mouths, the bodies and souls of all others. A vision of predatory, evil empire, Lucifer is globalization itself, the subduing of the entire world and all its peoples to the imperious will of a conqueror whose only concern is to appropriate and consume everything, denying any kind of identity to others, except as his food and as the resources by which it grows and becomes ever stronger. Dante here is clear about what such processes imply and where they lead, namely, the destruction of the world and the reign of eternal death. This image of Lucifer, like the Wall of Dis and the ice of Cocytus, is a barrier to the clear vision of the self, reflected in the other; that is required to prevent the otherwise unavoidable outcomes of globalization. The challenge here is to recognize how all humans, regardless of race, are identified by their sinfulness, the different-colored but spiritually-identical faces of Satan.⁶³ The challenge also is for Dante to be able to see himself as identical to all of those others, people of other cultures and races, and

62 “In *Inferno* 34 the narrator . . . imagines himself frozen, ‘gelato’ in verse 22, a participant in the primary lexical feature of icy Cocytus. He is neither dead nor alive – “Io non mori’ e non rimasi vivo” (I did not die and did not remain alive) – in a state perilously similar to the animate death that he here witnesses” (n. 26): Teodolinda Barolini, “*Inferno* 34: Satanic Physics and the Point of Transition,” *Commento Baroliniano*, Digital Dante (New York: Columbia University Libraries, 2018). <https://digitaldante.columbia.edu/dante/divine-comedy/inferno/inferno-34/> (last accessed on Nov. 17, 2022).

63 Teodolinda Barolini has correctly noted that, in multiple senses – racial, ethnic, cultural, ideological, and sexual – Dante can be seen “pushing at the normative boundaries of inclusion and exclusion” (185). “The various forms of sympathy toward the other . . . could be arranged on a spectrum: from the profound psychological identification that causes Dante to faint after meeting Francesca, to his assertive dignifying of the Ethiopian and his ability actively to imagine the salvation of sodomites and pagans, to his demonstrable lack of interest in stereotyping ethnic groups different from his own, such as the Jews” (193–94): “Dante’s Sympathy for the Other, or the Non-Stereotyping

also those we might designate as the very worst of all sinners, as the archetypal Enemy himself (Satan < Hebrew שָׂטָן (*satán*; enemy, opponent, adversary, accuser). We face here, in other words, a global vision of the basic nature of the human being, uniquely formulated in a brilliant fashion by Dante, but accessible to all people across the world.

Thus, in Canto XXXIV, as Dante and Virgil come within view of Lucifer, the sickening truth of the source of all evil can no longer be denied. The only alternatives at this point are to refuse it, hence remaining in hell forever, or accept it, hence being able to escape. Virgil and Dante step up toward Lucifer and embrace his body, using it to descend to the center of the earth and begin the ascent toward the surface on the other side. Were it not for that embrace – the erasing of the distance between the self and the abjected other – the escape would have been impossible. The image at the center of the mirror of Cocytus, the final barrier that stands between the states of damnation and salvation, is a cognitive one and involves the capacity to bridge the distance between the self and the image that represents all evil. The most difficult encounter Dante faces throughout his infernal journey, then, is the one that requires him to understand that the evil of this world is ultimately to be found in who we are, in the image in the mirror, in the fact that evil is something brought about by ourselves. Something we should have already known at the beginning of the journey, when we found ourselves, along with Dante and Virgil, lost in the forest of error, it is our own sins that contribute to the suffering of others, as well as our own, to the destruction of the earth, and to the catastrophic end of the world. Whether we – as the arrogant, lustful, deceitful, and greedy humans that we are – are capable of emulating Dante's feats of self-overcoming and self-knowledge remains an open question.

Whether Dante himself was able to accomplish those feats fully is itself not entirely clear, as his work is not exempt from a certain taint of globalization's imperialist ambitions. The great barrier standing between us and the understanding of who we are, and of the destiny associated with our character, was breached back in the Middle Ages. The vision released at that moment has been staring us in the face for at least seven hundred years, with little sign on our part indicating we've gotten the message: that we are standing at a critical crossroads, "nel mezzo del cammin di nostra vita" (*Inferno* I.1; in the middle of the road of our life), with multiple alternative paths/trails before us, some of which lead in the direction of a global inferno, or a global paradise. Works like Virgil's *Aeneid* and Dante's *Divina Commedia* present us with choices, alternative paths that move in different directions and toward

entirely different destinations. Virgil offered us a gate of ivory, and one of horn; the former following the false dreams of the violent empires forged on the fields of Mars; the latter visible only in shadowy dreams of the bucolic fields of Ceres.⁶⁴

Dante, on the other hand, is more optimistic and brings us to a crossroads with at least three alternatives, represented by the three realms of his *Commedia*, also adumbrated in the three-personed visions of Satan and of God. As suggested by the logic of the three-colored faces of Satan, devouring Cassius, Brutus, and Judas, the three-colored circles of the vision of God must have opposite but also earthly and spiritual significance in the same proportions. In that way, two of the circles of the Empyrean can be connected to the idea of the assumedly just but necessarily violent powers of enlightened emperors and kings of this world, who suppress evil by the justice of the sword, a form of globalization. The third circle, however, is a very different matter, as it is the road of peace and divine love, the spiritual globalism of the otherworldly empire of Jesus Christ, where self and other coexist in perfect harmony, not in a relation dictated by power.

At every turn in Dante's universe, then, we encounter, not solutions but fractures and the incoherence of incompatible alternatives. Julius Caesar is not Jesus Christ. They represent radically different approaches, directions, and destinies. What these texts suggest is that the directions the world will take entirely depend on our choices, which can be informed by narrower or broader states of consciousness, by greater or lesser awareness of the roads already traveled – the precious information preserved in the stories we have been telling since we acquired the use of language, some 100,000 years ago, and by which we create the world that we get to live in.

64 Ceres, goddess of agriculture and mother of Proserpine, represents the peaceful and productive life that is lost to the madness of war. She is featured in the work of Virgil as profoundly central, but in ghostly form, as an absence, a road not taken in the rise of violent empires. "The goddess Ceres plays a distinctly important role in the drama of the Virgilian *Aeneid* and emerges as a key figure in the epic pantheon – even as she performs her functions in an atmosphere of rather subdued, sober quiet. Virgil's first mention of the goddess came as he named Bacchus and Ceres in the fifth eclogue; the last comes amid the reception of the Trojans in Arcadia, as Ceres and Bacchus appear again, this time to close a great ring of reference to the divine patrons of grain and wine. Lurking behind the seeming convention of the worship of the goddess of the fields and the lord of the vine is a palpable sense of loss and the unsuccessful quest for rebirth and renewal. The seasons may return in due course, but the Virgilian reader is left with a Proserpina who does not wish to be restored to her mother, and a Dido and Pallas who are lost forever in the advent of a Roman future – a future in which there will be no rebirth of Troy, but only ghosts such as the one detained by another mother goddess, on Trojan shores," Lee M. Fratantuono, "*Tumulum antiquae cereris*: Virgil's Ceres and the Harvest of Troy," *Bollettino di Studi Latini* 45.2 (2015): 456–72.

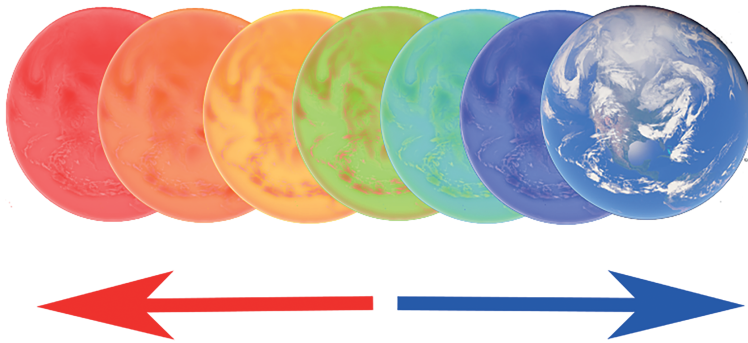


Fig. 2: Globalization or Globalism? Image by Fidel Fajardo-Acosta (2022) CC-BY-SA 4.0, from modified screenshot of Google Earth, © Google.

Cosmic Corollary

Heraclitus claimed Homer was an astronomer (ἄστρολόγον φησὶ τὸν Ὅμηρον, Fragment 105).⁶⁵ Dante and Virgil were too; in fact, they were cosmologists anticipating modern insights. The universe we inhabit, we are told by physicists, originated in an infinitely dense object or region of space, a singularity, which, for reasons unknown, underwent the so-called Big Bang that brought our cosmos into being, some 14 billion years ago. The future of the universe, like everything else, is a matter of possibilities. One of those possibilities is that the universe will continue expanding, eventually leading to the complete dispersion of all matter and energy into the vastness of space, a state of absolute cold and darkness. Current evidence suggests that expansion has been accelerating in recent times – roughly since the formation of the solar system, about 4–5 billion years ago – due to the influence of so-called dark matter and dark energy. Another possibility is that the universe might recollapse into a state like that of the original singularity, the coming back together of all matter and energy into a single and infinitely dense “object,” a return to the once-lost unity, a reintegration of all existence into the One (Fig. 3). For that to occur it would be necessary that the density of non-dark matter in the universe, and the gravitational forces associated with such density, exceed a certain threshold.

⁶⁵ Hermann Diels, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*. 3rd ed. 3 vols. (Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1912), 1: 98.

At the present moment, the forces of darkness are winning that cosmic battle, as the universe is expanding and its rate of expansion is accelerating.⁶⁶ Could it be that, in a butterfly-like sort of effect, the quality of human choices and actions might make a difference in the eventual outcomes of those cosmic-scale processes? As any good postmodern, or pre-modern, might agree, nothing is impossible. And it would, in any case, make for a very good story.

Conclusion

The fundamental question that this volume of scholarly essays attempts to answer is that of whether concepts of globalism are relevant to the pre-modern period. This essay answers that question in the affirmative, suggesting that the human mind, at every point in its history, engages in a meditation on the relation of the self to any otherness that it perceives as emerging just over its horizons of understanding. The key aspect of that meditation involves the question of how that other is to be engaged, either as an equal from which the self can learn and with which it can interact in mutually advantageous ways, or as an objectified enemy that has to be subjected, dispossessed, and reduced to domination by the self. The former approach is globalism, the latter is globalization.⁶⁷ Generally, it is globalization that leads the way, as humans set out to explore the world and tend to see any emerging

⁶⁶ Adam G. Riess and Michael S. Turner, "From Slowdown to Speed Up," *Scientific American* 290.2 (February 2004): 62–67.

⁶⁷ Globalism is best illustrated in this volume in the contribution of Albrecht Classen, "Globalism in the Late Middle Ages: The Low German *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* as a Significant Outpost of a Paradigm Shift. The Move Away from Traditional Eurocentrism," which highlights the objectivity and spirit of learning and genuine interest in foreign lands and cultures – from the Middle East to India – exhibited by the anonymous author of the mid-fourteenth-century *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*. Another valuable example of pre-modern globalism is provided in Najlaa Aldeeb's "Globalism in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and Its Refutation by Ibn Taymiyya," demonstrating the existence of interreligious dialogue between Muslims and Christians in the writings of an Arab Christian theologian, Paul of Antioch (ca. 1200), as well as the resistance to such interactions, as seen in the refutation by more intolerant figures like Ibn Taymiyya. In stark contrast to pre-modern globalism, the nationalistic and instrumentalizing nature of early-modern globalization can be seen most clearly in figures like the British astrologer, mathematician, and geographer, John Dee (1527–1608/09), discussed by Thomas Willard in "John Dee and the Creation of the British Empire." Agents of globalization laying down structures of possible globalism, yet quite clearly serving the former are discussed in Reinhold Münster's "Eberhard Werner Happel: Cosmographer and Cosmopolitan. A 'Globalist' *avant la lettre*" and Peter Dobek's "The Diplomat and the Public House: Ioannes Dantiscus (1485–1548) and His Use of the Inns, Taverns, and Alehouses of Europe." All in this volume.

otherness as something to be quickly subdued and conquered, as Europeans did, for example, when they “discovered” the Americas.

A much more nuanced manner of engagement of the other, globalism tends to emerge after the fact, or in the course, of globalization, as the consequences of the latter become increasingly apparent. Globalism in that sense is a posterior reflection on the implications of globalization, a realization of the transitory beauty and richness of a world that one has chosen to devour and destroy. Globalism then is both awareness of the benefits of constructive exchanges with the peoples of other lands but also a form of melancholia and regret over the violence that forces open the doors to other worlds, perhaps also a mourning of one’s own demise, as it is anticipated in what we do to others from whom we take valuable resources. This process was very visible in the early-modern phenomenon of western missionaries simultaneously destroying the books of the Maya and then helping in their partial reconstruction, as in the writing down of the *Popol Vuh* in the sixteenth century.

Whether there can be globalism without globalization is a standing question analogous to that of whether humans can survive the apocalypse that they are continuously in process of enabling. Medieval writers were still optimistic in these regards, perhaps sensing that the other could still be saved, hence saving the self.⁶⁸ That realization, however, cannot be arrived at in the realm of the senses, only in that of the imagination and the spirit. In other words, it is an insight that can only be found by first breaching the barrier that separates self from other, the good people from the supposedly demonic or at least frightening monsters on the other side. A culture that lives only in the visible world, however, has little chance of catching itself before it is too late, as reality bites and is wholly unforgiving. A global culture that understands – through its multiple literatures, religions, and philosophies – that the real is much more complex than just what we can touch and ingest in the present moment, is in a much better position to be able to reshape the topologies of the future. Pre-modern globalism was real, even thicker and more interconnected than our own, and confronts us with the poverty of our limited and

68 Literally lifesaving, medical knowledge from Greco-Roman antiquity was preserved and developed by Arabic physicians, after the fall of Rome, and transmitted to medieval Europeans via Latin and vernacular translations, as discussed in the essay of Chiara Benati and Marialuisa Capparrini, “The Germanic Translations of Lanfranc’s Surgical Works as Example of Global Circulation of Knowledge.” Also in the field of medicine, similar enrichments of European culture via trade and contacts with India and other eastern lands are described in David Tomíček’s “The Old and the New – Pepper, Bezoar, and Other Exotic Substances in Bohemian Narratives about Distant Lands from the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (up to the 1560s).” Both in this volume.

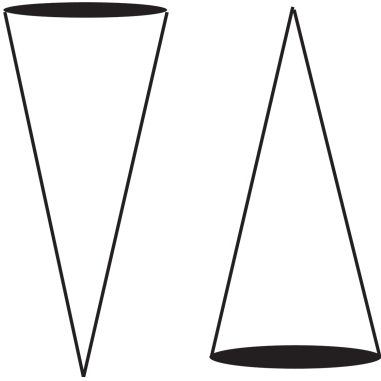


Fig 3: Future of the Universe: Forever Expanding? Coming Back Together? Image by Fidel Fajardo-Acosta (2022) CC-BY-SA 4.0.

disenchanted conceptions of reality, devoid as they are of spiritual or even basic moral dimensions.⁶⁹

As Albrecht Classen notes in this book's Introduction, the worldview the volume presents is indeed optimistic, recognizing that our attitudes and beliefs shape our reality, and is staunchly affirmative regarding the fact of pre-modern globalism and of the human capacity, in the past and in the present, to understand our common humanity and the value of our differences. Bringing an awareness of pre-modern globalism within our own horizons of understanding, furthermore, might just allow us to set back a bit the doomsday clock, maybe even stop it altogether.

⁶⁹ Albrecht Classen notes the potentials of medieval literature to fill in those gaps, especially when those teaching it make the texts relevant to students' lives by emphasizing their fundamental themes and inherent interdisciplinarity, also by going back to the basics of language and cultural history that are lacking in current generations of *tabula rasa* learners: "Die Vermittlung des Mittelalters im 21. Jahrhundert. Ein Schritt zurück und zwei Schritte vorwärts: eine amerikanische Perspektive," *medienimpulse* 60.4 (2022): 1–38, ed. Alessandro Barberi, Nina Grünberger, Thomas Ballhausen, and Caroline Grabensteiner, <https://journals.univie.ac.at/index.php/mp/article/view/7712>; doi: 10.21243/mi-04-22-21

Warren Tormey

Swords as Medieval Icons and Early “Global Brands”

Abstract: Historians of global branding do well to consider the case study of the medieval sword. Crucial to the identities of those who wielded them as finished (and often repurposed) products of expansive, if not largely global networks of supply chains and technological exchanges, swords changed hands regularly and served as key icons representative of medieval globalism. As confirmed in literary evidence and also in historical records, the sword resting ready at the warrior’s side was seldom locally produced and maintained. Instead, records demonstrate that it was intimately aligned with mythic stories of origin, and consistently emerged as the end product of multiple craftsmen, working independently but also interdependently, to align the mythos of the weapon with that of the knight wielding it within a particular historical moment. Further, with its storied background it reflected and confirmed the social capital of a current possessor, thus showing its character as an early version of “global branding” practice. To that end, the example of the sword usefully compliments and adds new dimensions to our understanding of the Global Middle Ages.

Keywords: sword, hilt, scabbard, Haphaestus, Vulcan, Wayland, Roland, Durendal, Baligant, Sutton Hoo, Ulfberht, Ingelrii, Pattern-Welded, Crucible, Wootz, Damascus, Seric

Introduction

Historians and literary scholars have long noted that weapons and armor, in their storied associations and connections to mythic figures in distant lands from centuries past, become cultural icons invested with symbolic significance across the centuries. Serving firstly and in their earliest forms as weapons fashioned for self-defense or in battle, swords in particular soon transformed themselves into iconic artefacts, elevated beyond objects of specialized utility into icons of an early global stature – early iterations of regional if not global “brands.”

To unpack this concept in terms appropriate to ancient and medieval swords, a trio of examples serve as early cross-cultural icons of global significance and as iconic representations of an early phase of branding practice. The Sutton Hoo sword,

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dated to the seventh century and recovered in 1939 during the well-documented ship-burial excavations near the fens of Norfolk, England, and existing today as an amalgamation of component artefacts, offers in its distinctive cloisonné design and garnet inlay a convenient example for first consideration as an icon capturing multiple cultural associations. The Shifford Sword, recovered from the muddy Thames in 1936 and bearing the iconic Northern Germanic “Ulfberht” insignia dated to the Ninth century, shows its affinity with multiple recovered and comparably inscribed swords distributed throughout Scandinavia and Northern Europe. Finally, the elaborately-patterned Damascene blades emerging from the East, fashioned out of Wootz ores of Indian and Sri Lankan origin, wielded by Saladin¹ and other storied Islamic warriors, also captured the Western imagination during the Crusades and proliferated through Damascus and into Rome and other Mediterranean trading centers as well as into China and Persia as demand grew for these “watered-silk,” exotically patterned “Damascus” sword blades of extraordinary tensile strength and durability.

The manufacture of the sword itself frequently involved a division of labor in the form of contributions from a variety of craftsmen of different nationalities, also enhancing its “branded” character: Rhenish blades, for example, were frequently affixed to Norse or English hilts and scabbards, and any improvements in swordsmithing design or technique that resulted in a higher quality blade would be kept as closely guarded trade secrets, slowly proliferating as dictated by the laws of supply and demand and also lending mythos to the process of that creation. Specialized sword-, blade-, and weaponsmiths followed in roles established by their ancient and mythic precursors, fashioning and designing swords and armor not only as weapons but also as the symbols so crucial to constructions of faith, masculine identity, social stature, and ethnic affiliation. One only need thumb through Ewart Oakeshott’s magisterial study *Records of the Medieval Sword* to note the rich array of designs, details, ornamentation, and inscriptions, some professing faith, some identifying the creator or the sword’s place of origin, others highlighting the spiritual ethos or family background of (at least one of) the sword’s wielders, that persist across the twenty-two families of swords identified (and multiple uncategorized samples), each further distinguished by distinctive varieties of hilt, pommel, and scabbard design.²

Early, locally profitable metalworking ventures in resource-rich localities, propelled by crusading ideologies and enabled by various forms of military conflict, aspired to larger regional and later, global expansion, with the objects forged by swordsmiths transported across ethnic and cultural boundaries and gradually

¹ See “The Hero of Islam, Saladin’s Damascus Blade,” *Posco Newsroom* 11/24/2016, <https://newsroom.posco.com/en/hero-islam-saladins-damascus-blade> (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023).

² Ewart Oakeshott, *Records of the Medieval Sword* (Hockley, Essex: The Boydell Press, 1991).

acquiring early stature as primitive “global brands” defined as much by their mythic origins as by their exotic designs and vaguely “living” character. To that end, swords and armor from throughout the medieval period capture a progressive series of moments in the development of the practice that we identify today as global branding. Literary depictions of swords, armor, and swordsmithing, taken from ancient, early medieval, and later medieval texts and artefacts, can therefore tell us much about the evolution of global branding practices, establishing how, when, and by what means the concept of a “brand name” began to have discernible commercial and cultural value.

Establishing a Pretext for the “Global Brand”

To understand this concept more fully, the terms “global” and “branding” must be unpacked and examined. Initially, given the fact that a consideration of swords as “global icons” extends beyond the reach of recorded history, the work of anthropologists can provide a useful foundation by discussing the social significance and global implications of developing metallurgical practices within a community and its extra-regional proliferation outward. Archaeologist Shadreck Chirikure articulates that foundation in observations specifically about the far-reaching history of African metallurgy that are applicable across multiple social contexts. “By consequence of valuation,” Chirikure writes, “access to metals, or lack thereof, became a tool for creating social differentiation and inequality in society.”

Citing a single example applicable to multiple regions, he writes that “[m]etallurgy became entrenched in the evolution of craft specialization in pre-dynastic Egypt with the rulers and those who controlled metal production, distribution, and use becoming wealthier and concomitantly more powerful than those without,” with the eventual result that “the efficiency of metal tools in domains such as agriculture made food production comparatively easier; while metal weapons enabled various polities to defend and expand their territories.” Finally, given the “geologically specific and uneven” proliferation of metal ores which necessitated the “development of trade routes and distribution networks” as one of the “direct consequences of the value which metals had in society . . . , societies sought access to new sources, initiating proto-forms of globalization anchored not just in land links but also sea links.”³ The transfer and trade of both swords and the coveted ores needed to fashion high-quality blades serves as a late manifestation of this

3 Shadreck Chirikure, *Metals in Past Societies: A Global Perspective on Indigenous African Metallurgy* (New York: Springer Briefs in Archaeology: Contributions from Africa, 2015), 125–26.

process, ebbing and flowing across conjoined patterns of cultural expansion, trade exchange, and military conflict.

Another resource, Jared Diamond's *Guns, Germs, and Steel* provides a complement to Chirikure's observations with a more expansive set of geographical considerations including the proto-historical pursuit of resources, the proliferation of technologies, the ever-present prospects for warfare, and the geographical feasibility of information-sharing. Diamond identifies a series of "immediate factors that enabled Europeans to kill or conquer other peoples – especially European guns, infectious diseases, steel tools, and manufactured products." Offering a theory for those advantages based firstly and primarily on superior levels of technology and greater access to crucial resources, Diamond nevertheless describes that hypothesis as "incomplete," suggesting that other reasons explain the proliferation of military technologies and the dissemination of the knowledge bases that shaped their ongoing development and relevance.⁴ With its amalgamated character and noteworthy mythic and cultural capital, the sword deserves a place within that range of considerations.

In focusing on recurring tropes like map design and proliferation, trade networks, travel narratives, contemporary scholars have gravitated increasingly toward an enhanced understanding of the "global" character of the medieval world. Geraldine Heng has recently accounted for the development of this new form of conceptualization, writing that

[a] global perspective of the deep past not only counters Eurocentrism, but can transform our very understanding of history and of time itself. It enables us to identify, for instance, not just a single Scientific and Industrial Revolution that occurred once, and exclusively in the West, but the recurrence of multiple scientific and industrial revolutions in the non-Western, nonmodern world.⁵

4 See Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1997 and 1999), 23 and 24. Diamond's subsequent observations affirm his relevance to this current study. Noting the contributions of "[s]pecialists from several disciplines (that) have provided global syntheses of their subjects," Diamond notes that "[e]specially useful contributions have been made by ecological geographers, cultural anthropologists, biologists studying plant and animal domestication, and scholars concerned with the impact of infectious diseases on history. These studies have called attention to parts of the puzzle, but they provide only pieces of the needed broad synthesis that has been missing." In focusing on the trade of ores, the evident reputations of individuals, styles, and locations associated with swordsmithing, the cultural capital invested in the sword as an icon of social and mythic significance, and the character of swords not as single individual objects but instead as multifaceted amalgamations of widely accessed components, I hope to add another piece to the "puzzle" noted by Diamond to explain the global developments and networks that account for the significance of the medieval sword as a paramount global icon.

5 Geraldine Heng, *The Global Middle Ages: An Introduction*. Cambridge Elements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 9.

Even more recently, Joel Evans has offered a useful complement to this explanation, distinguishing in his volume's introduction between “Globalization,” defined as “a distinct phase in world history that kicks off fully in the late 1980s . . . , (and) describes a perceived waning of the power and efficacy of the nation-state in the face of global phenomena, predominantly of the financial variety, but also of the cultural and technological variety.”⁶ Contrasting this upper-case concept with “the less official, lower-case version,” Evans describes a concept “which involves all sorts of periods in world history whereby a polity exceeding the nation or region is instantiated via cultural, economic, military, organic or whatever other means.”⁷

Finally, writing in the introduction to this volume, Albrecht Classen carries the concept of globalism forward in fuller terms, citing multiple examples of cross-cultural interaction and trade across great distances, and cautioning against “freely (ab)use(ing) the term ‘globalism’ for political purposes in a fake attempt to re-energize the study of the Middle Ages and the early modern age.” Instead, Classen argues, it is the responsibility of the scholar always to “look for shared elements, or some kind of shared history, i.e., concrete contacts, exchanges, and also conflicts with each other, if we want to understand the connections or networks that have regularly existed both in the past and in the present.”⁸ A fuller understanding of the role and significance of the sword, firstly within literary sources and also noted by historians and anthropologists, confirms these connections and thus offers access to our enhanced understanding of those contacts, exchanges, and networks. Therefore, it is appropriate to consider what establishes ancient and medieval swords as cultural icons approaching an early if distinctive status as a “global brands.”

Given its extraordinarily multifarious and enduring character, the sword, both as a weapon and as a cultural icon, makes this effort tangible: firstly as a practical object, an implement of armed conflict fashioned not independently but within recognizable technological and craft-sharing networks. To this end, the sword assumes forms of a “branded” character, as on swords we see inscriptions and insignias representing the identities of both the maker and at least one single owner, and recurring patterns of design and ornament suggestive of popular trends and styles for a given time period.⁹

But the sword also serves as an icon assigned values within multiple additional currencies, regularly named and assigned mythic and storied associations, trans-

6 *Globalization and Literary Studies*, ed. Joel Evans (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 2.

7 Evans, ed., *Globalization and Literary Studies* (see note 6), 2.

8 See Albrecht Classen's Introduction to this volume, “Globalism in the Pre-Modern World? Questions, Challenges, and the Emergence of a New Approach to the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: Also an Introduction,” 1–116; **here 80**.

9 See Oakeshott, *Records of the Medieval Sword* (see note 2), especially 31–59 and 80–86.

ported across great distances (as in the Crusades) and wielded by far-from-home warriors in battles in distant lands, constructed as an amalgamation of disparate and independently fashioned components, transferred between battle-tested hands across multiple generations, and finally, when surrendered by those defeated or vanquished in battle, often deposited at the bottom of bog or fenlands in a gesture intended to “mute” their living character and affirm the victory of the triumphant side. These often-damaged but still intact specimens, well-preserved in mud and peat and then recovered centuries later and painstakingly restored and assessed by historians and archaeologists, retain only faint echoes and visual clues of their storied backgrounds as essential components of knightly identity.

In advancing the proposition that the sword assumes the character of an early “branded” icon I do not suggest, obviously, that medieval swords reflect a process and a practice of modern “global branding” as we understand the term today. Instead, however, they reflect a recognizable if distant precursor to that practice, still discernibly and proportionally “global” but within an earlier stage of evolution – a stage in which the design, creation, and possession of a sword was indicated by inscriptions and insignias. In turn, these elements served within larger currencies that enhanced the cultural value and iconic status of the sword as recognizable, transportable, and connected with historical events and mythic associations and therefore possessing its own *mythos* within a larger network of symbolic associations. In that light, we see once again how the medieval world, facing the need to create and maintain its signature weapon as an amalgam of components each with its own origins and associations, provides to us in contemporary times an analogue for understanding the “global” character of our own world and the place of “branding” within it.¹⁰

Within that context, brief consideration of the history of the concept of “branding” helps to establish its connections with global patterns and developments. The internet offers much to illuminate this history, and more than one online resource explains how the term, originating in the Norse term “*brandr*” as a signature

10 Given its crucial role in enabling and facilitating networks of technological, trade and resource exchanges which themselves factored into crusading ventures and other ongoing military conflicts, the sword’s position as a global icon and a branded entity presaged more formal, sophisticated, and establish trade relationships. Amany El-Sawy captures a particularly relevant example of a more evolved global network in her essay “Globalism During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I,” in this volume, exploring English-Ottoman trade relations (including multiple metals, munitions, and other strategic materials) and political affiliations and the various networks that facilitated the development of trade companies, diplomatic ties, “foreign policies,” and the enhanced cultural sensitivity required by both sides to enable these relations to develop and thrive in the face of larger political pressures across sixteenth century Western Europe.

marking on livestock,¹¹ could also be repurposed to apply perhaps upon some other object like a copse of trees (designating a local lord’s possession of a wooded forest) or distinctively carved or stacked stone (designating ownership of perhaps a regionally-known and commercially relevant thoroughfare), or even directly applied to the sword blade itself, as suggested in a passage about the sword *Ekkisax* from the Old Norse *Thriðrik’s Saga*.¹² Eventually the term evolved into the concept we associate with the cattle-trading ventures of the American west: the long-handled tool of worked metal, featuring the distinctive insignia, heated and then imprinted into bovine flesh to reflect some form of control, proprietorship or guardianship. In an online review one finds seemingly as many theories the origins and development of the practice of branding as there are historians of it, some identifying it as emerging from the ancient world, others from the late medieval period, and still others as a creation of modern capitalism beginning in the later nineteenth or early twentieth century.¹³ To that end I consider it here and see in the literary evidence that it is best understood as an evolving phenomenon that proceeds in accord with the development of a global consciousness, taking form in the ancient world but firmly established – and best embodied in the sword and its associated mythos – by the early Middle Ages. Writing in the online version of the *Harvard Business Review* authors Douglas Holt, John Quelch, and Earl L. Taylor note that “[t]he rise of a global culture doesn’t mean that consumers share the same tastes or values. Rather, people in different nations, often with conflicting viewpoints, participate in a shared conversation, drawing upon shared symbols. One of the key symbols in that conversation is the global brand (which has) become a lingua franca for consumers all over the world.”¹⁴ As true in medieval eras as it remains within the

11 One particularly helpful resource can be found in Convoy Blog, “A Brief History of Branding,” <https://www.wearconvoy.com/2014/01/a-brief-history-of-branding/> (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2022).

12 See Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1962), 166. See also *ONP: Dictionary of Old Norse Prose*, “brandr,” <https://onp.ku.dk/onp/onp.php?o10572> (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023).

13 One finds online a number of resources which delve into the history of brand identification. For two such useful guides on that history, see first Erin O’Neil, London College of Contemporary Arts “History of Branding” website: <https://www.lcca.org.uk/blog/education/history-of-branding/#:~:text=Branding%20in%20its%20earliest%20form,goods%20to%20signify%20their%20origins>, December 17, 2015 (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023). For a very different perspective, see Aviva M. Cantor, “A Brief History of Branding,” *99 Designs by Vista* website: <https://99designs.com/blog/design-history-movements/history-of-branding/> (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023).

14 Douglas Holt, John Quelch, and Earl L. Taylor, “How Global Brands Compete,” *Harvard Business Review Magazine* (September 2004), accessed via <https://hbr.org/2004/09/how-global-brands-compete> (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023). Naomi Klein, *No Logo* (New York: Picador, 2000), 9, offers a much more ominous assessment of the practice and character of contemporary global branding, observing that ever-enhanced cycles of spending on advertising and aggressive, intrusive patterns

modern world, the symbolism signified within a global brand, well captured in the sword and all of its storied associations, remains pre-eminent within multiple discourses, with swords serving as signifiers within multiple dialogues to establish their social, cultural, institutional, and political preeminence across the centuries.

To that end, capturing an earlier stage of the process by which brands become “global,” swords (and armor, alluded to below but obviously a separate and clearly related topic deserving of its own focused study)¹⁵ serve as icons and symbols that capture and reflect an earlier stage of that process of evolution. For the purposes of this essay, it is appropriate to consider branding as a concept that designates possession of not direct ownership, has metonymic if not synecdochical significance as a “stand-in” signifier of association between the branded object itself, the individual possessing that object, and some distant and storied entity, all existing interdependently but in conjunction with one another to enhance the reputation of each individual element.¹⁶

of brand proliferation are “a by-product of the firmly held belief that brands need continuous and constantly increasing advertising in order to stay in the same place. According to this law of diminishing returns, the more advertising there is out there (and there is always more, because of this law), the more aggressively brands must market to stand out. And of course, no one is more keenly aware of advertising’s ubiquity than the advertisers themselves, who view commercial inundation as a clear and persuasive call for more – and more intrusive – advertising.”

15 Despite the obvious cohesion between swordsmithing and armor manufacture and the relevance of both within the development of “global” brands and branding practices, this study will focus more directly on swords and swordsmithing and will consider armor only within the context of its relevant symbolism within particular works. Nevertheless it is important to acknowledge here the work of scholars who have delved deeply into this matter as an object of focused study. To begin, Frederick Wilkinson, *Arms and Armour* (London, New York, Sydney, and Toronto: Hamlyn, 1978), 71, offers observations that align with the discussion of their global character: “[t]he armourer needed certain raw materials: iron ore, coal or charcoal, and some water power was desirable. It was not, therefore, surprising that ‘armour towns’ developed in areas where these facilities were available and conveniently situated, on or near trade routes. Augsburg, Nuremberg, Passau, and Solingen in Germany, Paris in France, and Milan in Italy, all became famous during the Middle Ages for the quality of their armour and weapons. A knight of some means could ensure that he had the very best by sending his personal measurements to an armourer and ordering the very latest style made to measure. Armour was expensive, and, for the vain knight, could be covered with material and decorated with precious stones.” See also: Dirk Breiding, “Famous Makers of Arms and Armors and European Centers of Production,” *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, accessed via: https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/make/hd_make.htm (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023).

16 See Albrecht Classen, “Symbolic Significance of the Sword in the Hero’s Hand: *Beowulf*, The *Nibelungenlied*, *El Poema de Mio Cid*, the *Volsunga Saga*, and the *Njáls Saga*. Thing Theory from a Medieval Perspective,” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 80 (2020): 346–70. I will discuss this study more fully in a paragraph below.

Ultimately, the conjoined factors that contribute to our understanding of an ancient or medieval sword or collection of armor as a “global brand” exists within elements of its individual character that reinforce its relation to multiple networks. Trade and resource networks that culminate in the fashioning of a sword blade from iron ore sourced from distant regions, transported, shaped, strengthened, and sharpened according to trade knowledge and techniques passed among hands from distant loci, and embellished with distinctive insignias and decorated with accessories also created from other places of diverse origin. Ownership networks that position a sword as a “brand” by linking it from its place of origins to the warrior wielding it in a current moment. Social capital networks that enable the transmission of folkloric and mythic texts and materials. Mythic networks that connect the object of a finely hand-crafted sword with a story of its origins and a distant connection to the locus of its production. Within that interconnected field of networks a distinctly “branded” cultural artefact emerges as an amalgamation of multiple components and processes, combining the sword with hilt, pommel, and scabbard, the totality coming to reflect its own cultural standing and reinforced with an ever-evolving cultural mythos. If well-made, astutely wielded, and properly maintained within the right hands, a sword gradually accumulates its own reputation and mythos as it passes through genealogical and social networks, exchanged across the generations and reinforcing its own social capital as an icon of significance. Over time it comes to assume associations and meanings beyond its first status as an object or commodity, eventually acquiring its own name, cultural standing, and abstract mythos as an artefact and a signifier of nobility and witness to culture-defining historical events.

Lacking the occasion to envision swords and other material possessions as products of supply chains, production networks, and commercial products, individuals in the medieval and early renaissance periods, unlike modern consumers and collectors, envisioned the practice of “global branding” in mythic, cultural, and later, theological terms appropriate to their proto-Capitalistic world view. In later decades, largely as a result of the influence of the Carolingian emperors, the sword itself was to become a prominent fixture in Christian symbolism.¹⁷ For example, the sword assumed vital symbolic significance as the *spiritus gladius* in the political maneuvering between Church and Crown and as a hallmark trope in pro-crusading rhetoric. A reading of select Western epics will establish the parameters that make it possible to align ancient and medieval visions of branded commodity with the constructs of our own time that give global brands their power and recognition as sought-after and highly prized objects which confirm the holder’s own social

17 See Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 93 and 113.

capital within their exotic origins and mythic backstories. Ultimately, given the elusive nature of the history of branding and its varying and multifarious character throughout multiple historical epochs, historians of the practice are on firm footing to describe it as an age-old phenomenon, a deeply embedded human “practice” that predates any loaded contemporary terminology,¹⁸ transcends any direct historical coordinates, and has undergone a course of evolution that aligns distantly with the trends and practices that we recognize today in treasured “global brands.”

Studying the Sword – How the Literary Evidence Captures the Evolution of a Social Practice

In envisioning the cultural, historical, and symbolic significance of the sword as a “brand” – as the end-product of an extensive network of craft and trade specialists and also an object capturing mythical and practical value across the arc of its existence within both Eastern and Western traditions, we are fortunate to have a strong foundation established by scholars in recent years. One expansive study by ethnometallurgist Alan Williams¹⁹ condenses, continues, and complements his full field of more focused analyses of swords and armor, highlighting evidence to suggest previously under-considered exchanges of technological knowledge and resources across Eastern and Western realms. Further, a conjoined effort by Robert Hoyland and Brian Gilmour,²⁰ focusing on the early swordsmithing discussions of the ninth-century Islamic philosopher Abu Yūsuf Yaʿqūb ibn ʿIshāq aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī (al-Kindi, 801–873 C.E.), likewise captures the proliferation of Middle

¹⁸ In using this term, I invoke the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) and Michel DeCerteau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven F. Rendall (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1981). An arcane and highly specialized body of theory developed within the realms of late twentieth century Sociology and Anthropology, the term has extensive currency but can be boiled down to the idea that individual humans possess the agency to behave within, organize, and reproduce our worlds according to innate mental structures, replicating those as externalized versions in tangible forms. Within those dynamics, the tangible and the intangible are intertwined, with the concept of *mythos* emerging in the construction of social and cultural capital and gained through relevant cultural and historical associations. For a useful introduction and overview the reader is referred to https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Practice_theory (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023).

¹⁹ Alan Williams, *The Sword and the Crucible: A History of the Metallurgy of European Swords up to the 16th Century*. History of Warfare, 77 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012).

²⁰ *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking: Kindī's Treatise 'On Swords and Their Kinds'*, ed. Robert G. Hoyland and Brian Gilmour (Cambridge: Gibb Memorial Trust, 2012).

Eastern technologies and expansive range of knowledge associated with early medieval swords within both Islamic and European cultures. However, two recent studies bear particular relevance to the distinctive array of meanings assumed by swords in medieval culture and literature, and so are worth highlighting here: first, in an examination of inventory documents compiled by staffs of traveling nobility, Kristen Neuchsel has accounted for changes in the envisioning of the sword within its contemporary realms of material culture, focusing on the process by which the swords brandished by Renaissance nobility transformed from battle weapons to “masculine jewelry, a luxury technology for display,” and as objects formerly mythic yet of great practicality and significance but seemingly “reimagined, demoted, in effect, to mere ornament.”²¹

More recently, Albrecht Classen has aligned the sword with the growing field of “thing theory” in discussing the role of these weapons as synecdochical “stand-ins” for heroic identities within a cross-cultural field of well-known medieval works. Of particular importance for the current study is Classen’s point that “without a sword, there would not be a knight, and without a knight, there would not be a sword,”²² confirming the interdependent identities and shared mythos of warrior and weapon. All of these studies explore the various forms of signification associated with the sword, with the final two particularly underscoring the potential for understanding it as an icon of global stature and an early example of “branding” practice.

In considering these and other relevant literary examples and artefacts in fuller detail below, this essay seeks to consider the “global” qualities of the swords and armor as captured in traditional works like *Beowulf*. There, the mythic Germanic and Scandinavian lame blacksmith Weland, originating in distant and shadowy affinities and shared arcane and closely-guarded “skill sets” with the equally cunning and crafty Hephästios and Vulcan of Greek and Roman origins, emerges within the Anglo-Saxon tradition. Later, in *The Song of Roland* (ca. 1150/1160), gloriously ornate weapons brandished by the Saracen Emir Baligant are juxtaposed with Roland’s equally storied sword Durendal in a cross-cultural pairing of distinctive swordsmithing traditions. In addition, we also note the appeal of so-called “Wootz Damascus” steel patterning, a multivalent terminology associated with far eastern origins but replicated and modified by western swordsmiths; and the reputations for durability of historical Ulfberht (ninth to eleventh century) and Ingelrii (tenth to twelfth century) swords, distinguished by their “trademark” inscribed blades

²¹ Kristen B. Neuchsel, *Living by the Sword: Weapons and Material Culture in France and Britain, 600–1600* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2020), 11 and 14.

²² Albrecht Classen, “Symbolic Significance of the Sword in the Hero’s Hand” (see note 16), 351.

and representative both of proto-industrial swordsmithing “houses” and also of trade and craft networks. Both also serve as early medieval global “brands,” likewise capturing the significance of weapons and armor as icons that enable today’s scholars a fuller understanding of the “global” Middle Ages.

In the clan- and loyalty-based economy envisioned by the Homeric poet, pervasive within a period of Mycenaean preeminence four centuries earlier, swords and armor had multiple functions within a series of early capital networks. With no banking system in practice as it would be known today, ornamental metalwork served a proto-global purpose as a sort of proliferating “currency,” as the measure by which wealth was conceived, hoarded, and distributed, and so was naturally prone to trading and travel across vast distances. In the exchange practices that served as markers of one’s social stature, gifts of ornamental and military metalwork had the additional function of establishing and reinforcing relations and networks among palace and temple aristocracies. Proceeding in a manner coincident with Phoenician, and later, Greek trade and colonialist practices, the “more democratic” practice of iron working served to facilitate the reorganization of European tribal cultures into the more urban economies that would fall under Roman control centuries later.²³ In highlighting the story of their origins, the ancient epics identify swords and armor as storied weapons but also as objects of artistic value. Further, within these ancient epics the proliferation of swords and armor as objects of currency aligns with their imagined cultural and mythic value, thereby establishing primitive patterns of brand identification that are later adapted to the purposes of medieval storytellers.

For example, the descriptions of various warriors of the *Iliad* highlight their spectacular battle-gear, underscoring the preeminence of swords and associated armor as both commercial commodities and as early global icons assuming the stature of primitive brands. Early in Book II, Agamemnon is roused by a dream to realize that he must proceed without the sulking Achilles. Moving toward the Argive ships to summon his gathered forces, he grabs his royal scepter and silver studded sword (53–54), and arms himself in bronze (56), details that highlight a recurring emphasis throughout the poem on the implements of battle and their symbolic relevance to the identity of the warrior throughout. Later in Book II, the poem reveals that Agamemnon’s scepter is the work of Haphaestus (120–26), whose

²³ See David Clarke, “Trade and Industry in Barbarian Europe till Roman Times,” *The Cambridge Economic History*, ed. Michael Moisse Postan, Donald Cuthbert Coleman, and Peter Mathias. Vol. II, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 1–70; here 60. See also Robert Jacobus Forbes, “Extracting, Smelting, and Alloying,” *A History of Technology: From Early Times to the Fall of Ancient Empires*. Vol. I. Ed. Charles Singer, Eric John Holmyard, and Alfred Rupert Hall (Oxford: Clarendon University Press, 1954), 572–99; here 592.

skilled labors connect the divine world of Olympus with the turbulent outskirts of Troy. The mythic character ascribed to his work elevated the lame blacksmith's manual labors to a stature that aligns his name and reputation with the finely worked objects he fashions while underscoring those works as icons of cultural significance, primitive forms of “brand” identification that confirm his ownership of those mythic and mysterious works while aligning his reputation with the storied warrior who wields them in battle.²⁴

His weapons and armor come to serve as a stand-in and a signifier for the warrior himself, capturing an earlier version of the intensely powerful identification patterns between warrior and weapon.²⁵ Indeed, the epic details multiple examples where these are highlighted as icons of cultural importance, essential to the reputation of both the wearer and the creator. For instance, as Agamemnon prepares to withstand the surge of Trojan warriors attacking the ramparts of the Argive encampment in Book XI, the individual components of his glorious bronze armor and weapons are described in detail according to their appearance as well as to its history, including his well-ornamented greaves, breastplate, sword, shield, spear, and helmet (17–52), and each is given a connection to the Olympian other-world, thus enhancing its mythic reputation. With this mythic connection enhancing the reputations of both weapon and warrior, the poet connects the struggle over Helen to the larger struggles of Olympian deities in conflict with one another. In this connection between the thing and its mythic mystique a range of additional abstract associations emerge, and here one finds the very origins of basic branding practice.

Homer's attention to armor and weaponry and to the range of associations aligned with these in his *Iliad* is also a prominent component of Book XII. There, the Trojan armies storm the rampart that separates the Argive ships from the coastlines of the eastern Aegean. In these descriptions, the poem highlights the grisly consequences of bronze arms insufficient to the demands upon them. In particular, lines 210–24 allude to no less than eight separate deaths in battle, describing the deathblows of spears and swords penetrating helmets and breastplates in vivid, almost pornographic detail. In these descriptions the allusions to weapons and armor are incidental to the graphic quality of the violence; however, they underscore the alignment of the mythic blacksmith's work and reputation with the physi-

24 See Warren Tormey, “Magical (and Maligned) Metalworkers: Understanding Representations of Early and High Medieval Blacksmiths,” *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Time: The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Early Modern Culture, 20 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2017), 109–48.

25 See Albrecht Classen, “Symbolic Significance of the Sword in the Hero's Hand” (see note 16).

cal products of his labor, confirming that inferior “brands” of ancient weapons and armor, donned and wielded not by epic heroes but by “rank and file” soldiers, are not equal to the better made versions of mythic origins which prove much more effective within the rigors of intense battle.

And while wearing the Myrmidon chieftain’s armor, Achilles’ compatriot Patroclus cuts an impressive form in donning his greaves, breastplate, sword, and helmet (XIV, 156–68). There, the scene implies an anachronistic combining of twelfth-century B.C.E. Mycenaean armaments – implied in the breastplate, greaves, and spear – with eighth-century weaponry, as suggested in a sword that combines a bronze blade with a silver-studded hilt (XIV, 161–62), a weapon identified by its history as much as its ornately detailed design. Arming for battle in Achilles’ armor in one of the poem’s more important arming scenes, Patroclus dons the bronze greaves, breastplate, and helmet, thus acquiring all of the “branded” associations of its actual owner while also equipping himself with the Myrmidon leader’s silver-studded, bronze-bladed sword and spears. He leaves behind his leader’s heavy spear of Pelian ash, knowing that only Achilles has the skill to wield it effectively in battle (XVI, 156–73) and confirming the associations between the weapon and the warrior. Having cloaked himself within the storied associations – the “brand” identification – of his leader, Patroclus then mounts Achilles war team and prepares to lead his battle-hungry Myrmidons into the fray.²⁶

The *Iliad* reveals that the sword was already important as an element in military practices of the first millennium B.C.E., as much a symbol of military might and prowess as an object of mythic associations. Even as other weapons saw improvements in design and durability such as the dagger and battle axe, both of which appear in Homeric battle scenes, and even as the ornately detailed and iconic Shield of Achilles takes center stage in the epic’s Book XVIII as a mythic visioning of the peaceful culture to be realized as emerging from the din of warfare, hints of distant and primitive but evident branding practices yet reveal themselves in weapons and armor. Positioned in the borderlands between the ancient eastern and western worlds, the Homeric *Iliad* offers both early hints of the character of

26 See Denys Lionel Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1959), 260. Here, Page elucidates the apparent inconsistencies that emerge when Patroclus dons Achilles armor and when Hector strips it from him: “In general the structure of the *Iliad* is loosely knit: there is the sharpest contrast between the excellence of the narrative art *within* an episode and the weakness of connection (very often) *between* episodes. Patroclus is sent to deceive the Trojans, especially Hector, who will suppose him to be Achilles because he is dressed in Achilles’ armour; that is one episode, brilliantly narrated. But the connexion between the two episodes is wonderfully feeble – in the second episode the poet actually forgets that Patroclus is supposed to be masquerading as Achilles.” In this way, the poem conflates the weapons and the warrior according to the synecdochical fashions noted by Classen above (see note 16).

swords and armor as early “global brands” and also suggests that the most useful and significant demonstration of iron’s superiority over bronze is found in the development of the sword.

Moreover, with his reputation serving as a model for any once-famous blacksmith who specialized in the fashioning of weapons and armor, Haphaestus’s labors are highlighted by the *Iliad*’s emphasis on individual warriors fighting in the heat of battle. Given that the story’s plot turns upon Achilles’ armor, worn by Patroclus, being stolen by Hector, Haphaestus, like Virgil’s Vulcan, is a visionary figure whose work – necessarily undertaken in the underworld recesses beneath Olympus – is essential to the establishment and perpetuation of the “natural” world of war portrayed in the epic. Of all the gods within the Homeric pantheon, only Haphaestus has a clear vocation. At Thetis’s request, he works a shield to protect Achilles, who has just witnessed the fall of his compatriot Patroclus. His mythic and ornate shield, which protects Achilles as he seeks to avenge Hector for Patroclus’ death, depicts a natural world that is not without its tensions, but which nonetheless reflects one dictated by agrarian rhythms and cycles. The blacksmith’s contributions enable this “natural” world – not only does he fashion the implements that enable the agrarian economy to develop. More directly, he stands at the center of its cultural and economic life and is crucial to its cultural ethos, shaping the works of art that serve as the standards by which wealth is measured, and which enable the important proto-economic interaction of gift-giving among the classical aristocracy. And he creates the weapons that protect and expand the boundaries of the community, with those of sufficient stature to use those weapons benefitting most directly from their association with his reputation and mythos – those characteristics that align with key aspects of his “brand.”

Portraying a world that existed some four to five centuries previous to the one he lived in, the Homeric bard(s) chronicles Mycenaean culture, technology, trade, and ethics through an Attic lens. In so doing, he depicts a pre-economic world while living in a world that knows coinage and money; he depicts a bronze-age world from the vantage of the late iron age; and finally, he portrays a world in which his worked objects emerge as primitive “brands” signifying their own measure of social capital and growing out of the system of tribal loyalties, early trade networks, and nascent commercial relationships that were features of his eighth-century Attic world. In these ancient depictions we see the value assigned to arms and armor as currency as well as the relevance of metals and metalworking within the warrior aristocracy. As creators of mythic armor and weapons Haphaestus and, later, Vulcan serve within a primitive process of brand identification, facilitating their alignment and underscoring the crucial imperatives of the epic heroes who wear their arms and maneuver their shields to advance the values of the societies they defend. As such, the contributions of the mythic blacksmith complement the warrior’s reputation, with both possessing an economic, strategic, and spiritual significance.

This vision of the blacksmith's role is given a more refined treatment in Virgil's *Aeneid*, which situates his work more directly within the proliferation of trade and commercial practices, and also within the heroic ethos of the Roman world. In both cases, metals and metalworking technologies represent the currency that drives the heroes' ambitions. The early phases of the Roman empire were marked by a general prosperity that endured despite patrician biases against overtly profiteering forms of trade and commerce, and held the miner's work of extracting ores in particular revulsion as a distasteful if necessary activity best banished to distant colonies.²⁷ Even as they appropriated the mines already in operation in Greece, the Near East, and in other colonial provinces,²⁸ the Romans also were responsible for developing mining operations in Spain, Britain, Gaul, and throughout the Alpine regions, and the pursuit of mineral resources was a central feature of the empire's colonialist imperatives.²⁹ Nevertheless, the extent to which the Romans were able to exploit mineral resources was limited over the course of the empire by shortages in coal, timber, and manpower.³⁰ In short, the Roman era of colonial expansion, prompted in part by the empire's developing interests in mining and metallurgy (proceeding in conjunction with military expansion), and made necessary by the limited resources available on the Italian peninsula itself, fueled the developing commercial interaction with western Europe and enabled the establishment of early "global" trade routes and means of resource transfer. This interconnected field of exchange networks invariably figured in the imaginations of Virgil as much as in those of other writers and moral commentators of the Roman age.

27 See Frank William Walbank, "Trade and Industry under the Later Roman Empire in the West," *The Cambridge Economic History* (see note 23), 71–131. Among the industries that emerged under a new class of socially obscure Roman entrepreneurs were, according to Walbank, brickworks, pottery, oil and wine-based trades, papyrus, and lead (75).

28 See Robert Jacobus Forbes, "Metallurgy," *A History of Technology: The Early Times and the Middle Ages c. 700 B.C. to c. A.D. 1500*, ed. Charles Singer, Eric John Holmyard, Alfred Rupert Hall, and Trevor I. Williams. Vol II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), 41–80; here 41: "The Roman contribution to these sciences was to improve the organization of already productive mining operations. The Romans took over Hellenistic mining and smelting enterprises and enlarged their scale, stimulating subdivision of labor and the rise of mining specialists. They drew up mining laws and were organizers and administrators of mining enterprises rather than metallurgical innovators. Their lack of suitable prime movers defeated their attempts to exploit the deeper bodies of ore or bring large quantities of metallurgical products into common use."

29 See John Ulric Nef, "Mining and Metallurgy in Medieval Civilisation," *The Cambridge Economic History* (see note 23), 691–761; here 694–97.

30 As Forbes observes, "[c]oal is scarce in the Mediterranean region, and its use in metallurgy was first attempted in western and central Europe by native smiths in their forges and smelting furnaces. In the Mediterranean, deforestation had become serious by classical times, so that the prices of timber and charcoal were rising steadily and ominously" (Forbes, "Metallurgy" [see note 28], 41).

In total, the ancient epics capture a number of qualities significant to historians of commerce, technological proliferation, and early global branding. Firstly, they represent the degree to which bronze and later, iron technologies came to shape both battle and commerce in their immediate worlds. Secondly, they represent the relationship between metalworking technology, battle imagery, and the development of the narrative frames and motifs that define the epic form. Further, the divine blacksmith is a marginal figure whose place in the pantheon, though secure, is also problematic. He is the only god given a clear vocation as the only “working class” member of the Olympic pantheon, his subordinate status presaging his reinvention as the similarly marginal figure Volund of Eddic and Saxon verse. In relation to his more refined divine cohorts his stature is diminished, not only by his physical imperfections (especially his lameness) but also by his service to the other divinities. Even so, his labors are essential to the social stratification of Mt. Olympus, as they enable other gods and goddesses to mark and flaunt their more elevated stature within human wars and conflicts. Thus the blacksmith is a figure revered for his abilities and despised for his contributions to war and commerce,³¹ and even as the Homeric and Virgilian epics demonstrate an awareness of the blacksmith’s significance to the war- and, later, commerce-driven character of his world, they also underscore the importance of his “brand,” his role as an agent of transition and his identification of ownership as a producer of superior battle implements, sought-after by mortals who value their mythic origins and associations and so can wield them with confidence in the fog of war.

Within that nexus of trade routes and patterns of colonial settlement, the Homeric and Virgilian epics tell us much about the origins of the sword as a crucial battle implement and an essential complement to the warrior’s identity. However, among scholars of a Eurocentric vantage, however, they help to establish stark divisions between Eastern and Western technologies which have only recently given way to a more “global” perception of the proliferation of swordsmithing technologies and exchange of both swords and raw materials across distances and cultures. This early perception is reinforced by a field of post-World War II era archaeologists, conjoined with technical and economic historians, who established some historical and geographical coordinates and unearthed key information about the nature and

31 See Douglas Alan Fisher. *The Epic of Steel*. New York: Harper and Row, 1963. In describing the stature of the mythic blacksmith, Fisher observes that “[a] man who could transmute earth by fire into a metal could not help but be looked on as a magician, a sorcerer, or a demigod. By the same token, the metal itself was considered to have mystical properties which could be used for malignant or benign purposes. All sorts of superstitions and taboos grew up around the use of iron and the person of the smith. In primitive society, there was apparently no middle ground for the smith. He was honored or despised, but always held in awe” (55).

character of ancient warfare and trade. Less directly, in applying these points about metallurgy, weapons, and social capital, they laid a foundation that positioned the sword as a “global” icon while enabling today’s scholars to see it as an early symbol of “brand” identity.³²

Beyond their resonance within the worlds of ancient Greece and Rome, the symbols of swords and armor are likewise embedded within the mythos of the Christian tradition, with the images and motifs of armor (Ephesians 6:10–20), and the sword (Luke 22:38), the *spiritus gladius*, referenced in the New Testament. In addition to his symbolic importance in classical epic and his imagistic resonance in the hellish environs depicted in the writings of the early Christian church fathers, the blacksmith figure – and the weapons he creates – also figures significantly in the Finnish, Nordic and Germanic folklore traditions. For example, the connections between the Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon worlds are more established and evident, and the smith character of the *Volundarkvitha* section of the poetic *Edda* reappears in both the literature and folklore of the Anglo-Saxon world. Associations between the story of Wayland (also Weland, Volund, Velent) and Anglo-Saxon literature are evident in both *Beowulf* and in the *Deor’s Lament*. Volund’s character translates into the literature of the Anglo-Saxons as the story of Weland or Wayland (his Middle English name).

Ultimately, the *Volundarkvitha* is the most prominent of the stories of the *Poetic Edda* that offer distant echoes of the Haphaestus/Vulcan figure within the Olympian pantheon, likewise highlighting the smith’s subordinate status, demonstrating the essential nature of his craft, and pointing to his uneasy and potentially danger-

32 See Herbert Henry Coghlan, “Metal Implements and Weapons,” *A History of Technology: From Early Times to the Fall of Ancient Empires*. Vol. I ed. Charles Singer, Eric John Holmyard, and Alfred Rupert Hall. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), 600–22. According to Coghlan (here 617 and 620), the processes of carburizing, tempering, and quenching enhanced the tensile strength of the metal while reducing its bulk and revealed to fabricators of weapons “the best combination of hardness and toughness.” Agricultural and architectural tools developed as well as a consequence of the greater use of iron technology in the first millennium B.C.E.: these included nails, wire, tongs, saws, drills, chisels, and files. Ultimately, the metallurgical innovations that were realized in the transition from bronze to iron reverberated in political, social, economic, agricultural, and even in environmental realms. See also: Robert Jacobus Forbes, “Extracting, Smelting, and Alloying” (see note 23). As Forbes (here 592) explains, “. . . the effect of the introduction of iron was gradually to extend and cheapen production. Iron ores are widely distributed and readily available; iron tools were cheaper and more efficient than those made of bronze. They rendered possible the clearing of forests, the drainage of marshes, and the improvement of cultivation upon a very much wider scale. Thus iron was the democratic metal, and it greatly reinforced man’s equipment for dealing with the forces of nature.” With the expansion and proliferation of metal-based economies across the Mediterranean and into Europe, a coincident expansion of trade-based economies developed across regions previously controlled by tribal systems of organization.

ous relationship with the royal powers. To that end a consideration of the elements of metalworking and the role of the weaponsmith in *Beowulf* must acknowledge his connection to these other folkloric traditions – a melding of disparate bodies of folklore across multiple geographies and sources into a more coherent and “global” collection of connected narratives and themes. In confirming those cultural affiliations, *Beowulf* editor Charles Leslie Wrenn observes that

With the conquest of parts of Southern Germany by the Celts in the sixth century B.C., and their introduction of iron weapons, etc. to the Germanic peoples, we have the beginning of that association of iron with magic symbolized in the magician-hero Weland, who has left traces in High German, Scandinavian, and English poetry . . .³³

The smith’s enduring appeal evolves and his “brand” is enhanced within these disparate sources, and within the Anglo-Saxon tradition his most prominent mention occurs in *Beowulf*, where Beowulf’s breastplate is described as “smithes orthancum” [“the skill-work of smiths,” 406], and where Beowulf himself refers to his breastplate as “Welandes geweorc” [“the hand-work of Weland,” 455]. Elsewhere, as Beowulf prepares to do battle with Grendel, he dons a helmet that is described as “worhte waepna smith, wundrum teode” [“the work of the weapon smith, maker of wonders,” 1453]. Finally, as a triumphant Beowulf returns from battle having slain both Grendel and Grendel’s mother, he presents Hrothgar with a rune-inscribed golden sword hilt that is described as both the “wondersmitha geweorc” [“the work of the wonder-smith,” 1681], which bears the stories of earlier and more primal battles and adventures. Any well-made pattern-welded sword, when ground and polished into its final form, would bear exotic marks from the damascening processes that shaped and hardened it, a point suggested in the detached and storied “wreopen-hilt ond wyrmfah” [“twisted and serpentine,” 1698] sword and/or hilt that Beowulf retrieves from the underworld after vanquishing Grendel’s mother and presents to Hrothgar upon his triumphant return. Making for an impressive vision, this storied weapon would provide clear occasion for the poet to exercise his skills in describing it and highlighting its most exotic features in tribute to its mythic creator. Echoing

³³ See *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg. With the Finnsburg Fragment*, ed. Charles Leslie Wrenn. London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd. 1953), 54–55. The remainder of Wrenn’s quote is also worth including: (The “magician-hero” Weland) “may (also) still be remembered in England in references to his story on the early Northumbrian Franks Casket, a carving in Leeds parish Church, or Wayland’s smithy, still to be seen on the Berkshire downs. The word *weland* simply means ‘an artificer’ (from *wel, ‘art’ or ‘artifice’). His story is told in a lay (*Volundarkvitha*, ‘Weland’s lay’) in the Old Norse Poetic Edda, a late saga (*Thidrekssaga*, ‘Theodoric’s saga’); and partly in the Anglo-Saxon *Deor*. Any weapon of an excellence no longer to be equalled, inherited from an earlier and more skilled age, is apt to be described in Old English heroic poetry as “*giganta geweorc*” (1562) or “*eald-sweord eotenisc*” (1558) or as the work of Weland (as at 1.455 and in *Waldere* 1.2).”

the pattern established in Homeric and Virgilian epic, such reverence toward the smith's works is a common feature in the traditions of Germanic, Old Norse and Anglo-Saxon literature. In his edition of *Beowulf*, Fredrick Klaeber notes that

If a weapon or armor in Old Germanic literature was attributed to Weland, this was conclusive proof of its superior workmanship and venerable associations. The figure of this wondrous smith – the Germanic Vulcanus (Hephaistos) – symbolizing at first the marvels of metalworking as they impressed the people of the stone age, was made the subject of a heroic legend, which spread from North Germany to Scandinavia and England.³⁴

While weapons and armor portrayed in *Beowulf* are those associated with the mythic traditions of Germanic metalworking, the poet uses them to enhance both the Germanic mythos and the Christian symbolism of the poem. These most mythic swords, presumably bearing the exotic serpentine designs reflected in their pattern-welded manufacture, then show their temporal inferiority in the face of the eternity of God even in *Beowulf*'s most intense moments of battle and in the scenes where he enjoys his greatest battle glories. Against the forces of evil, time, fate, and destiny, the failure, deterioration, immolation, and eventual destruction of the poem's various swords, goblets, armor, and rings – enable the poet to subordinate the ambitions of the material world (highlighted in classical epic) to the ultimate powers of God's eternal domain: their temporality underscores God's eternity.

The Sutton Hoo sword, often referenced in conjunction with the ornate weaponry of *Beowulf*, likewise stands out with its richly decorated scabbard and red garnet cloisonné fittings, and has also captivated scholars, historians, and anthropologists alike with its exotic and beguiling character. Anthropologist Heinrich Harke notes great significance in the inclusion of swords within a mound burial in his survey of excavated sites. He argues that in combination with drinking horns and select other weapons (axes, seaxes), swords in burial mounds were “high-status weapons” which aligned with and underscored the reputation – i.e., enhanced the “brand” – of the deceased. Moreover, within the greater tableau of the burial mound they imply that “men buried with them had more time for physical exercise (as professional warriors would), and wealth and feasting were part of their displayed status.”³⁵ Further, anthropologist Lotte Hedeagar explores the social importance of the sword in native Nordic and particularly in Danish cultures of the fifth and sixth centuries, explaining that both the helmet and ring-sword served as “an

³⁴ *Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburg*, ed. Fredrick Klaeber (Boston, MA: Heath Press, 1950), 145.

³⁵ Heinrich Harke, “Changing Symbols in a Changing Society: The Anglo-Saxon Weapon Burial Rite in the Seventh-Century,” *The Age of Sutton Hoo: The Seventh Century in North-Western Europe*, ed. Martin Carver (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1992), 149–66; here 158.

expression of the same idea: the same political symbol of the warrior aristocracy that surrounded the king.”³⁶ Just as in the Homeric and Virgilian epics, here the sword remains an icon and possesses an identifiable “brand” identity, reflecting its status as a signifier beyond its first function as a battle implement.

Because of the deteriorated condition of its blade, the Sutton Hoo sword is notable mostly for the decoration of its scabbard mounts, which represent the weapon’s most distinct feature. Of the blade itself, little can be said, for “blade and sheath were joined together so that they could not be separated.”³⁷ After the fashion of other Viking swords, the Sutton Hoo sword is also pattern-welded, such that the blade was likely also made from a number of iron strips and bars, welded together and repeatedly hammered, tempered, quenched, and reshaped into the form of a patterned “damascene” blade, made mostly of a durable, high-carbon steel, worked into layers, which could stand up to the demands of warfare. The blade stretches about 28 inches, and from pommel to scabbard tip the Sutton Hoo sword extends about 33 inches.³⁸ In writing about the interconnections between *Beowulf* and the Sutton Hoo artifacts, Rosemary Cramp comments on the limited capacity of the Anglo-Saxon language to capture the sword’s brilliance, noting the poet’s seemingly excessive reliance on the words *fah* and *mael*, “generalized terms of ornament,” possibly technical in character, of which our knowledge of their meanings is “hazy.” Further,

such words do not always appear to have been used solely with application to a play of light and shade or colour, to shape or to texture – all of these effects are simultaneously present, but one or the other is made predominant by the addition of a prefix, e.g. *wunden-mael*, *graeg-mael*.³⁹

In considering this peculiarity of the Anglo-Saxon language in describing the dark age sword, one does well to consult the extended discussion provided by Davidson of the word *mal*/*mael*, which is frequently combined with other words, and is “often found in poetry in connexion [sic] with swords.”⁴⁰ She concludes that the emphasis of poets in describing pattern-welded swords is essentially “on different aspects of the appearance of the blade, its grey and gleaming surface, its patterns like rich materials woven or embroidered, its winding, branching, curving shapes.”⁴¹ In noting the *Beowulf* poet’s emphasis in descriptions of swords, it is worth remem-

³⁶ Lotte Hedeagar, “Kingdoms, Ethnicity and Material Culture: Denmark in a European Perspective,” *The Age of Sutton Hoo*, ed. Martin Carver (see note 35), 279–300; here 294.

³⁷ Charles Green, *Sutton Hoo: The Excavation of a Royal Ship Burial*. 2nd ed. (London: Merlin Press, 1968), 81.

³⁸ Green, *Sutton Hoo: The Excavation of a Royal Ship Burial* (see note 37), 81.

³⁹ Rosemary Cramp, “*Beowulf* and Archaeology,” *Medieval Archaeology* I (1957): 57–77; here 63.

⁴⁰ Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 120.

⁴¹ Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 129.

bering that beyond its gleaming blade the sword itself would necessarily be an amalgam of disparate, often richly decorated components reflecting skilled metalsmithing of other forms. Seeking the distinctive watery and twisted patterns that defined their pattern-welded damascene blades, smiths sought high quality iron which, if not imported, was at least combined with carbon to produce hardened steel; the higher quality blades were considered to come from the Rhenish region of Germany, and such blades would be combined with hilts and pommels of native construction to produce the finish product. In this way, and because of the deterioration of the blade, the true distinctive features of the Sutton Hoo sword – the elements capturing its “branded” character – exist primarily not in the badly deteriorated blade itself, but in the cloisonné ornaments that still stand out centuries later.⁴²

The Sutton Hoo sword, with its scabbard, hilt, pommel, and fittings all distinguished by their distinctive and arresting cloisonné design, is defined by “the attachment by soldering (shaped garnet pieces) to the plain surface of tiny cell-like cavities”⁴³ The degree of ornamentation on the sword recovered from mound 1 seems to have received the most attention from scholars of the excavation. This ornament is most visible on the sword-hilt, scabbard mounts, and pommel, which show a comparably intricate cloisonné pattern. In describing the final preparation of the mound 1 burial tableau, Martin Carver describes how the sword was secured to a baldric-style weapon belt – on the left for a right-handed warrior – such that

When the sword was sheathed, the sword pommel was secured with tapes or thongs that had carried little pyramids at the ends. Pommel, connectors, bosses, buckles, and pyramids were of gold inlaid with cut garnets: East Anglia’s finest jewelry, in a matching set.⁴⁴

⁴² Cramp, “*Beowulf* and Archaeology” (see note 39), 63. Cramp notes further that the weapon as a whole would show a “pattern and a play of light and shade that gives the effect of colour contrast,” providing the poet with clear inspirational material: “[t]he aesthetic sense shown here linguistically can be paralleled from archaeology in the Anglo-Saxon preoccupation with techniques of ornament which produce an effect of light and shade, for instance pierced or interlaced work, or the setting of dark garnets against a background of glittering gold or opaque white paste.”

⁴³ Charles Green, *Sutton Hoo: The Excavation of a Royal Ship Burial* (see note 37), 79. Green explains that cloisonné design was enabled by “the attachment by soldering to the plain surface of tiny cell-like cavities which are made by the jeweler from strips of metal bent into suitable shapes; into these cells – or cloisons as they are known – are inserted tiny pieces of the semi-precious stone – usually garnet – which are cut to fit them. The base of each cell is frequently further enhanced by the insertion of gold foil tooled in a diaper-pattern which shows through the translucent stone.”

⁴⁴ See Martin Carver, *Sutton Hoo: Burial Ground of Kings?* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1998), 126.

The extent to which these fixtures demonstrated a specifically Christian orientation in their basically cruciform cloisonné designs is a matter very much in question, but it is reasonable to assume that the individuals responsible for their manufacture were accustomed to handling both Christian and non-Christian iconographic detail. Nevertheless, the spiritual orientation reflected in the richly detailed Sutton Hoo sword and its associated accessories remain suggestive, doubtless essential to the identity of their owner in their own time if still ultimately ambiguous in our own.

Historian Ernle Bradford proclaims that “[t]he success of the First Crusade must be seen as stemming largely from one instrument – the sword.”⁴⁵ But the growing use of the sword as a rhetorical trope within the investiture conflicts continued for another two full centuries. Moreover, the sword had significant influence as a symbol of spiritual power, authority, and divine mandate, encompassed much of the pro-crusading ideology, and took tangible forms in the creation of the holy orders – especially the Templars and Hospitallers – which facilitated the crusades themselves. The motifs and images of chivalry were easily appropriated to lend moral authority to church-sanctioned conflicts, with the use of the sword as *spiritus gladius*, a symbol in the political maneuvering between church and crown, serving as one of the hallmarks of the crusading rhetoric. It is also purposefully chosen in the early eleventh-century epoch captured in *The Song of Roland*, a most telling valorization of a crusading ideology in Old French.

The *Song of Roland* simultaneously valorizes the ideals of Christian knighthood and acknowledges in unflattering terms the nascent profiteering impulses which sprung out of the commercial climate of northern Italy and encroached upon the chivalric classes vision of themselves. Best described as an articulation of the medieval crusading ideology, this Frankish epic it also reveals the encroachment of commercial ideals upon a chivalric hegemony. Effusive in its ornate descriptions of arms, armor, and weapons, these details likewise capture growing branding practices in the poem’s account of arms, weapons, and battle, as well as in its consideration of the notion of “fit heroism.” Further, the poem portrays a growing bourgeois presence in the world of the chivalric class, a mindset described by Historian Norman Cantor as “a display of military force and religious devotion.”⁴⁶ Much like the warrior economies of the classical world, which were based essentially on pillage and service, the knightly economy of the tenth and eleventh centuries likewise highlighted the intimate connection between the warrior and the weapon.

45 Ernle Bradford, *The Sword and the Scimitar: The Saga of the Crusades* (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd., 1974), 95.

46 Norman Cantor, *Medieval History: The Life and Death of a Civilization*. 2nd ed. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1969), 331.

Featuring arms and armor as ornate works of artisanship which would probably be impractical to wield, these depictions are meant to reflect on the bearing of a warrior and to reflect his mythos and “branded” identity. Indeed, the *Song of Roland* dramatically underscores the heavy social capital applied to the knight’s armor and weapons: these are composed of the finest metal work, and swords are gem-studded and frequently implied to be of mythic origins. Claiming that “[t]he text leaves no doubt” about their importance, Haidu explains that the poem’s ornate depiction of arms and weapons are “brilliant and costly in their exotic manufactures and in their ornamentation,” a “concretization of the warriors’ value and contain(ing) their heroism as a precipitate,” and “signifiers of the courage and the heroism of knights, ready for battle, ready for death.”⁴⁷ Indeed, the poet’s vivid, often overly detailed and occasionally irrelevant description of the grandiose and ornate weapons that these medieval super heroes carried into battle signify the warriors’ value, courage, and heroism, and arguably stand out as the poem’s most distinctive characteristic. Robert Francis Cook describes this feature of the *Song of Roland* as essential to the work’s purpose as epic, explaining that “a large number of [the text’s later] lines are given over to matters of ornament: descriptions of the pagans’ armor and horses, and lists of their horrible deeds.”⁴⁸

Laisses 93–108 serve particularly to illustrate this point and proceed according to the following pattern: a Frankish warrior confronts a Saracen enemy with his sword or spear; upon engagement, the force of the former’s blow shatters the latter’s shield, smashes through his hauberk, and strikes through his finely polished armor, leading to the particularly gruesome death of the infidel. The victorious Frank will either then taunt his fallen enemy by reminding him of the perpetual damnation that awaits him as a pagan, or he will proclaim “Monjoie!” the

47 Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence: The Song of Roland and the Birth of the State*. (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1993), 77.

48 Robert Francis Cook, *The Sense of the Song of Roland* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1987), 78–79. To quote in full: “The first part of the *Song of Roland* presents the causes of the battle of Roncevaux and the circumstances in which it takes place, but an epic is also a story of adventure and courage, and where it operates in that mode – as the several battles, Roncevaux and its consequences, unfold – the text requires less-intensive commentary. Henceforth (as has not been the case before) a large number of its lines are given over to matters of ornament: descriptions of the pagans’ armor and horses, and lists of their horrible deeds. Thus, though the events continue to make sense and to signify what earlier laisses led us to expect, they are primarily the working out, in action, of what the exposition has prepared. The battle scenes, in grouping (for example) all the Christian successes together, then all the pagan victories, clearly fall under the sway of a coherent narrative impulse and are not merely scorekeeping. Still, they have a specifically epic function of displaying action at length and for present purposes require little detailed analysis.”

“ço est l’enseigne Carlun” [“the battle-cry of Charles,” 1234].⁴⁹ But the poem does more than to call attention to the finely bejeweled pagan arms or to suggest that the finely crafted gem-studded battle implements used by King Marsile’s charges lack substance and are merely vainglorious ornament. Instead, the poet also highlights the fierce and determined devotion of the Frankish warriors who are fixated on more eternal values, and so are willing to destroy them. Moreover, of this engagement between well-chosen armies of pagan and Christian warriors, Haidu observes how the descriptions of their weaponry serves an important unifying function in establishing the identity (i.e., the “brand”) of the warrior class as not just soldiers in battle but also as defenders of faith.

In these battle scenes depictions of death and dying are drawn out affairs, and the narrator is particularly long on hyperbole in these scenes, with the naming of the most important weapons “suggesting the status of a personage from the instruments of war” such that “the text also retains (this) primitive and animistic trait – in spite of its ‘Christianity.’”⁵⁰ Additionally, affirmations of monetary, social, and spiritual value are contained in the poem’s description of lavish weapons and armor adorning the limbs and bodies of both pagan and Christian warriors. Noting that “the motif of the beauty of weaponry is frequently subordinated to another motif, especially in the battle scenes,” Haidu highlights “the mighty stroke of the sword which cuts through the helmet, mail, skull, chest, and horse, to lodge hard in the ground [and so] destroys the encrustations of beauty and value on the doomed knight’s armor.”⁵¹ Enhancing the weapon’s brutal potency as much as its ornate design, these two forces work in conjunction to enhance the “brand” of the victorious Christian knight as a defender of the faith and a fit representation of crusading ethos.

In this way, the violent and horrifying destruction of such beautiful armor ultimately serves to underscore the value of aligned concepts like service and duty while affirming the worth of the weapons themselves. Moreover, these descriptions of destruction highlight the name, spiritual associations, and gilded and gem-

49 All quotes and translations are from *The Song of Roland*. Trans. D. D. R. Owen (St. Edmonds, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 1990). See also: *Chanson de Roland*. Bibliotheca Augustana. Accessed via: http://www.fhaugsburg.de/~harsch/gallica/Chronologie/11siecle/Roland/rol_ch05.html (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023).

50 Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence* (see note 47), 46.

51 Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence* (see note 47), 46–47: Elucidating this point, Haidu writes that: “[b]eyond the beauty of the instruments of war, the text also retains the primitive and animistic trait – in spite of its ‘Christianity’ of naming the most distinguished of the weapons and the mounts, Durendal, Vellantif, Hautecler, etc., suggesting the status of a personage from the instruments of war. Indeed, the anomalous presence of this archaizing trait within a poem, which would offer Christianity as one of its ideologies, is indicative of a more fundamental level of significance.”

studded details of a given sword or piece of armor, underscoring the chivalric, and ultimately, nationalist imperatives of the epic by highlighting Frankish resolve, ferocity, and duty in the face of battle.⁵² At this early stage of the epic, the narrator has only described Frankish victories, yet in *laissez* 109–10 he sounds notes of foreboding that suggest that the battle is going in favor of the Saracens. Later, in subsequent *laissez* (117–26), the poet describes in graphic detail how no Frankish death goes unavenged. Nevertheless, their greater numbers enable the Saracens to gain advantage, and the poem alternates in describing the deaths of Charlemagne's warriors and the vanquishing of infidels. In all, the outnumbered Franks, with God on their side and assurances of a blessed afterlife, kill four thousand pagan warriors (127), but suffer their own heavy losses in the process. In this way, these *laissez* confirm the poem's resonant notes of foreboding.

Of particular fascination to the narrator are the arms and weapons of the warriors, pagan and Christian alike, and here a few generalizations are possible. The sheer force of the poem's pro chivalric ethos asserts the surging pervasiveness of the humanistic currents that run contrary to it, including in particular the intense connection between the warriors and their swords. It is also appropriate to remark here upon the point of the alleged obsession between the historical Charlemagne, his court, and the *spatha indica*, the prized and presumably Damascene blades that originated in the Islamic world and were sought after by Charlemagne's warriors. Alan Williams observes that "[t]he Franks valued Saracen swords, and one of Charlemagne's vassals captured '*spatha indica cum techna de argento parata*' – an 'Indian sword with a silverscabbard.'"⁵³ The value of Damascene weapons, created from crucible steel from "Indian" (i.e., Wootz or Seric) ores,⁵⁴ proliferated into Charlemagne's kingdom, and the historical appreciation for and idealization of Saracen weapons and armor resonates even into *The Song of Roland*. Frankish or Islamic, those in the artisan class are the ultimate creators of the symbols of value within the chivalric classes, and those who create serve to complement the identities of

52 See in particular *laisse* 104, lines 1320–37.

53 Alan Williams, "Crucible Steel in Medieval European and Indian Swords," *Metals and Civilizations: Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference on the Beginnings of the Use of Metals and Alloys* (BUMA VII), ed. Sharada Srinivasan, Srinivasa Ranganathan and Alessandra Giumlia-Mair (Bangalore: National Institute of Advanced Studies, 2015), 198–204.

54 The terms "Wootz" and "Seric" are generally used interchangeably, with the name "Seric" generally attributed to Pliny the Elder, who mentions the "Seres" in *Natural History* VI.20 (and elsewhere) in reference to some distant Eastern population of vaguely Oriental "others" who were known within the Roman Empire as purveyors of exotic goods. Steel ingots from Indian origins gradually acquired currency for their exotic patterning and became associated within this trade network and so within the domains of the Empire acquired the name of "Seric Steel."

those who fight. The gratuitous descriptions and violent destruction of arms and weapons are highlighted to enhance the mythos of their respective “brands.”

The best example of this aspect of the poem is found in Roland’s final few moments of life, after he has killed the pagan warrior who has tried to make off with his sword Durendal. Despite the narrator’s clear bias toward Charlemagne and his Christian legions, his admiration toward pagans is expressed in his descriptions of pagan warriors ready for battle. Such admiration is conveyed in the apocalyptic battle-scenes that follow Roland’s death, when Charlemagne and his forces converge on the Saracen destroyers of the rear guard and wreak their vengeance on them. In *laisse* 231, for instance, the description of the armor and bearing of the Emir Baligant highlights his impressiveness. In this passage in which the Christian Charlemagne and the Moslem Baligant prepare to engage in apocalyptic battle, observes Cook, the narrator’s hostile tone toward the pagans becomes uncharacteristically conciliatory.⁵⁵ The symbolic destroying of Durendal is significant, for it highlights the power of the association between the noble warrior and his weapon. After summarily dispatching the pagan warrior who has tried to steal his weapon, Roland then addresses it, proclaiming,

“E Durendal, bone, si mare fustes
Quant jo mei perd, de vos n’en ai mais cure.
Tantes batailles en camp en ai vencues.
E tantes teres larges escumbatues,
Que Carles tient, ki la barbe ad canue
Ne vos ait hume ki pur altre fuiet!” (2304–09)

[“O, my good sword Durendal, what a fate you have suffered
Now that I am dying, I have no more need of you;
With you I have won so many battles in the field
And conquered so many vast lands,
Which Charles with the hoary-white beard now holds.
May you never be owned by a man who flees in battle!”]

With this proclamation, Roland begins to strike his ornate and finely crafted weapon against a nearby rock of hard sardonyx (*laisse* 172), a compelling gesture that highlights his life’s finality.

⁵⁵ Cook, *The Sense of the Song of Roland* (see note 48), 107. Further, Cook describes the events in *laisse*s 227–38 to illustrate this point: “[n]ow the pagans prepare to turn in for the coming battle. The emir arms as Charles did, though he does not pray. His equipment, his past exploits, and his character are described at some length. He is a fine man and would be a great one if only he were Christian. Seeing his *élan*’ (his horse leaps a fifty-foot ditch), his men boast that no Frenchman can meet him in combat without being destroyed: Charles is a fool not to flee.”

Helen Nicolson notes that, in general terms, the twelfth- and thirteenth-century knight's "sword was expensive to manufacture" and that "a sword that would not bend or smash in use had to be forged with great care"; her observations suggest that the scene was calculated to raise eyebrows,⁵⁶ and that the *Roland* poet sought to use the destruction of weapons within a larger display of epic fervor. Overall, the scene confirms Nicolson's points, revealing the great stature given to, and identities complemented by the swords wielded of the Christian warrior-knight: "Descriptions of swords in twelfth-century epic, such as the *Chanson de Roland*, state that the hilts contained the relics of saints, such as bones and teeth, as well as valuable jewels, and that words might be inscribed on the blade, particularly the name of the manufacturer (Galaan in the epics). Swords were a means of displaying the wealth of the owner"⁵⁷

Significantly, the weapons themselves are the markers which establish the credentials of nobility. And it is the labor of the blacksmith that is indirectly valorized in Roland's willingness to, but more importantly in his inability, to destroy Durendal against the hard sardonyx.⁵⁸ And this weapon's storied qualities are fully revealed in *laisse* 173, where one finds catalogued the holy relics that are embedded in its hilt. Roland's death takes place on the eve of the ultimate battle between the pagans

56 Helen Nicolson, *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe, 300–1500* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 104.

57 Nicolson, *Medieval Warfare* (see note 56), 103.

58 Writing specifically about this scene, Ewart Oakeshott, *Records of the Medieval Sword* (see note 2), 4, explains how the dying Roland's tribute to his sword and attempt to destroy it shows the highly spiritualized relationship between knights and their weapons: "[u]nless there was some very worthy relative or especially close comrade into whose care a man's sword might legitimately and trustingly be passed, far the best thing would be for it to die with its owner, as Roland tried to ensure when he lay at the point of death in the pass of Roncesvalles. Maybe what he said and did with Durendal under the lonely pine tree on the hillside (in the best-remembered quote of the whole great epic of *The Song of Roland*) is the true and simple answer to this question. Certainly he speaks for everyone who cares for what happens to his sword when he can no longer keep and guard it." And while lamenting the necessity of destroying his weapon, Roland bewails the destruction of its embedded relics, which remain some of its finest features: "E Durendal, cum es bele e seintisme / En l'oriet punt asez i ad reliques: / La dent seint Perre e del sanc seint Basilie, / E des chevels mun seignor seint Denise, / Del vestement i ad seinte Marie. / Il nen est dreiz que paiens te baillisent; / De chrestiens devrez estre servie. / Ne vos ait hume ki facet cuardie" (2344–51). ["O Durendal, how fair and sacred you are / In the golden hilt there are many relics: / Saint Peter's tooth and some of Saint Basil's blood; / Some hair from the head of my Lord Saint Denis / And part of the raiment of the Blessed Virgin. / It is not right for pagans to possess you; / You must be wielded by Christians. / May no coward ever have you"]. The scene also reiterates the message that the ultimate defilement for such a storied weapon would be to fall into the hands of a pagan, or even worse, a coward, with Durendal's own mystique further enhanced when the weakened Roland struggles to render it unusable to another.

and the Christians, and after Charlemagne's forces arrive to find his rearguard slaughtered and the retreating enemy fading into the distance, they begin to mass their troops. In *laisse* 183 the poet reveals that Charlemagne's sword contains a relic of a piece of the lance that injured Christ on His procession to Golgotha.

What follows in *laisse*s 217–27 is a full, vivid description of massed soldiers preparing for a decisive, history-altering battle. Charlemagne leads the Franks in donning his armor, and his charges follow suit. At this point it is important to note how the motif of the arming scene, one of the most vivid hallmarks of battle descriptions in classical epic, endures in the *Song of Roland*.⁵⁹ And in *laisse*s 220–27, the various divisions of Charlemagne's army are described, ten in total. These include Frenchmen, Bavarians, Germans, Normans, Bretons, Poitevins, Flemings, Frisians, Lorransians, and Burgundians. Each division is distinctive in its accomplishments, leadership, and fitness for battle. In all, this collection of divisions boasts a total of over 300,000 soldiers and presents an impressive front to the massing armies of the Emir Baligant. Their virtues as Christian warriors are embodied in Charlemagne himself, who is described in *laisse* 229 (3110–20). With the Emir's forces massing as well, their preparations for battle are patterned after those of Charlemagne and his men, and the poet's perplexing admiration for the enemies of Christianity is clearly evident. In fact, the poet's tone portrays a sense of admiration for the chivalric class, pagan and Christian alike.

The formidability of the pagan warriors is embodied in Baligant himself, who likewise arms for battle in a highly dramatized fashion (*laisse* 231). Beyond this description, the poet presents a telling note of admiration for this pagan warrior, as shown in lines 3155–64, with the narrator proclaiming that "Deus! quel baron, s'ouït chrestientet!" ("O God, what a noble baron, if only he were a Christian!," 3164). Like Charlemagne, Baligant is described as a warrior of impressive bearing who is dressed in golden armor and wields an equally impressive sword and shield. Just as the divisions of Charlemagne's army are described, so are the various elements that constitute Baligant's assembled forces (*laisse*s 237–40),⁶⁰ with the brand identifications reinforced in both.

And the battle between the armies of Charlemagne and Baligant is no less violent than that between Roland and Marsile, although the outcome is more definitively and decisively rendered. It is evident that even though the poet describes

⁵⁹ See *laisse* 218, 2999–3004.

⁶⁰ However, while the accomplishments of the Christian armies under Charlemagne's command are highlighted in the poet's description, the most dominant characteristics of the pagans are their beast-like ugliness and infidel worship of false gods. They neither love nor serve the true God, and this lapse assures their beast-like stature in the eyes of the poet. The moral dimensions of this epic battle are established by *laisse* 246 when it (finally) begins.

this second round of battle scenes with comparable energy and detail, he seems more preoccupied in this phase with the descriptions of the warriors.⁶¹ In fact, given its intense focus on the distinctions between pagan and Christian warriors, the poem invokes an even more fundamental feature of epic literature, one evident in both pre-and proto-Christian works.

Haidu notes a “primitive and animistic trait” in the poet’s habit of bestowing a “status of a personage for the instruments of war,” which is “indicative of a more fundamental level of significance”⁶² to the epic than its distinguishing between the pagan and Christian cultures, and its reinforcing the character of swords as primitive “brands” who add to the mythos of the warriors they belong to. Indeed, in his personification (and indeed, fetishization) of the warriors’ arms and bearing, the poet not only reveals his appreciation of the ancient habit of personifying the implements of battle; he also shows the more modern awareness of their value as commodity of the sort that would betray an economic function in clashing with infidels, that is, in the act of crusading itself.

In short, both the Frankish and pagan warrior classes are defined by an old construct recalled in the epics of Homer and reiterated in the early sections of *Beowulf*. In this construct weapons have names bestowed upon them and sacred relics affixed to them, reliable and ornate arms are violently destroyed, and a warrior’s worth is defined as much by whom he kills as by whose armor he steals. In this way the arms themselves are invested with a mythic dimension which highlights the social stature of the warrior possessing them. Such a construct is also suited to the early commercial climate of the twelfth-century world, where the concept of value is in transition. In *The Song of Roland* the poet’s descriptions of the warriors and battle conjoin these ancient and contemporary contexts.

61 See Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence* (see note 47). 46. As Haidu observes, these descriptions of massed soldiers, resplendent in their battle gear and wielding their striking and storied arms serves as an important unifying function, establishing the identity of the warrior class as not just soldiers in battle, but also as defenders of faith. Both are conjoined in “the values of knighthood” and “the class identity of warrior knights . . . on either side of the religious divide.” He also observes that, “[t]he fact that ultimately Christians and Saracens share the beauty both of weaponry and its glint as caught by sunlight suggests the bond that ties them more closely, perhaps than the religions which separate them: they share the values of knighthood, of joyous battle, the bond of a particular, well-defined social grouping, with its telos and its ideology. The motif of the beauty of the armor and the weapons is not merely ornamental. It signifies the class-identity of warrior-knights and the qualities requisite of their calling on either side of the religious divide.”

62 Peter Haidu, *The Subject of Violence* (see note 47), 47.

Global Contexts and Cross Cultural Currents

The literary evidence establishes how the sword becomes a “branded” complement to the identity of a well-placed aristocrat or other person of stature, and a distinctively-designed sword blade might entail valued associations with the metalworking traditions of Rhenish craftsmen known in the earlier Middle Ages for their distinctive pattern-welding and tempering techniques which resulted in the patterned swords captured in the descriptions of the *Beowulf* poet. Such patterns developed over a long process that involved joining together of bars and strips of iron and steel, purified of slag and repeatedly exposed to carbon, their durability enhanced with repeated heating, hammering, welding, quenching, tempering, shaping, annealing, filing, finishing, and polishing. In Northern Europe and across the English Isles, the activity of pattern welding, which conjoined multiple pieces of metal, including strips, bars, wires, and other elements, into a prescribed design that created a layered effect, long remained the first means for creating an exotic blade with mythic aspirations. Imperfect replications of this process were common in the creation of the “false damascened” blades that are clearly of Anglo-Saxon, Viking, and western European manufacture, blades proven to be of lesser quality than their ninth and tenth century Rhenish counterparts.

Moreover, the manufacture of the sword as a functioning weapon itself frequently involved a division of labor of sorts, as contributions from a variety of craftsmen of different nationalities and locations: Rhenish blades, for example, were frequently affixed to Viking or English hilts and scabbards, and an improvement resulting in a higher quality blade would be a closely kept trade secret. The *Sturlunga Saga* of Icelandic verse references the sword *Brynjubitr* (i.e., “Mail Biter”), imported from Constantinople by one Sigurd the Greek, a detail hinting of cross cultural transportation of sword blades, and another sword *Hetnir*, bestowed upon the Swedish King Olaf, ultimately ended up on Constantinople as the possession of a traveler who told of its exotic background and came to assume iconic status for its storied Nordic origins.⁶³ Clearly, swords traveled and acquired associations within those travels. In this light, the mythic treatment and primitive “brand identification” given to the sword, aligning it with the place of its origin and the reputation of its owner, was celebrated in literature and in ritual and reflected in its cultural value. That reputation was further underscored by associations with specialized weaponsmiths who could fashion, decorate, and inscribe them with the symbols and insignias so crucial to the constructions of masculine identity, spiritual affiliation, and stories of origin.

63 Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 169–75. See also Oakeshott, *Records* (see note 2), 14.

Any crusading English or French nobleman of the late eleventh or early twelfth century, fully resplendent in his armor and weaponry, would capture the character of an emerging “global” trade in armor and swords. In this way the sword becomes a “global” icon, a combination of hand-created components from disparate regions, each with its own storied associations and each contributing to a collective icon that enhances the reputation of its owner. This cross-cultural dynamic is described by Oakeshott, who explains how

[s]words were very distributable things during the Age of Chivalry. Consider some of the ways in which an Englishman might acquire a sword; he might buy it in his nearest town, or at a fair from a traveler for one of the great weapon-making firms of Milan or Passau, Augsburg or Cologne or Bordeaux. Wherever he bought it, the blade would certainly have been made in one or other of these places, though the hilt might have in Paris or London – or Salisbury or Chester, Norwich or Gloucester. Or he might have been given it by his feudal superior who won the sword in personal combat with a Spanish knight who had got the sword in Seville. Or he might have got it on a battlefield in Aquitaine or at a tournament in Saxony. Whomsoever *he* had overcome to win it might have had it from a place remote from his own land. Or again, he may have been given it by a relative, a family treasure honourably borne half a century before and won in Sicily.⁶⁴

A Frankish or English knight venturing to distant land in the Eastern Mediterranean, fulfilling his duty as a Crusader and seeking to reclaim the Holy Land for God’s “chosen” people, might find himself in direct opposition to a scimitar-wielding Islamic opponent bearing a notably different but equally impressive array of battle implements. Bearing a sparser type of armor – a helmet, breastplate, and

⁶⁴ Ewart Oakeshott, *Swords in the Age of Chivalry (1100–1500)* (1964; Hockley, Essex: The Boydell Press, 1997), 19–20. In *Records of the Medieval Sword* (see note 2), 7, Oakeshott offers a similar observation about the frequency and significance of swords changing hands over time, as dictated by chivalric practice and ethos, and thereby developing a mythos through their “well-traveled” character: “[a]ny sword, found anywhere, may have passed (and probably did pass) through many hands in places all over Europe and the Near East. For instance, a blade is forged at Passau, on the Danube, in 1258. It is hilted maybe in Milan; or maybe in Gloucester, or Norwich, or Gisors, or Caen, or Montpellier, or Burgos, or Jerusalem, or Cracow. Then it is bought by a young knight in Antwerp, whence it has come in the baggage of one of the travelling salesmen who continually moved across the face of the nations. This knight is involved in a tournament at Beauvais, is unhorsed by a knight of Prussia, who, in accordance with the rules of chivalry, takes the sword. *He* is killed in Lithuania, and the sword falls into the hands of a squire of Poland, who, takes it home; he in turn goes to the Holy Land, where he strikes up a close friendship with a young knight from Cambridge. The Polish squire dies, and gives the sword to his friend, who goes home in 1272 and lives peacefully in his manor at Stretham until 1310. On his death, at his specific request, the sword is thrown into the Ouse. So what 19th or 20th century antiquarian can say it is probably English? The last person to have owned it might have been English – but then, in all those centuries of the High Middle Ages, any knightly person was just as likely to be Flemish, or French, or Spanish, or Bavarian”

perhaps some greaves – lighter armor more appropriate to the warmer climates of the Eastern Mediterranean (and points eastward), these battle opponents capture the contrasts of the Islamic *Retiarius* (Islamic Battle Gear, consisting of: apron, net, trident/pike – for spaced fighting) as opposed to the European *Secutor* (European Battle gear, consisting of: shield, sword, helmet – for close fighting).

The contrast in weapons, armor, and fighting styles becomes immediately evident in the contrasting sword designs, the Islamic warrior likelier wielding an elaborately patterned Damascene sword blade with an inlaid “watery” pattern, fashioned out of coveted “Wootz” ores mined from distant lands of the Hyderabad region of India and transported into more proximal metal-working regions, conveniently described by westerners as “Damascus.” The distinctive, so-called “false damascened” blades fashioned by pattern-welders and defined by the “zigzag and wavy patterns running up their blades,” have been shown to originate not only with the pattern-welded techniques of European swordsmiths, featuring designs only distantly reminiscent of those crafted by Indian and middle eastern smiths but still “deriv(ed) their name from Damascus.”⁶⁵ Indeed, one key feature of the globalist character of swords and the associated trade relations, cultural significance, and social prestige applied to them is the enigmatic but preponderant terminology of “Damascus,” a label having multiple associations within the realm of sword design and manufacture and applicable to distinct European and Islamic swordsmithing technologies and traditions.

Melded and worked into with a striking pattern suggestive of a watered-silk “flow,” the Wootz Damascus sword blade’s design might reveal a more durable and to Western eyes, exotic design as captured in the fabled “Mahomet’s Ladder” (also called “Mohammed’s Ladder”) patterning borne out of the carbon-rich composition of its ores and enhanced with distinctive etching practices and complementing an elaborately designed shield and perhaps a weighted net or a pike that provided protection and offered a means of neutralizing his opponents. These swords of eastern origins likewise captured the bearer’s social prominence and connection to the collected wisdom of storied weaponsmiths of centuries past.⁶⁶

Emerging out of the realms of pre-history, the trading of swords and the exchange and proliferation of technologies that establish how swords assume a character of “global brands.” The exoticism of the pattern within the blade captured the “otherness” associated with Damascus, that distant locality straddling the borders

⁶⁵ Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 15.

⁶⁶ A good initial description of this term is explained by Herbert Maryon, “Pattern Welding and Damascening of Sword-Blades, Part 2: The Damascene Process,” *Studies in Conservation* 5.2 (May, 1960): 52–60; here 52–53. See also: Madeleine Durand-Charre, *Damascus and Pattern-Welded Steels: Forging Blades Since the Iron Age*. Sciences de Matériaux ([Les Ulis, France: EDP Sciences, 2014).

between the Eastern and Western regions of the known world. This point is discussed in “On Swords and Their Kinds,” a treatise on swordsmithing by al-Kindi (Abu Yūsuf Ya‘qūb ibn ‘Ishāq aṣ-Ṣabbāḥ al-Kindī, 801–73), who highlights the superior strength of steels of Sri Lankan and Indian origins and references Damascus as a center of metalworking technology and exchange.⁶⁷ Enticingly, the Islamic philosopher and chronicler al-Biruni (Abu Rayhan Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Biruni, 973–ca. 1050) more directly mentions a noteworthy swordsmith named “Damasqui” whose elaborate blades captured these distinctive patterns and otherwise stood out for their high quality. However, the term “Damascus” was also applied to a specific kind of high-carbon ore also known as “Wootz,” a carbon rich material that when worked by a skilled swordsmith in crucible processes was also capable of yielding a sword blade that was strongly constructed and distinctly designed, carrying the effect of “watered-silk” if not an even more elaborate and exotic “Mahomet’s ladder” pattern.

One early allusion to “Wootz” or “Seric” steel is offered by Pliny the Elder, whose Book 34 of *Natural History* alludes to crucible-fired ores retrieved from the far eastern realms of the Seres but who was presumably referring to ores retrieved from the Indian regions of Hyderabad.⁶⁸ Each type of sword – the pattern welded sword constructed by a skilled European swordsmith using multiple components of iron fashioned into a weapon of distinct design, as well as the distinctively patterned sword fashioned out of Wootz ores accessible only from the Hyderabad region of India (and also from very localized places within the Eastern Mediterranean) – comes to assume its own distinct form of exoticism captured in the common terminology of “Damascus,” a design feature implying general otherness, associated with distant origins, striking enough to gain mythic associations, and definitely “global” in its reach and in its diverse range of associations.

Scholars of previous generations have been prone to draw stark distinctions between the pattern-welded swordsmithing of Western European blacksmiths and the crucible steel techniques, using Wootz or “Seric” steel ores, which were fashioned into equally ornate and sought-after, structurally superior swords wielded by warriors in Eastern and Indian realms. Beginning with the work of scholars from previous decades, including the above-referenced studies of Herbert Maryon,

⁶⁷ See “Kindi’s ‘On Swords and their Kinds,’” trans. Robert G. Hoyland, *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking: Kindi’s Treatise ‘On Swords and Their Kinds,’* ed. Robert G. Hoyland and Brian Gilmour (see note 20), 19–23. See also Brian Gilmour, “Kindi’s ‘On Swords and Their Kinds’ Commentary,” *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking: Kindi’s Treatise ‘On Swords and Their Kinds’* (see note 20), 48–82.

⁶⁸ John F. Healy, *Mining and Metallurgy in the Greek and Roman World* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 215.

Hilda Ellis Davidson and Ewart Oakeshott, and H. H. Coghlan (in conjunction with a field of others), we see the dimensions of this important technological distinction coming into focus.

In a two-part sequence of articles from 1960, Maryon sought to account for the origins of pattern-welding techniques, original to European metalworkers and swordsmiths, acknowledging in his first part their obscure origins but attributing them to metalworkers laboring in Roman armaments production facilities in the iron-rich regions along the Rhine. Here he suggested a means of technological proliferation that followed as

[a]fter the fall of the Roman Empire, the Franks, a Germanic tribe, whose original home lay just east of the Rhine, were able to extend their territory, through that of their neighbours, the Belgae, into Gaul, and in time, to reach the Pyrenees. From the Rhine Valley, with, as it were, a foothold in both camps, the Frankish ironmasters were in an ideal situation to supply weapons both to the east and to the west.⁶⁹

In his subsequent study Maryon distinguishes more fully between pattern welding, or the gradual combining of individual iron strips and bars (of varying chemical compositions) and working these into a distinct and exotic design, and “damascening process of Syria, Persia, and India” or the construction of a blade with a “fine, watered pattern,” which is

due primarily to heat-controlling crystallization of a steel which is rich in carbon, slowly cooled down from the liquid condition, and forged at about, but not much above, a cherry-red heat. And that this crystallization is the work of Nature, not of man.⁷⁰

Although his conclusions have been updated by scholars in more recent decades, Maryon’s juxtaposing of the pattern-welding techniques of European origins and the Damascene Process of Eastern origins provides a crucial pretext for understanding the global character of ancient and medieval sword trade and construction.

Once clarified, the distinction between western European “Damascene” pattern welding and Wootz Damascus designing produced in Eastern regions continued add to the exoticism of swords of all kinds and confirmed their character as early “global brands.” Maryon’s positions were quickly seized upon by subsequent scholars, including Hilda Ellis Davidson, referenced above, who addresses this confusion in the beginning chapters of her study *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England*. She begins with the acknowledgment about the ambiguity of the term, accounting

69 Herbert Maryon, “Pattern-Welding and Damascening of Sword-Blades: Part I: Pattern Welding,” *Studies in Conservation* 5.1 (Feb. 1960): 25–37.

70 Herbert Maryon, “Pattern Welding and Damascening of Sword-Blades, Part 2 – the Damascene Process,” *Studies in Conservation* 5.2 (May 1960): 52–60.

for it by remarking that Lorange's 1899 study of Norwegian swords "showed that true 'damask' or 'damascened' blades produced by Oriental smiths and deriving their name from Damascus were quite different from the blades of western Europe, the patterns of which were produced by a different process to which he gave the name 'false damascening'" and so concluded that "the term 'damascening' must not be loosely employed . . . since 'true' and 'false' damascening are terms which may also be used of two different methods of inlay ornamentation," with the ultimate result that "it is not surprising that confusion has arisen."⁷¹ Given that her study clearly focuses on swords of Northern European origin, her focus on pattern welding is completed with an appendix penned by the metalworking historian John Anstee, whose chapter describes the various processes associated with producing a pattern-welded sword.⁷²

Suggestions of an East-West trading network in Wootz ingots, alluded to both by Maryon and Davidson, have been alternatively challenged and illuminated. One convenient motif for understanding the "global" character of medieval swordsmithing lies in the juxtaposition of "Damascene" pattern-welding with the Eastern-based crucible processes originating in Sri Lanka and India. The former is suggested in the sword-related motifs and imagery of *Beowulf* and associated with European and, specifically, Northern Germanic swordsmithing. The latter is founded within the Eastern-based crucible processes, originating in Sri Lanka and India, resulting in ingots and completed "Damascus" blades reaching Damascus and (presumably) Rome as workable raw materials (if not finished products for sale), with both processes resulting in elaborately patterned sword blades. Such historical footnotes, such as those suggested in the appeal of *spathe indica*, or exotic Damascus sword blades among Charlemagne's vassals, suggest a new vantage for understanding the obvious fetishization of swords and armor in *The Song of Roland*, even as these blades consistently proved to have superior tensile strength and durability when compared with the pattern-welded blades of European origins.⁷³ In the decades following Maryon's studies

71 See Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 15–17.

72 See John Anstee, "Appendix A: The Forging of a Pattern-Welded Sword," in Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 217–24.

73 Al-Kindi's "On Swords and their Kinds" (see note 20), 21, makes reference to the greater durability and "watering" design associated with steels with these origins. Many are the contemporary commentators and archaeologists whose recent explorations of the crucible method have helped to confirm its superior strength over the pattern-welded sword varieties fashioned by European swordsmiths in earlier centuries and also its stature as a valued and early "global" trade commodity. For particularly helpful guides, see Juha Perttula, "Wootz Damascus Steel of Ancient Orient," *Scandinavian Journal of Metallurgy* 33 (2004): 92–97; Umit Guder, Muharrem Ceken, Alpetkin Yavas, Unsal Yalcin, and Dierk Raabe, "First Evidence of Crucible Steel Production in Medieval Anatolia, Kubadabad: A Trace for Possible Technology Exchange Between Anatolia and Southern Asia,"

scholars have more recently have found contradictions to his positions, and today remain divided over the extent to which Wootz ores, ingots, and finished blades, originating in India and other far Eastern reaches, proliferated as trade commodities into Europe through the portals of first Damascus, and later, Rome.

Historians and scholars have shown a gradual evolution from the dichotomizing habit, established in the 1950s and 60s-era work of Davidson and Maryon, of contrasting “Western” pattern-welded swords with “Eastern” varieties made of Wootz (or Seric) ores and refined according to crucible processes. Noting the “inventive generalizations” that scholars are eternally tempted toward in envisioning the proliferation of Wootz artefacts into Western reaches, Bennett Bronson has observed that “the romance may have kept Wootz and related topics alive among textbook writers, but speculation is so common that any attempt at real research is almost sure to bog down.”⁷⁴ More recently, Ann Feuerbach has written about the wide proliferation of Wootz and other comparable metalworking techniques of varied nomenclature, observing that “[w]hether you call it Indian Wootz, Central Asian Pulad, Bulat, or oriental or ‘true’ Damascus, crucible steel with a decorative pattern has fascinated craftsmen, scientists, and laymen for almost 2,000 years. Swords and sabers made of the so-called ‘Wootz’ steel from India may be the best known crucible steel products, but the history and influence of crucible steel is much more subtle and wide reaching.”⁷⁵

Journal of Archaeological Science 137 (2022): 1–14; S. Jaikishan, Meghna Desia, and Th. Rehren, “A Journey of Over 200 Years: Early Studies on Wootz Ingots and New Evidence from Konasamudram, India,” *Advances in Archaeomaterials* 2 (2021): 15–23; Sharada Srinivasan and Srinivasa Ranganathan, *India’s Legendary ‘Wootz’ Steel: An Advanced Material of the Ancient World* (Bangalore: National Institute of Advanced Studies and Indian Institute of Science, 2004); Additionally, working together across over two decades, the materials scientist John Verhoven and the blacksmith/historian Alfred Pendray were able to account for the material basis for the strength and patterned exoticism of blades made from Wootz ores and fashioned out of crucible processes. See John D. Verhoeven and Alfred H. Pendray, “Studies of Damascus Steel Blades, I: Experiments on Reconstructed Blades,” *Materials Characterization* 30 (1993): 175–86; John D. Verhoeven and Alfred H. Pendray, “Studies of Damascus Steel Blades II: Destruction and Reformation of the Pattern,” *Materials Characterization* 30 (1993): 187–200; and John D. Verhoeven, Alfred H. Pendray, and Edwin D. Gibson, “Wootz Damascus Steel Blades,” *Materials Characterization* 37 (1996): 9–22. Finally, for a useful synopsis of his conclusions, see John D. Verhoven, “The Mystery of Damascus Blades,” *Scientific American* 284.1 (January 2001): 74–79.

⁷⁴ Bennett Bronson, “The Making and Selling of Wootz, a Crucible Steel of India,” *Archaeomaterials* 1 (1986): 13–51; here 15. See also: Janet Lang, Paul T. Craddock, and St. John Simpson, “New Evidence for Early Crucible Steel,” *Journal of the Historical Metallurgy Society* 32.1 (1998): 7–14.

⁷⁵ Ann Feuerbach, “Crucible Damascus Steel: A Fascination for Almost 2,000 Years,” *Journal of Materials* 5 (May 2006): 48–50; here 48. She also reports that “all current evidence indicates that crucible steel was produced in Central Asia and all India, not Syria or other countries of the Middle

However, our understanding of the Wootz processes and their use in achieving superior and distinctively “branded” swords has been illuminated more recently in the thorough studies by Alan Williams, who has offered an alternative view with implications that underscore the global dimensions not just of swords but also of swordsmithing processes. Highlighting the evidence of the proliferation of crucible refining techniques, more so than the transfer of ingots or finished blades, into the reaches of Northern Europe, Williams suggests that this technique was also transferred as a consequence of cross-cultural importation. Given his assessment of the clearly inferior character of pattern-welded blades (which might also explain so many literary accounts of sword blades breaking at crucial moments), Williams observes first that

The fame of the easily identifiable Damascus steel and the rather inept attempts to copy it in the West by ‘pattern welding’— not to mention attempts to fake it in the East by etching— have tended to overshadow the use of crucible steel in general. It may be that much of the crucible steel made did not undergo the extremely slow cooling which leads to the

‘watered-silk’ pattern visible on the surface of the most highly prized Damascus blades, and therefore it has not been recognised. If this is so, the quantity of crucible steel employed may well have been considerably underestimated in the past.⁷⁶

Specifically, in studying the proliferation of twelfth-century Ulfberht swords across Western Europe, Williams has determined that these were also forged with crucible processes according to an “imported” crucible smelting technique, a process that underscored the reputation of the Ulfberht name inscribed on the blades themselves – an early example of brand identification – which was actually “pirated” by profit-minded copyists seeking to align themselves with the Ulfberht brand’s reputation for superior quality.⁷⁷ First identifying this feature of Viking swordsmithing in a discussion of the evolution of crucible steel process over the earlier and less efficient pattern welding techniques, in which impure steels were combined together and forged out of heated “blooms,” he establishes the superiority of the

East. However, imported ingots were probably forged into objects and sold at many of the bazaars of the Middle East. Damascus and other cities were likely places of distribution, not production. Indeed, there are two other likely sources for the term Damascus. The word for water in Arabic is *damas* and Damascus blades are often described as exhibiting a water pattern on their surface.”

⁷⁶ Alan Williams, “Crucible Steel in Medieval Swords,” *Metals and Mines: Studies in Archaeometallurgy*, ed. Susan La Niece, Duncan Hook, Paul T. Craddock (London: Archetype Publications, 2007), 233–41.

⁷⁷ An extreme and “shaky” example of eleventh- or twelfth-century brand pirating is described by Oakeshott, *Records* (see note 2), 6, who mentions a “Viking sword with the mis-spelt Ulfberht name on one side, and a garbled Ingelrrii on the other,” which resides at the “little museum at Wisbech in Cambridgeshire.”

crucible process, and he then turns his attention to the existing collection of surviving Ulfberht swords fashioned from those crucible processes, writing that

There are around 100 swords with ‘Ulfberht,’ or variants on this name, inlaid into the blade. These have been found scattered all over Northern Europe. The largest concentration is in Scandinavia and the Baltic Sea, although it has been suggested that if Ulfberht was their maker then on linguistic grounds the source of their manufacture should lie in the Rhineland. From the different forms of these swords, Ulfberht would have been active for 300 years, so it has been suggested that perhaps this was a family of smiths rather than an individual, or the name was a trade mark of some sort.⁷⁸

Williams has identified a number of “knock off” blades that feature the same brand inscription, distinguished by their varied and perhaps careless misspelling of the name itself, still showing reasonable quality and durability but still inferior to the authentic blades made within the House of Ulfberht.⁷⁹ Ultimately, his conclusions suggest the proliferation of the crucible technique as the true focus of east-west transfer to the point where it becomes aligned with the enhanced reputation of a signature “brand-name” sword of the twelfth century.

⁷⁸ Alan Williams, “A Metallurgical Study of Some Viking Swords,” *Gladius* XXIX (2009): 121–84; here 124. Oakeshott, *Records* (see note 2), 5–6, also discusses the Ulfberht “workshops” and the means by which the inscription “in a modern context” (would indicate) “Ulfberht Ltd. or Ulfberht Inc.”

⁷⁹ See Alan Williams. *The Sword and the Crucible* (see note 19), 187. There he writes that “[i]ngots of crucible steel brought back from the Middle East to be used in making swords or the edges of swords must have been a profitable item of trade as the number of such weapons with the inlaid inscription +VLFBERH+T, not to mention their plentiful counterfeits, demonstrates. When this trade in imported high-carbon steel dried up, there would have been considerable incentive to find a local substitute. Scandinavian metalworkers were in no way inferior to their Roman counterparts in ingenuity, and one may plausibly conjecture that they would have attempted to duplicate these valuable ingots. Possessing only garbled accounts of a production method which relied on “purifying” or “improving” iron by reheating small fragments in covered crucibles with suitable hardening agents, they took a different path to Asiatic steelmakers, and perhaps tried to reheat whole blooms in bigger bloomeries.” Oakeshott, *Records* (see note 2), 6, cites another illustration of a “knock off” of a popular sword “brand” is found in the example of the seventeenth century German bladesmiths of Solingen, who adhered to the “common practice . . . to seek a more fashionable cachet for their products by putting the words EN TOLEDO or THOMAS AYALA and so on, spuriously using the name of the great sword-blade centre of the time, and adding (often mis-spelt) the names of the great, and fashionable, bladesmiths of Spain.” A similarly misidentified “knock off” sixteenth century sword blade of Northern Italian origins and inscribed “PETRVS IN TOLEDO” (in an attempt to align it with the “brand” of the famous sixteenth century Spanish swordsmith Pedro de Velmonte), was among the items on display in a curated exhibit titled “Knights in Armor” and held at the Frist Art Museum in Nashville, TN, from July 1 until October 10, 2022. See <https://fristartmuseum.org/exhibition/knights-in-armor/> (last accessed on Jan. 13, 2023).

Conclusion

Just as a sword's reputation as a "timeless" artefact adds to its reputation as a cultural icon, the history of the sword itself remains mysterious and distant, a key to the history of battles, technologies, and cultures across the millennia. Further, employed as they are at the forefront of battles between factions if not armies (and, as in the case of the Crusades, clashing cultures), swords stand literally at the intersection between competing positions, value systems, and bodies of cultural knowledge and identity.

In her eternally informative work *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England*, Hilda Ellis Davidson observes that within the burial tableau, the Sutton Hoo sword "was laid in an honorable position near the center, where the body would be expected to lie."⁸⁰ She comments further about the spiritual dimensions of the relationship between the Anglo-Saxon aristocrat/warrior and his principal weapon, observing that

the sword was associated with much of what was most significant in a man's life – family ties, loyalty to his lord, the duties of a king, the excitement of battle, the attainment of manhood, and last funeral rites. It was something from which its owner was never parted throughout his life, from the moment that he received it and had the right to wear it.⁸¹

In describing the "vast body of sword lore" that pervades the Anglo-Saxon imagination, Davidson points to examples beyond *Beowulf*, where the sword is paid further tribute in the Anglo-Saxon riddles, as well in the poetic *Edda*, the prose *Edda* of Snorri Sturlson, and in the Icelandic sagas. Swords were the preeminent weapons in the medieval world and possessed a "richness of association"⁸² that would endure through generations of holders. Further, they would be difficult to obtain and, once possessed, would be essential to the construction of the holder's identity.

In our own time we envision a global brand as the end result of a series of far-ranging supply chains and networks of production, working in conjunction with systems of social capital, to align a finished commodity with a carefully-crafted and compelling story of origins and storied associations for sale within a specific marketplace, even if that commodity might be mass produced or otherwise ubiquitous and easily available for our purchase and consumption. In describing the sword as both "branded" and an early "global icon," we necessarily update Davidson's conclusions to accommodate a more nuanced understanding of the global character of the Middle Ages. Extending those conclusions further, Classen's detailed study establishes that "[i]n all examples, the swords carry names, [and] they are

⁸⁰ Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 12.

⁸¹ Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 214.

⁸² Hilda Ellis Davidson, *The Sword in Anglo-Saxon England* (see note 12), 211–15.

extremely valuable, both in their material quality and in their auratic quality, shining brilliantly and operating almost by themselves, symbolizing the hero and assuming thus a proxy identity of the highest caliber, proving to be their central attributes.”⁸³ Those qualities, argues Classen, contribute to a refined understanding of the medieval sword in which “the heroes’ weapons in medieval epic poems still exuded that aura and were far removed from modern mass reproducibility” and “could not be replicated and represented the ultimate masterpieces of medieval blacksmithing.”⁸⁴ Embodying both the highest levels of craftsmanship and also the most storied range of cultural and historical associations, medieval swords inevitably stood out as objects of distinction which both complemented and enhanced the reputations of those who bore them within a particular moment. To this end, it remains to modern scholars to understand the heavily significant and nuanced place of a given sword within a complex range of literary and historical associations. Despite the development of gunpowder and the projectile technologies addressed in Vanoccio Birunguccio’s sixteenth century work *Pirotechnia* and demonstrated in the development of cannons, pistols, and other more destructive forms of gunpowder-based weaponry, the sword endured as a hand crafted signifier of social prestige for the privileged classes and continued to serve as a weapon and increasingly as “branding,” as an ornament and necessary personal accessory, a tangible asset with spiritualized associations prized for its mythos and reflecting and enhancing the social position of its bearer.

Ultimately, the example of the medieval sword serves not only to establish the global character of the early and high Middle Ages, but also to underscore the point that brands of all kinds convey a range of associations and stories of origins which extend beyond an object’s physical existence. That fact is as true today as it was in medieval times, where a sophisticated, if less specialized system of networks and dynamics contributed to a developing global economy defined by trade networks operating across vast distances. While we must be cautious in applying the modern concept of global branding to the practices of the early and high medieval worlds, we are on sound footing to suggest that it is appropriate to look to the medieval sword as a representation of an earlier version of branding practice, one not defined in modern terms as a relentless pushing of a product name and reputation into the deepest recesses of everyday experience, but as a more natural practice assuming nuanced and symbolic spiritual and cultural dimensions, one that united the warrior, the weapon, and its creator in a mutually reinforcing dynamic

⁸³ Albrecht Classen, “Symbolic Significance of the Sword in the Hero’s Hand” (see note 16), 365.

⁸⁴ Albrecht Classen, “Symbolic Significance of the Sword in the Hero’s Hand” (see note 16), 366. See also his Epilog to this volume with reflections on the aura of objects in the pre-modern age, which could grant them a global property.

that enhanced the stature and reputations of all three. In that world, the sword served as its bearer's "calling card," named, esteemed, and bestowed with its own iconic stature, mythic associations, and stories of origins. A precursor to today's most identifiable forms of brand recognition, the sword existed to display its signature identifying characteristics, captured in the insignias, designs, and imprints to connect it to a larger range of associations that complemented the reputations of its possessor in their most recognizable, appealing, and storied forms. In so doing, the sword captures the essence of branding less as a modern, market-driven science and more as a fundamental human practice, a yearning for relevance and identity as expressed in the accessories one uses to complement and enhance one's everyday identity.

It is also appropriate to acknowledge that branding is more than a modern and multifaceted marketing process created by the advertising wizards of Madison Avenue and other modern advertising agencies. At its root it is a basic human activity, a practice born out of an individual's desire for relevance and for an identity fashioned out of a storied background and rich range of associations. It is reflected in connections to a deep network of mythical meanings that establish and confirm one's social relevance, and signified by icons, insignias, and other self-created imprimaturs. It is also an activity that aspires to global dimensions, capturing an innate desire for fame, recognition, and a far-ranging reputation as reflected in the accessories of one's everyday life that culminate in the individual's enhanced mythos.

To that end, in its medieval iterations branding aligned readily with the interconnected networks of trade, technological proliferation, cultural exchange, and systems of social capital that gave the medieval sword its standing as a global icon. Historians of the science of branding do well to consider it less as an outgrowth of an early capitalist society and aligned with the relatively modern fields of advertising and marketing, and more as a human impulse, a cultural and social practice borne out of a desire to define oneself within a rich and meaningful range of associations that serve to enhance the connection between the individual and the cherished accessory that confirms and signifies key aspects of that individual's being. That is the lesson offered to us by the effort to situate the sword within the eternally complex world of the Global Middle Ages.

Karen C. Pinto

Ecce! A Ninth-Century Isidorean T-O Map Labeled in Arabic

Abstract: Did medieval European maps influence the Islamicate ones or *vice versa*? Or, were they mutually exclusive? Scholars fall on both sides of the divide and the question of Islamo-Christian cartographic connections remains elusive due to the lack of extant examples. This article focuses on the author of the Arabic notations on a rare ninth-century copy of Isidore's geographical treatise of *Etymologiae*, and, in particular, on its T-O map with the aim of revealing that the notations were made by a distinguished Arab geographer of princely stock from caliphal Andalus and not just an unknown anonymous Mozarab – Iberian Christians including Christianized Iberian Jews who lived under Muslim rule in the southern sections of the Iberian peninsula from the early eighth century until the mid-fifteenth century including those who escaped to the Christian kingdoms of Aragon, Asturias, and Castile. I aim to prove that the majority of the Arabic annotations on a late eighth/early ninth-century Visigothic Latin Isidorean manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Ms. Vit. 014/003, housed at Madrid's Biblioteca Nacional de España (BNE) were made by Abū 'Ubayd 'Abdallāh al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), an Andalusī geographer of princely background, whose mid-eleventh century Islamicate geography *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik* (Book of Routes and Realms) influenced many a later

Note: I am grateful to the Visigothic Latin scholar, Ainoa Castro Correa, for generously sharing her time and linguistic expertise. I am also grateful to the Latin scholar, Andrew Kurt, for his insights and assistance with the Latin translations along with the anonymous reviewer; to Richard Bulliet and Ramzi Roughi for their feedback, and to Brian Catlos for reading an earlier version of this paper in my absence at a roundtable on "Chapter and Verse of Non-Muslim Contributions to Islamic Civilisation" organized by Myriam Wissa at Brigham Young University, London, July 2, 2015. Later versions of this research were presented as "Islam-Christian Cartographic Connections," at the "Found in Translation," conference on the world history of science, 1200 to 1600 C.E., University of Pittsburg, October 10–11, 2015; and as "Emergence of Medieval Islamicate Cartographic Imaginaries: Islam-Christian Connections," at the "20th International Symposium, Medieval and Early Modern Studies: Globalism and Meeting Foreign Worlds in the Pre-Modern Era, 2022," University of Arizona, April 30–May 1, 2022, organized by Albrecht Classen. I first mentioned this map in Karen Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps: An Exploration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2016), 144–45; and addressed it briefly in comparison with an Islamicate carto-geographical manuscript in Karen Pinto, Interpretation, Intention, & Impact: Andalusī Arab and Norman Sicilian Examples of Islamo-Christian Cartographic Translation," *Knowledge in Translation: Global Patterns of Scientific Exchange, 1000–1800 CE*, ed. Patrick Manning and Abigail E. Owen (Pittsburgh, PA: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018), 41–57; here 43–46.

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medieval Islamicate geographical scholars. The most famous was Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), an inveterate medieval Islamicate-world traveling scholar of Byzantine stock who relied heavily on al-Bakrī's geography for his seven volume magnum opus, a geographical dictionary on countries and places called *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (*Dictionary/Collection of Countries*, completed 1224–1228) that is considered one of the most comprehensive medieval Arabic geographical dictionaries ever written because it provides mini-encyclopedic entries on thousands of sites in the Islamicate realm of the Middle Ages. If al-Bakrī used Isidore's *Etymologiae* for his conclusion, then it could be asserted that Yāqūt and other medieval Islamicate geographers who relied on al-Bakrī's may have been influenced a little by Isidore. This article aims to provide proof of significant scholarly connections between medieval European and Islamicate carto-geographical traditions centuries earlier than previously presumed. In doing so it adds to the story of transcultural connectivity across the greater Mediterranean that can be examined under the central question informing this latest volume by Albrecht Classen as to whether globalism existed in the pre-modern world.

Keywords: Islamo-Christian, Islamicate mapping, medieval European mapping, T-O map, List T-O map, Andalus, Mozarab, al-Bakrī, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik* (Book of Routes and Realms), Isidore, *Etymologiae*, Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-Buldān*, al-ʿUdhri, medieval manuscripts, KMMS, Islamic cartography, Christian cartography.

Introduction

The question of Islamo-Christian cartographic connections is one of the major unresolved debates in the history of medieval cartography.¹ For centuries, scholars of Western European cartography ignored the inter-connected nature of medieval European and Islamicate mapping and belittled the latter instead, denying for centuries the Islamic world's impact on the overarching history of cartography.² Until

1 Not so long ago when one used the word 'medieval,' the automatic presumption was that it was a reference to medieval Europe as if no other part of the world experienced the medieval age! This phenomenon was the woe betide of many medieval Islamicists who wondered when European scholars would wake up to the existence of the Middle Ages in other parts of the world. Of late, the pendulum has swung the other way and a growing number of medieval European and early modern scholars have shifted their focus to the 'Global Middle Ages' as emphasized by Geraldine Heng in *The Global Middle Ages: An Introduction*. Cambridge Elements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 17; and Albrecht Classen's Introduction to this volume on the different perceptions of the medieval globalism phenomenon.

2 Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps* (see note 1), 9–15.

the 1960's the subject of Islamic mapping received only passing, and mostly derogatory, attention in surveys on the history of cartography. The nine-page chapter that Leo Bagrow devoted to Islamic cartography in his survey of *The History of Cartography* (revised by R. A. Skelton [London 1964]) was, until the publication of the Harley-Woodward volume, the most extensive account of Islamicate mapping available in Western geographical literature.³

The 1992 publication of *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies* by J. B. Harley and David Woodward as the second volume of their magnum opus series on *The History of Cartography*, guest-edited by Ahmet Karamustafa, dramatically improved the discourse, updated manuscript dates, provided a set of new and extremely useful catalogues of the extant record, and increased the availability of original map images – although mostly in black and white.⁴ J. B. Harley, one of the pioneers in the movement to expand the frontiers of geographical investigation, argued for a shift away from the traditional nineteenth-century mimetic approach. Harley became interested in pre-modern productions and decided to replace the outdated Eurocentric standards in the field. After dealing with ancient and medieval European cartography in volume 1, Harley and Woodward set out to redress the myth that cartography was largely a Greco-Roman invention by examining the richness of non-Western cartographic traditions in volume 2. In his brilliant “Introduction to Islamic Maps,” the Assistant Editor of the section on Islamic Cartography, Ahmet Karamustafa, summarized the state of the field thusly:

Orientalists could find little scientific basis for them and so failed to take them seriously. Lelewel preferred to reconstruct maps from tables of coordinates, and his work typifies the resulting neglect of actual examples of Islamic cartography. Maps were considered at best to be useful sources for locating placenames or reconstructing the geography of earlier historical periods. Historians of European cartography, with no knowledge of the literary background of the maps, could make little sense of them, and they were moreover ill equipped to deal with the special problems related to Islamic manuscripts and script. Because of the scattered nature of the manuscripts, no real comparative research was carried out. The sources and date of the content of maps were often misleadingly related to the date and provenance of the manuscripts that contained them.⁵

³ Leo Bagrow, *History of Cartography*. Revised and enlarged by R. A. Skelton. Translated by D. L. Paisley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964. Reprint, Chicago: Precedent, 1985), 51–58; Originally published as *Die Geschichte der Kartographie* (Berlin: Safari-Verlag, 1951).

⁴ *The History of Cartography*. [HC2.1] Vol. 2, bk. 1, *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 3–292. *The History of Cartography* series is an excellent resource for scholars seeking general background information on medieval European and medieval Islamicate cartography.

⁵ Ahmet Karamustafa, “Introduction to Islamic Maps,” HC 2.1 (see note 4), 9.

Until then anyone wanting to work with medieval Islamic/Islamicate maps had to rely upon the selection of black-and-white reprints falling apart on overly acidic paper in Konrad Miller's *Mappae arabicae*⁶ six volume set printed in Stuttgart between 1926 and 1931. The only other option was Youssouf Kamal's five volume *Monumenta cartographica Africae et Aegypti* published in Cairo between 1926 and 1951.⁷ Both Miller's and Kamal's work suffer from serious problems of misdating because they dated the Islamicate maps according to the death date of the original authors whereas in point of fact there are no extant autograph copies that date back to the original authors as I have established through extensive research on Islamicate maps in the manuscript libraries of the Middle East and Europe from 1992 onwards:

Based on numerous years of research in Oriental manuscript libraries in North America, Europe, and the Middle East, I have determined that maps occur in a wide variety of Islamic texts and contexts . . . the question of exactly who authored the first carto-geographical manuscript and precisely what it looked like is moot, as I date the maps according to when they were made . . . because none of the extant manuscripts date to the time of the original authors. What is relevant . . . is that with these geographical manuscripts, we get some of the earliest cartographic images of the world in an Islamic context. Since all images are socially constructed, these iconic carto-ideographs contain valuable information about the milieus in which they were produced. They are a rich source of historical data that can be used as alternate gateways into the past. They can tell us about the time in which they were copied and lead to greater knowledge of the period in which they were originally conceived . . . Since the extant examples stretch in time from the eleventh century to the nineteenth century and range from the heart of the Middle East to its peripheries, they can provide us with a broad range of historical insights across time and space.⁸

More than a decade later, Evelyn Edson and Emilie Savage-Smith attempted to straddle the divide in their *Medieval Views of the Cosmos* (2004). Their discussions of medieval European and medieval Islamicate mapping sit side by side from section to section separate with no discussion of the connections between the two traditions.⁹ In a throwback to earlier Orientalist days, another decade later, Patrick Dalché attempted to turn back the clock by denying any connections between

6 Konrad Miller, *Mappae Arabicae: Arabische Welt und Länderkarten des 9.–13. Jahrhunderts*. 6 vols. (Stuttgart: Selbstverlag des Herausgebers, 1926–1931). Facsimile reprint, 2 vols. Ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt a. M.: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1994).

7 Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta Cartographica Africae et Aegypti*. 5 vols. In 16 pts. (Cairo: private edition; printed and bound by E. J. Brill, 1926–1951). Facsimile reprint. 6 vols. Ed. Fuat Sezgin (Frankfurt a. M.: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 1987).

8 Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps* (see note 1), 27, 56–57.

9 Evelyn Edson and E. Savage-Smith, *Medieval Views of the Cosmos: Picturing the Universe in the Christian and Islamic Middle Ages* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2004).

medieval Islamicate and European mapping. As per nineteenth- and early-twentieth-centuries Rankean perspectives, Dalché argued that the two traditions existed largely isolated from one another:

Unexpectedly, these different traditions can be shown to be largely isolated from one another, and the alleged Arab origin of some documents is, in most cases, dubious. The cause of the obvious lack of interest among Western Christians in Arab descriptive geography could lie in the general conditions of the Latin schools of the time, and perhaps also in the fact that Arabic writings and maps emphasize the domination of Islam over lands formerly under Christian rule.¹⁰

Although Jean-Charles Ducène, Stefan Schröder, Robert Seignobos, Ramon J. Pujades i Battaller, Emmanuelle Vagnon, Piero Falchetta, and others who presented at the 2014 conference on “Cartography between Europe and the Islamic World 1100–1600” argue the reverse,¹¹ Alfred Hiatt, the editor of the conference volume published in the summer of 2021, and Yossef Rapoport chose to side with Dalché’s conservative view of limited connections instead:

A number of possibilities for spatial representation between Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic world can be ruled out. Only rarely were Christian world maps directly influenced by Arabic-Islamic models, and with the important exception of sea charts, Islamic maps were almost never influenced by Latin models. Sea charts do not have an Arabic origin; al-Idrisi should not be seen as an example of hybridity; and with only a couple of exceptions significant geographical works were not translated from Arabic into Latin, or from Latin into Arabic . . . What, finally, does this study of geographical cultures have to contribute to the broader picture of cross-cultural pollination between the European Christian and Arabic-Islamic worlds, and where might future research on this question head? The case of geography may, at first glance, seem at odds with the general trend in recent work on cultural transmission to emphasize the extent and speed of “knowledge transfer”, especially from Arabic into Latin. Certainly, anyone coming to the question of the interactions between Arabic and Latin geographical texts with the expectation of finding the widespread translation of major works by Arab and Greek authors via Arabic into Latin will be disappointed. Geography, to put the matter more positively, helps to show the limits of the translation movement that flourished in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The translators and, one could presume, their audiences were very interested in certain kinds of material, but not geography, and hence geographical elements were only translated where they formed part of subject matter, such as astronomy, that was of interest.¹²

¹⁰ Patrick Gautier Dalché, “Géographie Arabe et géographie latine au xiie siècle,” *Medieval Encounters* 19 (2013): 408–33; here 408.

¹¹ <http://www.cartography.qmul.ac.uk/conference/index.html> (last accessed on Jan. 27, 2022).

¹² Alfred Hiatt and Yossef Rapoport, “Conclusion: Divergent Traditions,” *Cartography Between Christian Europe and the Arabic-Islamic World, 1100–1500: Divergent Traditions*, ed. Alfred Hiatt. Maps, Spaces, Cultures (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2021), 193–94; See also Pinto’s forthcoming review of this book in *Nazariyat Journal of the History of Islamic Philosophy and Science*.

June 2021 was a bonanza month for this little studied subject with the publication of another book edited by Christoph Mauntel on *Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Medieval World*. Like Hiatt's volume, Mauntel's volume was based on the proceedings of a like-named conference held at Tübingen University in April 2019 and included papers side by side on both medieval Christian and Islamicate traditions. Although the articles in this volume focus primarily on the manifestation of religious knowledge on maps, Mauntel, contrary to Hiatt, acknowledges that:

We are able to trace the transfer of knowledge between both traditions in multiple instances: Arabic place names were adopted by Latin authors, and Muslim authors like al-Idrisi heavily drew on Christian geographic knowledge. As the contributions of Jean-Charles Ducène and Emmanuelle Vagnon show, Christian content survived the adaption of Latin-Christian sources in works that were dedicated for Muslim rulers. Stefan Schröder complements this by discussing a rather rare example, a Christian map highlighting Mecca . . .¹³

But Mauntel is torn between seeing the depth of the interaction between the medieval Christian and Islamicate traditions and the lack of voluminous proof as indicated when he says, "Although mostly treated separately, the Latin Christian and Arabic Islamic geographic traditions are by no means isolated. In fact, as several studies have shown, both spheres have influenced each other beyond doubt. The degree of entanglement, is however, still disputed."¹⁴

A definitive answer to the question of Islamo-Christian cartographic connections has been hampered by the lack of known examples and the stubborn refusal to ascribe credit where credit is due. This article aims to rectify the record by laying bare a crucial case of transcultural medieval European carto-geographic interaction that had a major impact upon the study of geography in the medieval and early modern Islamicate world but that up until now was misidentified as the work of an anonymous Mozarab.¹⁵

This article is part of a series of planned explorations on maps that in turn are part of a larger project on "Islam-Christian Cartographic Connections."¹⁶ The intention is to re-orient our thinking on the question of medieval European and

¹³ Christoph Mauntel, "Geography and Religious Knowledge: An Introduction," *Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Medieval World*, ed. Christoph Mauntel. *Das Mittelalter*, Beihefte, 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 1–35.

¹⁴ Mauntel, *Geography and Religious* (see note 13), 27.

¹⁵ Even the term "Mozarab" is the subject of hotly contested debate. See Richard Hitchcock, *Mozarabs in Medieval and Early Modern Spain: Identities and Influences* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2008).

¹⁶ The term "Islam-Christian" comes from one of Richard Bulliet's many seminal contributions to the field: *The Case of Islam-Christian Civilization* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004). A full listing and explanation of all the maps with an Islam-Christian connection that this author has

Islamicate cartographic connections, influences, and counter-influences in keeping with the findings of other scholars of Mediterranean history, such as Olivia Remie Constable, Brian Catlos, Michelle Karnes, Daniel G. König, Ryan Szpiech, and Gerard Wiegers, to mention but a few, who focus upon transcultural scholarly connections in Iberia and during the Crusades across what could be termed the ‘mini-global’ space of the Greater Mediterranean.¹⁷

Outline

In this article, I seek to prove that one of the earliest extant copies of Isidore’s geographical encyclopedia, his famous *Etymologiae*, had a dramatic influence upon the final pages of an extremely influential eleventh-century Islamicate book on geography called the *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik* (Book of Routes and Realms) (abbreviated hereon as *KMM*) completed around 1085 by the famous eleventh-century Andalusī geographer Abū ‘Ubayd ‘Abdallāh al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094).¹⁸ In particular, I examine an unusual Isidorean T-O map and manuscript labeled in Arabic that points to significant Muslim interaction with the medieval European mapping tradition. The map is located on folio 116v of Ms. Vitr. 014/003 stored at the Bibliotheca

uncovered – many not known before – cannot be dealt with in a single article, hence my intention to lay out the discoveries in a later book-length discussion on the subject.

17 Just a few examples of a vast body of literature exploring Islamo-Christian connections: Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, ca. 1050–1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Daniel G. König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); *Interreligious Encounters in Polemics between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Mercedes García-Arenal, Gerard Wiegers, and Ryan Szpiech. *Medieval Encounters*, 24 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018); and Michelle Karnes, *Medieval Marvels and Fictions in the Latin West and Islamic World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2022).

18 Jean-Charles Ducène’s entry on “al-Bakrī” is by far the best brief biography on al-Bakrī available to date: “al-Bakrī, Abū ‘Ubayd ‘Abdallāh,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam, THREE*, ed. Kate Fleet, Gudrun Krämer, Denis Matringe, John Nawas, and Everett Rowson (Brill Online, 2023) (last accessed on Dec. 28, 2022). Ducène, an expert on medieval Islamicate geography, often treats us to path-breaking insights on al-Bakrī’s work, in particular, and medieval Arab geographers generally. Reader: Please note that the hypothetical impact of Isidore would only have been upon the final pages of al-Bakrī’s *KMM* not the entire text. Medieval Islamicate scholars developed a rich tradition of carto-geography that goes far beyond the limited geographical world vision of Isidore. For proof of this, see *HC 2.1* (see note 4) and Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps* (see note 1), 55–77.

Nacionale España (BNE), Madrid.¹⁹ This serendipitous find provides us with a tantalizing window into an eleventh-century tie between Muslim-Christian geographical scholarship in the Iberian and North African worlds and presents an avenue to study the broader connections between the Islamo-Christian mapping worlds.

Not only does this manuscript contain one of the earliest extant Isidorean T-O maps but it is also the only known extant T-O map with Arabic notations!²⁰ What makes this manuscript doubly significant is that the work of the person behind the insertion of marginalia notations is to be no less than the famous eleventh century Andalusī scholar Abū 'Ubayd 'Abdallāh al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), author of the famous geographical work *Kitāb al-masālik wa-al-mamālik* (Book of Routes and Realms) (abbreviated from hereon as *KMM*). One of the dilemmas with al-Bakrī's work is that although we have multiple later manuscript copies of his *KMM* none are autographs in his hand. To find an original *KMM* in al-Bakrī's own handwriting has been a highly sought-after desideratum for scholars of the medieval Islamic world for more than two centuries. The possible handwriting of al-Bakrī on this well-used BNE T-O manuscript would be a consolation prize for fans of al-Bakrī and a bonanza for those seeking a solid over-arching connection between medieval European and Islamic cartography.

The Arabic notations are rich and telling or so the place-name labels on the T-O map, the methodical Arabic marginal indexing throughout the manuscript, and the jam-packed notes on the colophon folio indicate. They point to the impact that this Visigothic Latin geographical manuscript with its singular T-O map had on its Arab master who, apparently, felt free to mark up the entire T-O map and chunks of the Latin text as well in the way that only an owner of a book would feel com-

¹⁹ I first discovered this map thanks to the 2010 Guggenheim fellowship announcement of Simone Pinet's work on "The Task of the Cleric." Pinet's book, however, does not address the T-O map in BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014 although the manuscript is given a brief listing in the book's appendix. Simone Pinet, *The Task of the Cleric: Cartography, Translation, and Economics in Thirteenth-Century Iberia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 137.

²⁰ Only a couple of sketchy T-O maps survive from before the eighth century. Pinet, *Task of the Cleric* (see note 19), 14–15. We see a few more T-O map examples in the ninth century, but the extant record suggests that the trickle grew into a flood during the Crusades from the late tenth and eleventh centuries onwards and especially after the Crusades became regularized in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. See the listings in David Woodward, "Medieval Mappaemundi," *The History of Cartography*. Vol. 1: *Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*, ed. J. B. Harley and David Woodward (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987), 359–67, for the extant record of T-O maps along with their best-known dates. Woodward's catalog list proves that the trend for extant T-O maps is upwards from the eleventh century onwards until the extant numbers peak in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, whereafter T-O maps die out following the rise of the portolan chart.

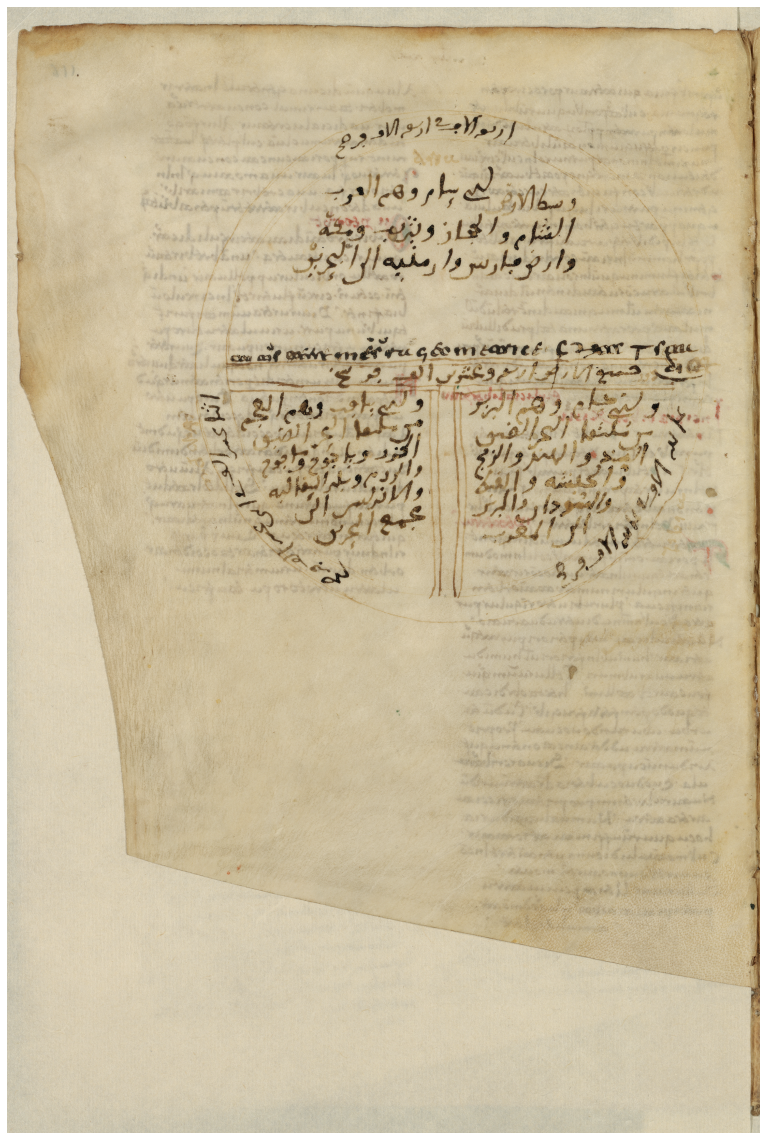


Fig. 1: Isidorean T-O Map with Arabic Notations in *Etymologiae*, ca. 8th–9th centuries; Madrid: Bibliotheca Nacional Española, MS. Vit. 014/003, fol. 116v. Courtesy: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

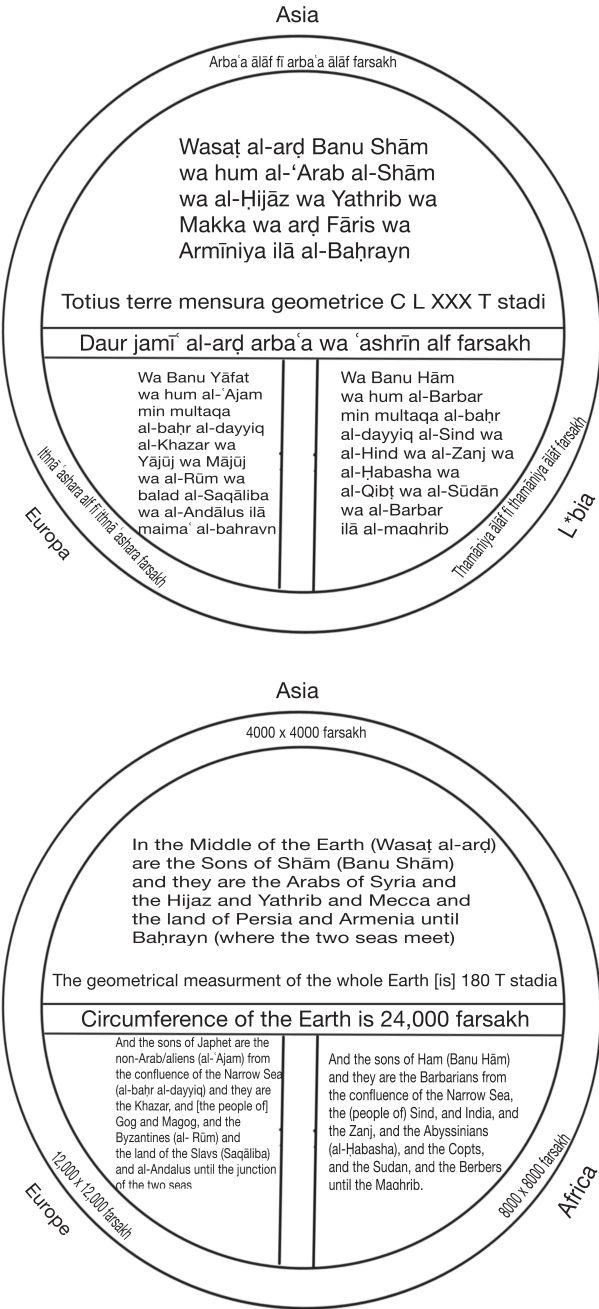


Fig. 2 & 3: Transliteration and Translation of Arabic Notations on Isidorean T-O Map MS. Vit. 014/003, fol. 116v (prepared by Karen Pinto).

fortable doing. This deviation from the centuries-old norm of the way in which readers interacted with maps – occasionally scribbling a correction to insert the name of a missing place or correcting the spelling of another but never completely labeling the map anew – adds yet another element to the unusual nature of this Isidorean *Etymologiae* manuscript and the index-type notations that it's scholarly Arab reader and annotator eagerly sprinkled starting from folio 4v and picking up from folio 67v through to the colophon on folio 163v.²¹

In turn, al-Bakrī's *KMM* geography had a profound impact on the scholarly field of Islamicate carto-geography in particular on a few famous scholars, such as, Yāqūt Shihāb al-Dīn ibn 'Abdullāh al-Bakrī al-Ḥamawī (d. 626/1229), because of his origins as a slave from Byzantium. Yāqūt was an avid medieval Islamicate traveler and put his traveling to good use as the compiler of one of the most famous Arabic geographical dictionaries: *Muʿjam al-Buldān* (Dictionary/Collection of Countries, completed around 1224–1228). Arranged alphabetically, Yāqūt's *Buldān* functions as a medieval Arabic geographical dictionary providing mini-encyclopedic entries on thousands of places in the Islamicate world from the thirteenth century and earlier.

Impact

The material record of every historical age has shown us that we humans need our dictionaries and encyclopedias to help us along the pathways of our life. Yāqūt's was the go-to geographical Wikipedia of the medieval Islamicate world. Given that Yāqūt relied heavily on al-Bakrī's *KMM* and that al-Bakrī all but plagiarized Isidore for the final part of his *KMM*, then this would mean that Isidore's work influenced one of the most popular sources for geographic information in the medieval Islamicate world! We can, thus, assert that the compendium of encyclopedic geographical information about places of the world that erstwhile travelers may have consulted in their town's local library before heading out on a long journey through the Islamicate world could have been influenced by Isidore depending upon which entry the traveler was reading up on. Indeed, given how many of us scholars of medieval Islamicate history consult Yāqūt, it would not be a stretch to assert that us twenty-first century scholars are also indirectly influenced by al-Bakrī's use of Isidore! Major, then, is the impact of the connection between Isidore and al-Bakrī that this

²¹ This is not the place to explore the deviation of the external reader markings of this map *vis-à-vis* the greater history of reader interventions on maps, but it certainly warrants inclusion in such a discussion should a scholar of the history of cartography wish to explore this avenue of inquiry.

article focuses on in the context of the overarching discussion on globalism that is the glue that binds this Classen volume together.²²

Successors to al-Bakrī

Other medieval Islamic scholars who relied upon al-Bakrī's *KMM* are the North African historian-cum-geographer, al-Ḥimyarī from the eighth/fourteenth century who authored an invaluable geographical dictionary called *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Miṭār fī Khabar al-Akṭār* (The Book of the Fragrant Garden) and, as Jean-Charles Ducène notes, "often gives a more complete version of the [al-Bakrī] text than the printed editions of al-Bakrī!"²³ Other famous users of al-Bakrī are the Mamluk administrator Ibn Faḍlallāh al-ʿUmārī (d. 749/1349) author of the unusual manuscript, *Masālik*

²² See footnote 1.

²³ Ducène, "al-Bakrī" (see note 18). See also the excellent article by Ihsan Abbas, "A Brief Encounter with a Geography Text," *The Earth and its Sciences in Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Fifth Conference of Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation* (London: Al-Furqān Islamic Heritage Foundation, 2011), 261–68. <http://doi.org/10.56656/100137.09> (last accessed on Jan 28, 2023), in which Ihsan Abbas lays out his quest to understand better the life, roots, and sources of al-Ḥimyarī and his *Kitāb al-Rawḍ* manuscript but instead discovers to his dismay that al-Ḥimyarī may never have existed and that the real author of the *Kitāb al-Rawḍ* was probably Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Abd al-Munʿim of fourteenth-century Sebta who built his geography by plagiarized heavily from al-Bakrī's *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* and al-Idrisī's *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq* and putting all the places in alphabetical order: "It seems that Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim obtained a copy of al-Idrisī's *Nuzhat al-Mushtāq* and, instead of simply copying the material, he extracted from it the names of the known places and arranged them in alphabetical order. He then used al-Bakrī's *al-Masālik wa al-Mamālik* and other books to obtain the information he needed, which was not available in al-Idrisī's work – or was available but differed from what was in other sources. The proof that he was working from a copied manuscript rather than from listening to a shaiḫ citing a text, is that, when he comes across misspelt names he does not know the correct spelling. His ignorance is easy to spot because the names are ordered alphabetically. Examples of this are not hard to find in *al-Rawḍ*: for example, he places *ʿilwah* with an *ʿayn* and *ghayn* (*ghulwah*) because he found it with an extra dot. He puts Ḥabrūn under J (jayrūn) because of a confusion of dots. *Al-Zabadānī* appears as *al-Zaidān*, etc." In his new book on the subject, Ducène avoids Ihsan Abbas's concerns and backs instead A. al-Bāhī's thesis that al-Ḥimyarī existed and was of Tunisian origin. I am grateful to Ducène for generously making available a pre-print version of his forthcoming book along with a copy of al-Bāhī's article. Jean-Charles Ducène and Virgine Prevost, *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Afrique Médiévale: Yāqūt, al-Qazwīnī et al-Ḥimyarī*. Bibliothèque historique des pays de l'Islam (Paris: Pathéon Sorbonne, 2023); A. al-Bāhī, "Ḥawla huwiyya Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī muʿallif kitāb *ʿal-Rawḍ al-miṭār*," *Majallat al-tūnisiyya li-l-ʿulūm al-ijtimāʿiyya* 139 (2010): 17–36. One hopes that the serious concerns raised by Ihsan Abbas regarding the al-Ḥimyarī manuscripts in Istanbul are fully resolved.

al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār (Routes of the Sights in Countries of the Cantonments), housed at Topkapı Saray that has been the subject of considerable controversy²⁴ and Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maqqarī al-Tilimsānī (known as al-Maqqarī) (d. 1041/1632) the early seventeenth century North African scholar best known for his compendium romanticizing the history of Andalus, *Nafḥ al-ṭīb min Ghuṣn al-Andalus al-Raṭīb wa Dhikar Wazīrihā Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (The Breath of Perfume from the Branch of Flourishing al-Andalus and Memories of its Vizier Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb). These are but a few of a long list of scholars of Islamicate geography and cartography who credit al-Bakrī's *KMM* book as one of the primary sources of their carto-geographical investigations. Even today al-Bakrī's work is held in the highest esteem among present day scholars of medieval Islamicate geography.

It can thus be asserted that al-Bakrī influenced scores of important Muslim geographers in the centuries following the writing of his Andalusian *KMM* with Isidorean geographical thinking thanks to the sudden influence upon his geographical work in its final pages by his belated chance encounter with a copy of Isidore's geography (BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003) that – in textual notes indicative of deep study of the Latin text – al-Bakrī marked up and indexed Isidore's manuscript extensively in Arabic. It behooves us, therefore, to examine the BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003 manuscript in depth because it is the source of profound transcultural geographical influence between medieval Europe and the Islamicate world as indicated by the distinct signs of al-Bakrī's careful reading and indexing in Arabic of the Latin passages in Isidore that make their way into al-Bakrī's *KMM* book in translation from Visigothic Latin to Arabic. Details of the examination of al-Bakrī's notations form one part of this article, the second is devoted to the stubborn and non-sensical misidentification of the Arabic notations as Mozarabic that began no less than seventy years ago when the doyen of Mozarab studies, Gonzalo Menendez Pidal published his lengthy article on the subject entitled “Mozarabes y asturianos en la cultura de la alta edad media” in 1954 that first misidentified the Arabic notations of this manuscript as Mozarabic. This resulted in a continuous misidentification that Mozarabists maintain despite evidence to the contrary. Thus, the crucial manuscript leg in

²⁴ For a discussion of the debate over this unusual al-'Umarī manuscript, see Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps* (see note 1), 14–15; 44–46; Fuat Sezgin, *The Contribution of the Arabic-Islamic Geographers to the Formation of the World Map* (Frankfurt a. M.: Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, 1987); Zayde Antrim, “The Politics of Place in the Works of Ibn Taymiyah and Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-'Umarī,” *Mamluk Studies Review* 18 (2015): 100–10; *Egypt and Syria in the Early Mamluk Period: An Extract from Ibn Faḍl Allāh Al-'Umarī's Masālik Al-Abṣār Fī Mamālik Al-Amṣār*, trans. D. S. Richards (London and New York: Routledge, 2017).

the understanding of transcultural Islamo-Christian intellectual influence has been occluded for almost seventy years!²⁵

Thanks to this Isidorean manuscript heavily marked, tabbed, and interacted with in Arabic, we can even go so far as to ask if the etymological pattern for geographies that emerged in the Islamicate world in the latter half of the medieval period owes a debt of inspiration to Isidore? That signals the crucial, profound, and extremely significant level of the impact of al-Bakrī's serendipitous acquisition of a copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae*.²⁶ If it can be proven that courtesy of al-Bakrī, Isidore's book also influenced a number of medieval Islamicate geographers then we have a critical tie between the medieval Islamic and Christian worlds that we

25 The problem is that the identification of most Mozarab manuscripts continues to be heavily reliant on Menendez Pidal's seventy-year old classification, Gonzalo Menendez Pidal, "Mozarabes y asturianos en la cultura de la alta edad media," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 134 (1954): 169–71. This was the first classification in Mozarab manuscripts in which Menendez Pidal provides only brief catalogue-like explanations for his classification of the Arabic notations on BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003 and other manuscripts as Mozarab. Even though Menendez Pidal's classification is possibly faulty based on my own examination of the BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003, adherence to Menendez Pidal's 1954 catalogue continues with additional manuscripts added to the Menendez Pidal's corpus with absolutely no questioning of Menendez Pidal's original and now quite dated classification of the core corpus of Mozarab manuscripts. This lack of questioning of Menendez Pidal's seventy-year old classification has been compounded by recent work that adds more manuscripts to the Mozarab corpus without fully explaining the reasons for Mendez Pidal's original classification. Particularly problematic is the flawed doctoral dissertation of P. Sj. Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1977), which muddled the Mozarab manuscript record further with the many errors of a graduate student novice. In spite of which Koningsveld's glossary continues to be relied upon by recent scholarship on the subject of Mozarab and medieval European T-O map manuscripts, such as, Leonid S. Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography: Inventory, Text, Translation, and Commentary*. *Terrarum orbis*, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), and Cyrille Aillet, *Les Mozarabes: Christianisme, Islamisation et Arabisation en Péninsule Ibérique (ixe–xiiie siècle)* (Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2010). As a result, the Mozarab corpus continues to grow without a satisfactory explanation for why such a large number of manuscripts containing Arabic notations are classified as Mozarab instead of being considered more logically as notations made by Andalusī Arab scholars prior to the 'Reconquista.' See also footnote 3 above.

26 It should, however, be noted that the Arabic practice of alphabetization of entries precedes any possible encounter between the geographer al-Bakrī and an Isidorean text by many centuries as evidenced by the widespread medieval Islamicate tradition of biographical dictionaries (*ṭabaqāt*) in which the names of significant converts to Islam were listed alphabetically in book registers for each town and province. For more detail on the *ṭabaqāt* tradition, see, Richard Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979); while Houari Touati, *Islam and Travel in the Middle Ages*, trans. Lydia G. Cochrane (2000; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), discusses the early eighth-century development of Arabic dictionaries.

can no longer afford to ignore in our discussions of Islamo-Christian intellectual connections as popularity of the “Global Middle Ages” gains momentum.²⁷

Manuscript Details of BNE’s Ms. Vitr. 014/003

The crucial manuscript in question that is the subject of this paper is no less than one of our *earliest* extant copies of what was the best-known go-to medieval book on geography for European kings, scholars, and crusaders alike. I speak of the late eighth-/early-ninth-century Visigothic Latin Isidorean manuscript copy of Isidore’s *Etymologiae* (Ms. Vitr. 014/003) that is housed at the Biblioteca Nacional de España. It was completed in the early seventh century before Isidore died in 621 one year before the Prophet Muhammad embarked on the *hijra* (emigration to Medina) of 1 AH/622 C.E. that started the Muslim calendar but there are no extant copies from the seventh century.²⁸

This BNE manuscript was made sometime in the ninth century, so medieval T-O manuscript experts assert and from the looks of the manuscript’s ink and parchment it does appear to be in the ballpark of the ninth century.²⁹ But the original production date of the manuscript is not the primary issue at hand here. Rather the date of the insertion of Arabic notes both in the text and on the map are.

Arabic Annotations on Ms. Vitr. 014/003

The Arabic insertions must have been made either in the late tenth or eleventh centuries because by the twelfth century the manuscript found its way back into Christian hands during the ‘Reconquista’ and some additional notes were added in a later Latin hand. It has remained in Christian property ever since.³⁰ A tell-tale

²⁷ Heng, *Global Middle Ages* (see note 1), and Albrecht Classen’s Introduction to this volume; see also Daniel König, *Arabic-Islamic Views of the Latin West: Tracing the Emergence of Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

²⁸ A full manuscript copy of Ms. Vitr. 014/003 is available for perusing online courtesy of BNE’s digital portal: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000051810> (last accessed on Feb. 3, 2023).

²⁹ It is of utmost importance that the BNE in Madrid conduct carbon dating on this manuscript both to determine the veracity of the dating of the manuscript as well as to establish firmly a ballpark date of the ink of the Arabic insertions on the folio of the manuscript’s colophon.

³⁰ The earliest discussion of this map in cartographic circles occurs in Menéndez Pidal, “Mozarabes y asturianos” (see note 25), 169–71. Other discussions of this map include: Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography* (see note 25), 59–61; Aillet, *Les Mozarabes* (see note 25), 169–

feature that has passed unnoticed among most scholars of this manuscript is that the Latin line above the “T” of the T-O map is a later addition as the last letter of this Latin line runs over the Arabic notation. This informs us that the manuscript, or at least the T-O map, was re-marked after it returned to Christian hands (see Fig. 1 and translation and transliteration of Figs. 2 and 3).

Frequent Arabic marginalia notations throughout this manuscript, from folio 4v and all the way through to the final colophon folio of 163v, indicate that the Arabic-speaking owner/reader of this manuscript examined it carefully. In particular, the margins of folios 70–150 are heavily tabbed with the names of places in Arabic corresponding to the Latin text. We can therefore argue that an eager but thus far anonymous Arab reader must have owned this manuscript otherwise they would not have had the gall to mark up the map and other folios of this manuscript so extensively in their own ink.

The Arabic script used in the manuscript is identifiable as Andalusī naskh with Maghribī diacritical marks of the type commonly used in North Africa and Spain.³¹ In fact, at least two Arabic hands are identifiable: the hand of Andalusī naskh that was used consistently throughout the manuscript for the extensive marginalia tabbing and that is also found on margin of the colophon (folio 163v) near a large stain on upper left-hand side of the page (see Fig. 5). The writing on the bottom half of the colophon folio is in a completely different hand. The Arabic is not as well formed in this hand and it occurs inter-linearly with extensive Latin description. The focus of this commentary is exclusively on Islamic Spain, suggesting an Arab scholar with interests primarily in Iberia. Places mentioned include: Medina Sidonia, Toledo, Córdoba, Mérida, Coria, the Franks (Ifrañj), and the Galicians (Jalālīqia).

How can we explain the existence of these two Arabic hands within the context of tenth/eleventh century al-Andalus? One hand with excellent Arabic handwriting and the other rougher with versatility in Latin and Arabic. One answer is to see the rougher Latin-Arabic hand as that of a Mozarab and because of this the understanding of the Arabic notations of this manuscript, ever since the days of Gonzalo Menéndez Pidal in the mid-1950’s followed a quarter of a century later by P. Sj.

71; and Stefan Schröder, “Kartographische Entwürfe iberischer Provenienz: Zu Raum- und Ordnungsvorstellungen auf der Iberischen Halbinsel in Karten des 9. bis 12. Jahrhunderts,” *Von Mozarabern zu Mozarabismen: Zur Vielfalt kultureller Ordnungen auf der mittelalterlichen Iberischen Halbinsel*, ed. Matthias Maser, Klaus Herbers, Michele C. Ferrari, and Harmut Bobzin. *Spanische Forschungen der Görresgesellschaft*, 41 (Münster: Aschendorff, 2014), 268–76.

31 Dot below the fa instead of above is one of the many distinguishing features of Maghribī script. Aillet, *Les Mozarabes* (see note 25), 170; N. van den Boogert, “Some Notes on the Maghribī Script,” *Manuscripts of the Middle East* 4 (1989): 30–43.

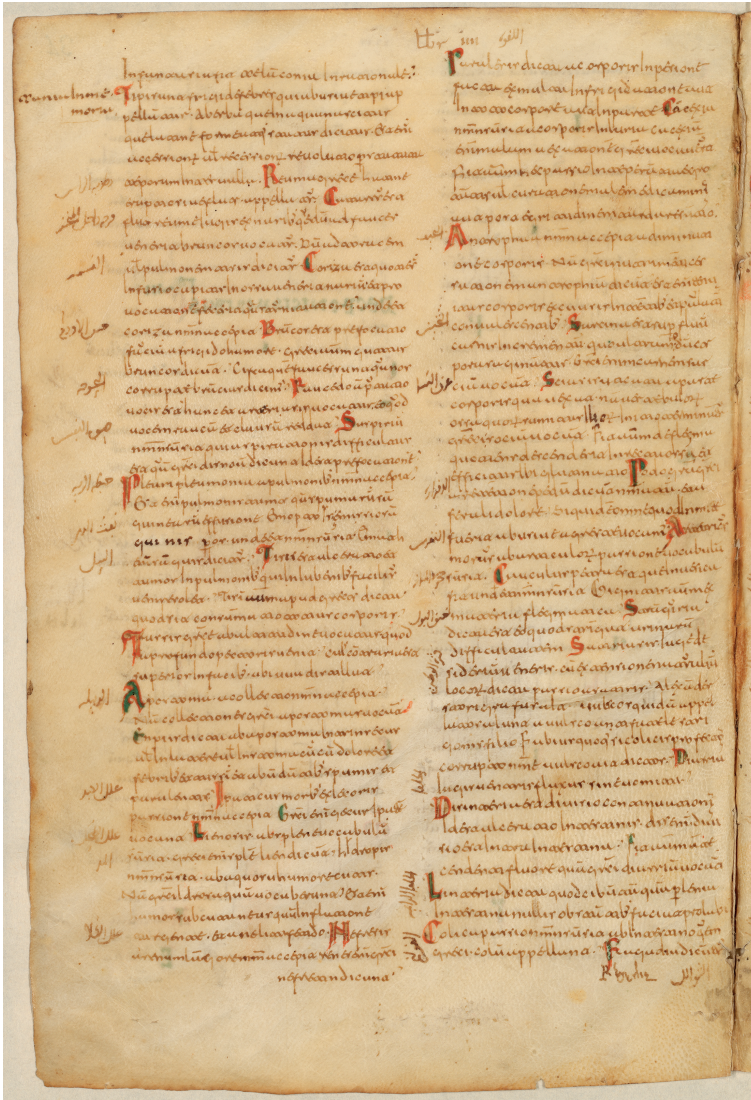


Fig. 4: Sample folio from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, showing careful indexing in Arabic ca. 10th–11th centuries of ca. 8th–9th centuries Latin text; Madrid: Bibliotheca Nacional Española, MS. Vitr. 014/003, fol. 68v. Courtesy: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.



Fig. 5: Colophon folio clearly showing two different Arabic hands likely to be those of al-Bakrī and his tutor al-'Udhri, Madrid: Bibliotheca Nacional Española, Vit. 014/003, fol. 163v. Courtesy: Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid.

Koningsveld's doctoral dissertation work, have been couched in Mozarabic terms.³² This conclusion (as I lay out below) ignores the professional hand of the main set of notations and in doing so misses a crucial dimension. Instead of the misleading Mozarab annotations approach, an intriguing answer presents itself as a solution to the riddle of the eleventh-century figure who so carefully annotated this manuscript in a naskh along with a possible explanation of the Arabic notations interlaced with Latin in a different hand.

The Arabic Annotators of Bibliotheca Nazionale España's Ms. Vitr. 014/003

Due the close textual connections between parts of al-Bakrī's *KMM* text and the work of Isidore it appears quite possible that the hand of the copious markings belongs either to the famous medieval Andalusī Islamic geographer, Abū 'Ubayd 'Abdallāh al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094), who penned a number of general geographic works including a *KMM*, a geographical version without maps, and *Muḡam mā staḡama min asmā' al-bilād wa-l-mawāḏi'* (A Collection of Unintelligible Names of Countries and Places), or one of his teachers, al-'Udhri (d. 478/1085), who is famous for his work on the geography of Andalus.³³

The nature and subject matter of al-Bakrī's work including his abiding interest in unidentifiable places and the scope of his version of the *KMM*, which expands on the earlier administrative geographical *KMM* traditions³⁴ and makes extensive use of Isidore's geographical text, presents us with the tantalizing possibility that we are not

³² Menendez Pidal, "Mozarabes y asturianos" (see note 25), 169–71; Koningsveld, *Latin-Arabic Glossary* (see note 25), 60b; a folly continued more recently by the work of Aillet, *Les Mozarabes* (see note 25), 170. Why no one would recognize these annotations as the work of an Andalusī Arab geographer familiar with Latin instead of a non-scholarly Mozarab is mystifying. It is a testament to the reverence ascribed to the work of nineteenth- and twentieth-centuries Orientalists that has stymied later scholars from challenging their mistakes.

³³ L. Molina, "Las dos versiones de la Geografía de al-'Udhri," *Al-Qanṭara* 3 (1982): 249–60; J. Vernet, "Un texto nuevo e importante para la España musulmana al-'Udhri," *Revista del Instituto de Estudios Islámicos* 13 (1965–1966): 17–24.

³⁴ For a discussion of the administrative *KMM* geographical tradition, see Paul L. Heck, *The Construction of Knowledge in Islamic Civilization: Qudāma ibn Ja'far and His "Kitāb al-kharāj wa-ṣinā'at al-kitāba"*. Islamic History and Civilization (Leiden: Brill 2002), 94–145; Gerald R. Tibbetts "The Beginnings of a Cartographic Tradition," and "The Balkhī School of Geographers," *HC 2.1* (see note 4), 90–136; and for a discussion of the difference between the *KMM* and the *KMMS* traditions, see Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps* (see note 1), 55–77.

just dealing with any garden-variety Mozarab annotator but rather with one of the all-time greatest scholars of Islamic geography of the eleventh century. If this can be definitively proven through carbon-dating and other means, it would add significantly to the magnitude of importance of the Arabic notations on BNE Vitr. 014/003 and its map because to date we know of no extant material in al-Bakrī's nor al-'Udhri's hand.³⁵

Manuscript Acquisition

The question then becomes how and when would al-Bakrī have acquired this copy of Isidore's *Etymologiae*? Several possibilities present themselves as plausible avenues of manuscript transmission:

- i) That al-Bakrī acquired Ms. Vitr. 014/003 in the early eleventh century through his own princely family who ruled over the principalities of Huelva and Saltés until his family was driven out by al-Mu'taḍid, the ruler of Seville, early on during the Andalusī petty kings' struggle of the Taifa (Party Kings) period following the fall of the Caliphate of Córdoba. This is the least likely possibility because al-Bakrī does not cite Isidore's work until the latter half of his *KMM* text in which he tacked it on almost as an afterthought or a final epilogue right before completing his geography.³⁶ Because al-Bakrī does not mention the Almoravid invasion of Andalus, the presumption is that he must have finished writing his *KMM* before 479/1086 but after the Norman attack on Barbastro (456/1064), which he does note.³⁷ Thus, we can presume that al-Bakrī acquired the BNE's Isidorean manuscript late in life, and that upon reading it decided to append a brief geographical discussion based on Isidore's manuscript to the end of his own work.³⁸
- ii) Another possibility is that al-Bakrī acquired the Isidore manuscript during his refuge in Córdoba at the time of the Taifa (Party-King) wars after al-Mu'taḍid, the ruler of Seville, drove al-Bakrī's father out in 443/1051. In Córdoba, al-Bakrī

³⁵ I am grateful to the work of Jean-Charles Ducène for insights on this connection between al-Bakrī and Isidore. Ducène came close to making an al-Bakrī identification for the Arabic annotations but held back because of the misleading statements and identifications made by van Koningsveld (see note 25). Ducène, "Al-Bakrī et les étymologies d'Isidore de Séville," *Journal Asiatique* 297.2 (2009): 379–97; here 393–94.

³⁶ In their translation of al-Bakrī's *KMM*, A. P. van Leeuwen and A. Ferre, ed., *Kitāb al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*. Edition Critique avec introduction et indices (Tunis: al-dār al-'arabiyya lil-kitāb, 1992), 11.

³⁷ Ducène, "al-Bakrī" (see note 18).

³⁸ Please note that the argument is that Isidore's text only influenced the final pages of al-Bakrī's *KMM*. Not the entire text!

studied with two Andalusī historians, Abū Marwān b. Ḥayyān (d. 469/1076) and Abū 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1070), and he could perhaps have acquired the manuscript from one of them. Once again, the way al-Bakrī tacked on a discussion of Isidore to the end of his *KMM* book limits this possibility.

- iii) Instead, by far the most likely scenario, is that al-Bakrī acquired this Isidorean manuscript in Almeria when he met the traveling geographer al-'Udhri sometime between 1063–1064 (after he returned to Córdoba with his father) and 1085 before al-'Udhri (d. 478/1085) died. Thanks to information provided by al-Bakrī in his text we know that he was writing his *KMM* in 460/1067–1068 while he was studying under al-'Udhri in Almeria.³⁹

This deduction helps to explain the mystery of the two different Arabic hands: one polished and consistent throughout the manuscript in its careful and thorough Arabic marginalia tabbing of Latin place names and the other rougher with only a few notations on the colophon page that focus on al-Andalus, Toledo, Córdoba, Merida, and Coria, among other places as mentioned earlier. What is more difficult to determine is who made which of the notations. Is the more polished hand that marked the map and annotated and indexed the place names on many of the folios the hand of al-Bakrī or al-'Udhri? Which of the two would have had a more sophisticated Arabic handwriting? The answer may lie in the inter-lineal Arabic-Latin notations at the bottom of the colophon folio (see Fig. 5). Whoever penned those had a greater and more focused interest in Andalus. Since al-'Udhri was known for his geographical work on Andalus it seems logical to presume that the rougher inter-lineal Arabic-Latin writing on the colophon reflects al-'Udhri's notes on the geography of Andalus whereas the finer Arabic writing of the notations throughout the manuscript and on the map are those of elite al-Bakrī of Andalusī princely origin.⁴⁰

al-Bakrī on Isidore

While we cannot be sure which of the Arabic notations on the BNE's Isidorean Ms. Vitr. 014/003 are al-Bakrī's as opposed to al-'Udhri's, it is clear from al-Bakrī's *KMM* text (as discussed above) that he incorporated geographical information from

³⁹ Ducène, "al-Bakrī" (see note 18).

⁴⁰ Given that al-'Udhri was the senior scholar who had traveled in the Muslim world, it is also possible that the reverse is true. Only carbon dating of the two Arabic hands could help to resolve this dilemma. But who can afford to pay for this test and convince the BNE to conduct it?

Isidore's *Etymologiae* belatedly toward the end of his *KMM*, probably sometime in the mid-1080's just before completing his book.

What points us in this direction is the excellent article by the scholar Jean-Charles Ducène that presents us with a close comparison of al-Bakrī's *KMM* text with that of Isidore's *Etymologies*. Ducène provides a few examples of close parallels between the Arabic and Latin texts: including the discussion on the Mediterranean islands of Cyprus, Crete, Sicily, and the European mainland sites of Macedonia, Thrace, and Thessaly.⁴¹ Even the order of al-Bakrī's discussion of the Mediterranean islands follows that of Isidore. So close are the parallels between the layout and content of the geographical text of al-Bakrī's *KMM* book with that of Isidore that one is only surprised that this deduction was not made before. Indeed, one is left wondering how many other Muslim geographers were influenced by Isidore through al-Bakrī.⁴² We know, for instance, that the later geographer Ibn Sa'īd borrowed al-Bakrī's description of copper-mining in Cyprus, which, given the word for word similarity, it would seem that al-Bakrī had helped himself to from Isidore's manuscript!⁴³

Effectivement, si aucune traduction arabe de cet ouvrage n'a encore été retrouvée, il faut cependant noter l'existence de plusieurs manuscrits latins wisigothiques comportant de nombreuses gloses en arabe. Notamment celui de la Bibliothèque nationale de Madrid Ms. Vitr. 14.3 (l'ancien Toletanus 15,8) qui donne environ mille cinq cents gloses arabes ou encore celui de la Bibliothèque de l'Escurial (& I. 14). Seulement, l'étude de ces gloses n'apporte que des indices d'une traduction probable. Ainsi, le manuscrit de Madrid Ms. Vitr. 14.3 ne montre en réalité qu'une traduction de certaines entrées de notices et nullement de passages textuels. Nous avons, par exemple, en marge la glose al-anhār pour fluvium (114v)37, bilād al-'Arab pour Arabia (f. 117v), Bilād al-Habas pour Hetiopiū (sic) (f. 120v) et Gaza pour Gaza (f. 124r). Seule la carte en T/O présente une légende essentiellement en arabe (f. 116v) en apportant par ailleurs des conceptions d'origine orientale . . . Ces passages d'al-Bakrī confirment l'existence d'une telle traduction.⁴⁴

In his extended discussion and analysis of al-Bakrī's work, Ducène seemed to be on the verge of the very same identification of concluding that the BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003 was previously owned and commented upon by al-Bakrī. Unfortunately, Ducène held back at the end because of the 1954 erroneous scholarship by Gonzalo Menendez Pidal built upon twenty years later by the faulty doctoral dissertation

41 Ducène, "Al-Bakrī et les étymologies" (see note 37), 381–91. Even Ducène hints at BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003 as a possible source for al-Bakrī but shies away from confirming the connection because of a faulty assessment by Koningsveld, *Latin-Arabic Glossary* (see note 25).

42 This would be a profitable area of research for graduate students looking for a rich dissertation topic.

43 This fact is also noticed by Ducène, "Al-Bakrī et les étymologies" (see note 35), 381.

44 Ducène, "Al-Bakrī et les étymologies" (see note 35), 393–94.

work of P. Sj. Koningsveld that has held back other scholars too from making this obvious connection between the BNE's T-O Ar. Isidore manuscript and al-Bakrī on the basis of the connections with his *KMM* text.⁴⁵

Previous Scholarship on BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003 Manuscript

The reprint of the map from BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003 manuscript in 2006 by Leonid Chekin in his voluminous compendium of medieval European T-O maps called *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography* brought this rare T-O map annotated in Arabic back to public attention. Not knowing much about Arabic manuscripts, Chekin followed the reigning consensus from thirty-five years prior that the careful Arabic notations in this manuscript were the work of a Christian Mozarab with imperfect Arabic skills!⁴⁶ Not only does this not account for the significant difference between the two Arabic hands but it missed the undeniable connection between the latter section of al-Bakrī's *KMM* text and his very specific nod in the direction of Isidore (as discussed above).

Chekin based his assessment on P. Sj. van Koningsveld's 1970 dissertation, published in 1977 as *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library*. Koningsveld, in turn based his analysis on the first detailed discussion of this T-O map in medieval European cartographic circles in which Gonzalo Menendez Pidal attributes the Arabic notations in his 1965 article on "Mozarabes y asturianos en la cultura de la alta edad media" to unknown Mozarab owners. Menendez Pidal devotes a couple of pages to this fascinating map and provides a basic translation of the Arabic notations on the map.⁴⁷ Menendez Pidal in turn based his information on Agustín Millares Carlo's monumental early twentieth century examination of Visigothic manuscripts.⁴⁸

Partly under the influence of Millares and Menendez Pidal and partly through his own research, Koningsveld declared the annotations of the BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003 to be of Mozarab origin and went so far as to make this bizarre statement:

⁴⁵ See footnote 25 for a detailed discussion of this matter.

⁴⁶ Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography* (see note 25), 59–61.

⁴⁷ Menendez Pidal, "Mozarabes y asturianos" (see note 25), 169–71.

⁴⁸ Agustín Millares Carlo, *Tratado de paleografía Española* (Madrid: Librería y Casa Editorial Hermandado, 1932).

it seems probable that the numerous Arabic glosses in the Isidorus Ms are not the result of a painstaking original effort of the glossator of this Ms, but rather have been copied by him from a (partial) Arabic translation available to him. The lack of corrections and improvements in the Arabic glosses, together with the quick “mechanical” way the Arabic was written, confirm this.⁴⁹

Anyone who has examined the pages of this manuscript, generously scanned and available for free through the BNE website,⁵⁰ will see that the marginalia comments could not have been copied from an Arabic translation, partial or otherwise, because the marginalia are not extensive notes but rather a brief indication of place names in the margins of the text in the manner of tabbed entries that match precisely the location of the place names in the Latin text. It is as if the reader was seeking to create an Arabic index of places in the Latin manuscript so that they could refer to the relevant folios quickly and easily – a method that many of us scholars still use in the process of research and writing up our findings to this very day. Except we use sticky tabs instead of writing on the book itself. Perhaps the Arab reader was seeking to create an Arabic translation of the Isidorean manuscript or was planning to reference it in his own work in the very way that al-Bakrī penned sections with information from Isidore. It fits perfectly with the interpretation of al-Bakrī as chief annotator of this manuscript.

It is hard, in fact, to fathom how this could have been the other way around with the annotator copying the Arabic from ‘a partial Arabic translation’ to tab a Latin text as Koningsveld so strangely suggests. How would the annotator have known based on a partial translation where to put the Arabic notations in the margin of the Latin text? Koningsveld’s statement makes no sense whatsoever because as noted in the Ducène quote above, the Arabic notations are without a doubt translations of terms and place names in the Latin text. It is indeed surprising that such an erroneous statement by a doctoral student has had such a long-term impact on the understanding of a significant number of Visigothic Latin manuscripts similarly annotated with marginal glosses in Arabic.⁵¹

⁴⁹ Koningsveld, *Latin-Arabic Glossary* (see note 25), 60b.

⁵⁰ See the full manuscript of Ms. Vitr. 014/003 available for perusing online courtesy of BNE’s digital portal: <http://bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000051810> (last accessed on Feb. 03, 2023).

⁵¹ Given Koningsveld’s misinformation, *Latin-Arabic Glossary* (see note 25), 60b, following upon Menéndez Pidal’s “Mozarabes y asturianos” (see note 25), 169–71, erroneous classification of some manuscripts as annotated by members of the general Mozarab population rather than scholars as would make more sense. Therefore all manuscripts classified as Mozarab should be carefully re-examined by medieval Islamic and Arabic experts with an eye to pulling out those manuscripts that must have belonged to libraries of Arab scholars in Andalus, not just an anonymous Mozarab reader. Aillet’s work while attempting to study these manuscripts in greater depth still adheres to the erroneous Menéndez Pidal/van Koningsveld Mozarab classifications including for the BNE’s Ms. Vitr. 014/003.

The extensive Arabic annotator of Isidore's text in Ms. Vitr. 014/003 was clearly familiar with Visigothic Latin. Using a partial Arabic translation would have required an enormous amount of additional work and a lack of familiarity with the Latin that van Koningsveld's observation does not justify. The Arabic notations are anything but mechanical notations. Rather they represent a careful reading and indexing of Isidore's text as demonstrated by the parallels between the place names marked in Arabic adjacent to the discussion of the very same places in the Latin text (see Fig. 4). Sometimes, as we Arabists know well, Arabic marginalia can take on an abbreviated form just as we abbreviate in English when writing shorthand notes. It is also common for the Arabic of early medieval Arabic texts to contain abbreviations and lack diacritical marks.

As odd as van Koningsveld's observations are, it is stranger that to date no one has questioned the lack of logic of his statements. Instead, scholars who have worked on this manuscript since van Koningsveld's doctoral work defer to his observation without any questions. In doing so they have perpetuated the missteps in Koningsveld's evaluation of the Arabic annotator of this manuscript as a Christian Mozarab.⁵² The acceptance of the Menendez Pidal-Koningsveld attribution as a determination set in stone has resulted in the occlusion of the importance of this manuscript as one read, translated, and marked up by none other than one of the best known medieval Islamic geographers, al-Bakrī. Their mistaken identification of the Arabic notations on some Visigothic Latin manuscripts as being in the hand of anonymous Christian Mozarabs with limited understanding of Arabic has occluded the logical conclusion that some of these notations were made by Andalusī Arab scholars. After all, Arab scholars of the period are highly regarded for their intellectual achievements. Libraries were all the rage in Andalus as evidenced by the number of books:

in the caliphal library of (by one count) some four hundred thousand volumes, and this at a time when the largest library in Christian Europe probably held no more than four hundred manuscripts. Cordoba's caliphal library was itself one of seventy libraries in a city that apparently so adored books that a report of the time indicated that there were seventy copyists in the book market who worked exclusively on copying Qurans. In one of the dozens of pages he devotes to Cordoba, the historian Edward Gibbon describes the book worship of the Islamic polity he so admired (and found incomparably superior to what he saw as the anti-book culture of medieval Christianity) using a somewhat different measure: the catalogues alone

Aillet expands the questionable Mozarab corpus by arguing for commonalities in the writing without ever suggesting that Latin manuscripts could have been owned and studied by Andalusī Arab (not Mozarab) scholars. Aillet, *Les Mozarabes* (see note 25), 169–71. This author appeals for an urgent re-evaluation of Latin manuscripts with notations that have been ascribed in large numbers to anonymous Mozarab scholars instead of local Arab intellectuals who were part of the Andalusī caliphate. ⁵² This is in spite of the fact that van Koningsveld published nothing following his dissertation to prove his expertise in the area. Koningsveld's *Latin-Arabic Glossary* (see note 25), 60b.

of the Cordoba library ran to forty-four volumes, and these contained the librarians' information on the rest of the Islamic world – where running water and libraries were part of the familiar landscape – and they left a powerful vision and memory of that city as “the highest of the high, the farthest of the far, the place of the standard.” Not just Cordoba shone, of course, but the whole of al-Andalus over which its caliph presided. In the end, it would be al-Andalus's vast intellectual wealth, inseparable from its prosperity in the material realm, that made it the “ornament of the world.”⁵³

Precise provenance of the Arabic notations aside, this T-O map labeled in Arabic is nothing short of stunning both for the specialist in Islamic cartography and medieval European cartography as well as for the field of history of cartography in general. It implies an early intersection between the medieval European and Islamic mapping traditions that cries out for further investigation.

Connection to List T-O Maps

The Arabic labeling on this T-O map presents a break from the typical Latin Isidorean T-O map approach that usually names only the three landmasses. The basic labeling of the three continents in the original Latin hand of this manuscript can be made out faintly in the background along the outer edge of the Encircling Ocean.

The labeling in Arabic fills in what would have been the empty unmarked landmasses of the original map. It includes a detailed listing of key provinces and cities on each of the three continents along with the names of the peoples that resembles the “List T-O” type of map that appears from the late ninth century onwards.⁵⁴ The List T-O map structure of the Arabic notations suggests that al-Bakrī may have also been familiar with Isidore's List T-O maps found in some copies of *De natura rerum*. Compare, for instance, the BNE Isidorean T-O map and its Arabic notations with one of the earliest extant late ninth century examples of a “List T-O” type map from an incomplete copy of Isidore's *De natura rerum*.⁵⁵ Perhaps, al-Bakrī was just copying a previously established List T-O map tradition that fell out of copying favor in the tenth century but picked up in the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁵⁶

⁵³ Maria Rosa Menocal, *The Ornament of the World: How Muslims, Jews, and Christians Created a Culture of Tolerance in Medieval Spain* (Boston, MA: Bay Back Books, 2003), 33–34.

⁵⁴ For greater detail on the variants of T-O maps, see, for instance, Woodward, “Medieval Mappaemundi” (see note 20): 286–370; and Evelyn Edson, *Mapping Time and Space: How Medieval Map-makers Viewed Their World* (London: The British Library, 1999).

⁵⁵ Woodward, “Medieval Mappaemundi” (see note 20), 343.

⁵⁶ Carbon dating of the manuscripts concerned will be needed to determine the answer to this question. See relevant ‘List T-O’ examples in Woodward, “Medieval Mappaemundi” (see note 20),

Interpreting the Notations on the BNE T-O Ar. Map

As with most T-O maps the image in the BNE's Ms. Vit. 014/003 is oriented with east on top. The continent at the top, Asia, begins with the title "Wasat al-arḍ" (Middle of the Earth) indicating that the reader saw this as the central continent of the world. Making up this middle earth are the Banu Shām (Sons of Sham/Syria) who the annotator tells us are composed of the Arabs of Syria and the Hijaz and includes the following places: Medina, Mecca, and the land of Fars (i.e., Iran) and Armenia up to where the two seas meet (al-baḥrayn).

Arabic transliteration: Wasat al-arḍ Banu Shām wa hum al-ʿArab al-Shām wa al-Hijāz wa Yathrib wa Makka wa arḍ Fāris wa Armīniya ilā al-baḥrayn; English translation: In the Middle of the Earth (Wasat al-arḍ) are the Sons of Shām (Banu Shām) and they are the Arabs of Syria and the Hijaz and Yathrib and Mecca and the land of Persia and Armenia until Baḥrayn (where the two seas meet). (Please refer to the transliterated and translated line drawings of Figs. 2 & 3).⁵⁷

The European sector mentions the sons of Japhet as Banu Yāfat and notes that they are non-Arab aliens from Central Asia from the crossroads of al-Baḥr al-Dayyiq (the Narrow Sea) – an unusual naming not seen before or after that has been interpreted as a reference to the Marmara Sea and the Bosphorus.⁵⁸ This and the reference in the African section to the narrow sea is a highly unusual way of referring to the narrow band of water that constitutes the head of the 'T' in T-O maps – usually interpreted as a symbolic representation of the Tanais and Nile rivers by scholars of medieval European T-O maps. According to the Arab scholar who labeled this map the sons of Japhet include the Khazar, (the people of) Gog and Magog, the Rūm (Byzantium), and those of the land of Sicily and al-Andalus until the junction of the two seas – a reference to the mouth of the Mediterranean:

Arabic transliteration: Wa Banu Yāfat wa hum al-ʿAjam min multaqa al-baḥr al-dayyiq al-Khazar wa Yājūj wa Mājūj wa al-Rūm wa balad al-Saqāliba wa al-Andālus ilā majmūʿ al-baḥrayn; English translation: And the sons of Japhet are the non-Arab/aliens (al-ʿAjam) from the crossroads of the Narrow Sea (al-baḥr al-dayyiq), and they are the Khazar, and [the people of] Gog and Magog, and the Byzantines (al-Rūm), and the land of the Slavs (Saqāliba) and al-Andalus until the junction of the two seas).

345, 346–47. Benjamin Braude, asserted in 1997 and I second in 2023 that "This question demands investigation." Braude "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 54.1 (1997): 103–42; here 115.

57 From June 2023 interactive digital version of this BNE T-O Ar. Map with transliteration and translation will be available through this Virtual Mappa link: <https://sims2.digitalmappa.org/36>.

58 Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography* (see note 25), 59–61.

The inhabitants of Africa (named Libia in Visigothic Latin on the map) are listed as the descendants of Ham (Banu Hām) who are identified as barbarians and, sadly, the root of the term Berber that is still used to identify non-Arabs in North Africa today. Africa, according to the Arab annotator, stretches from the crossroads of the narrow sea of Sind and Hind (must be a reference to the seas), Zanj (a generic term for East Africa), Abyssinia (al-Ḥabasha), the Copts (al-Qibṭ), Sudan, and the Berbers:

Arabic transliteration: Wa Banu Hām wa hum al-Barbar min multaqa al-baḥr al-dayyiq al-Sind wa al-Hind wa al-Zanj wa al-Ḥabasha wa al-Qibṭ wa al-Sūdān wa al-Barbar ilā al-maghrib; English translation: And the sons of Ham (Banu Hām) and they are the Barbarians from the confluence of the Narrow Sea, the (people of) Sind, and India, and the Zanj, and the Abyssinians (al-Ḥabasha), and the Copts, and the Sudan, and the Berbers until the Maghrib.⁵⁹

The reference to Sudan is a general term for the entire region of the Sahel and not just the present boundaries of Sudan as we know it today. The inclusion of people from the lands of Sind and Hind – included today as part of South Asia – on the African continent is puzzling and must be a reference to the seas which touch the African coast unless the annotator was genuinely confused about the location of the people of Hind and Sind and misplaced them in Africa.

The nomenclature of this map is unusual by Arab map standards which customarily only labels places and lands. By way of comparison, see, for instance, the late 12th century example of a world map from Leiden's well-known and sumptuous al-Iṣṭakhṛī manuscript. The difference between the naming and labeling conventions stands out.⁶⁰

Nor is the naming of the three continents after Ham, Shem, and Japheth a common Islamic practice. They are generally not mentioned in Arabic sources, at least not the Qur'an but mention of them and their sons do occur in the historical chronicles of Ṭabarī and al-Mas'ūdī, and, in particular, al-Bakrī, whose *KMM* contains extensive discussion of Hām, Shām, and Yāfat. This connection adds further proof to the argument of this article that al-Bakrī was the author of Arabic notations on Ms. Vitr. 014/003 and it's T-O map under discussion. The question is whether the introduction of Ham, Shem, and Japheth and their offspring into medieval Islamic geographic texts and the Arabic labels of this map should be read as a medieval European interpolation. The logical answer seems to be a resounding yes.⁶¹ It is

⁵⁹ For variant readings and translations of this map, see, Menendez Pidal's, "Mozarabes y asturianos" (see note 25), 169–71; Chekin, *Northern Eurasia in Medieval Cartography* (see note 27), 59–61; and Schröder, "Kartographische Entwürfe iberischer Provenienz" (see note 32), 268–76.

⁶⁰ Pinto, *Medieval Islamic Maps* (see note 1), 2–3; and Pinto, "Interpretation, Intention" (see note 1), 41–57.

⁶¹ For more on the question of Ham, Shem, and Japheth and it's medieval and early modern geographical significance, see, Braude, "Sons of Noah," (see note 56), 103–42; and on the question of

useful to note that al-Bakrī makes extensive mention in his *KMM* of many of the people and places mentioned in the Arabic annotations on this T-O map (see Fig. 1).

Interpreting the Measurement of Distances on the BNE T-O Ar. Map

In addition to the Arabic notations within the T-O, there is a second set of Arabic notations, possibly in a different hand, inked into the area of the Encircling Ocean astride the landmasses of the three continents: 4000 x 4000 farsakh (Arba'a ālāf fī arba'a ālāf farṣakh)⁶² runs astride the top of the Asian landmass. 8000 x 8000 farsakh (Thamāniya ālāf fī thamāniya ālāf farṣakh) is written alongside the African continent, suggesting in contrast to its T-O picturation to be twice the size of Asia. While the dimensions straddling the oceanward side of the European landmass are surprisingly listed as the largest dimensions of all: 12,000 x 12,000 farsakh (Ithnā 'ashara alf fī ithnā 'ashara farṣakh). These dimensions do not fit with the spatial relationship of the landmasses as depicted in the T-O map. Previous scholars of this map have also puzzled over the disparity of the listed spatial dimensions.

What could be the explanation for this puzzling discrepancy in which Europe is listed as three times the size of Asia? One possible explanation is that Europe as home of the Arab annotator of this Isidorean T-O map loomed larger in the annotator's worldly spatial imagination than Africa and Asia, which would from the position of al-Andalus have been a distant land. This would fit with the theory that the annotator of this map was none other than the eleventh century Andalusi geographer al-Bakrī.

Another explanation is that the measurements were not intended as dimensions for the landmass but rather as measurements for that portion of the Encircling Ocean within which the numbers are located. Namely, the Northern Atlantic comprising the North, Baltic, and Barents Seas, imagined as vast and endless. The Indian Ocean between Africa and Asia imagined as smaller (8000 x 8000 farsakh) because of regular Muslim navigation of those waters. And, finally, the Pacific envisioned perhaps as the smallest of all because it was not explored at the time and therefore the least well understood. This is one of the many mysteries that the

Isidorean influences on Islamic geographers, see Ducène, "Al-Bakrī et les étymologies" (see note 18), 381.

62 Note the variant spelling of farsakh with the Arabic letter for ṣad instead of sīn.

annotator of this map has bequeathed those of us examining the meaning of his annotations a century after the fact.

Finally, a line in Arabic across the center of the map, running along the head of the ‘T’ informs us that the circumference of the Earth is 24,000 farsakh (Daur jamī’ al-arḍ arba’a wa ‘ashrīn alf farṣakh). This is surprisingly close to the present-day measurement of 24,901 miles. But since the farsakh is estimated between 4–6 km, 24,000 farsakh is closer to 120,000 kilometers, three times larger than the circumference of the earth, unless the given guesstimate of the farsakh as 4–6 km is incorrect.⁶³ In which case the figure used by the Arab annotator is closer to that of Eratosthenes’s estimate of 250,000 stadia or 25,000 geographical miles. It gives us a sense of how large the earth must have loomed in the Arab imagination. 24,000 farsakh is a figure that we find echoed by many Arab geographic authors, including the tenth century geographer cum historian, al-Mas’ūdī (d. 345/956), and the twelfth century geographical encyclopedist, Yāqūt (d. 626/1229). Al-Bakrī also cites this 24,000 farsakh figure based on Ptolemy’s *Almagest*.⁶⁴ This is further proof that al-Bakrī was the Arabic annotator of BNE Ms. Vit. 014/003, as this article argues.

We can further deduce that at some point this manuscript returned to Latin hands. The notation above the top of the T in Visigothic Latin was written after the Arabic notations possibly in 12th century Toledo. It echoes the Arabic line below and tells us that the geometrical measurement of the earth is 180,000 stadia. (Totius terre mensura geometrice C L XXX T stadi.) Stadia, like farsakh, is a highly variable measurement. It is rare indeed to find a farsakh to stadia conversion in a medieval text. The numbers do not fit with our present understanding of 1 stadia equaling approximately 1 geographical mile. Previous scholarship on this map argues that these measurements cannot be taken as one-to-one equivalence, but it is also possible that the measurement for stadia in this period was different and that these alternate numbers reflect this difference. Given that wide fluctuation in the measurement of stadia was common in the period this is entirely within the realm of possibility and deserves further investigation.

One section of this map was consistently ignored by previous scholars of this map. These are the two letters that occur right below the end of the word stadia. They appear to be an abbreviation, but they are faint and hard to make out. OS, the Visigothic Latin, abbreviation for “omnis” or the plural “omnes” meaning all. This would fit with the location of the abbreviation below the word “stadia.” Another possibility is that of OP “ora pro nobis” meaning “pray for us”. If these mysterious

⁶³ The precise equivalent of a farsakh (Persian “parasang”) cannot be known exactly as it varies between time and place. It is roughly equivalent to one marching mile. It has been guesstimated as a figure between 4–6 km per hour depending on conditions and whether one is on foot or horse.

⁶⁴ Leeuwen and Ferre ed. (see note 36), *Kitāb al-Masālik*, 179.

and hard to identify words are OP and not OS, it would be a powerful statement of translative interpretation suggesting the possibility that the twelfth century Latin commentator was deeply disturbed by the Arabic notations on the T-O map. Another possibility is that these could be a set of Arabic numerals indicating a date. Perhaps the date of Arabic annotation of Fig. 1. There is a chance that these could be a listing of the year 459 AH equivalent of 1067 C.E. These dates would further reinforce the possibility that the annotator of this manuscript was none other than the famous Andalusī Arab geographer al-Bakrī as this article asserts.⁶⁵

Conclusion

From the point of view of medieval Islamic maps then this T-O map labeled in Arabic presents a distinct conjunction with medieval European/late antique geographical practice. An Isidorean T-O manuscript and map marked up with the Arabic notes of a diligent reader is nothing short of stunning both for the specialist in Islamic cartography and medieval European cartography as well as for the field of history of cartography in general. It implies an important early intersection between the medieval European and Islamic mapping traditions. If, I am correct in identifying the annotator as the eleventh century Andalusī geographer al-Bakrī it will be multiply significant as presenting for the first time an example of the writing of the famous Islamic scholar, al-Bakrī, since nothing else is known to be extant in his hand; as well as providing definitive proof of the impact of medieval European carto-geography on the mindset of multiple medieval Islamic geographers.

As discussed in the article, al-Bakrī's geography influenced several later Islamic thinkers and geographers, such as, Yāqūt, who was the author of the widely consulted and therefore famous thirteenth century geographical dictionary. Al-Ḥimyarī and the Mamluk administrator Ibn Faḍlallāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1349) author of the unusual manuscript, *Masālik al-Absār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār* are said to have consulted al-Bakrī's *KMM* in the fourteenth century.⁶⁶ For this reason, the BNE's Ms. Vitr. 014/003 is a rich manuscript that is much overdue for inclusion in our quest to better understand connections between Arabists and Latinists.⁶⁷ Given

⁶⁵ Definitive identification requires infrared photographic analysis which Heather Wacha, from the University of Wisconsin-Madison who oversees Virtual Mappa, offered to conduct during the Summer of 2024. I am very grateful for her voluntary service.

⁶⁶ Details about the impact on later Islamic geographers is discussed at the outset of this article.

⁶⁷ This article is nod toward the author's larger book project on connections between medieval European and Middle Eastern maps tentatively titled, "Islam-Christian cartographic connections."

that al-Bakrī's eleventh century geographical work had a wide audience in the later medieval Islamic world, specifically across the Mediterranean from Iberia in North Africa and Egypt, it behooves us to take seriously the inter-textual indexing notations made in Arabic on a Visigothic Isidorean manuscript dating to the eleventh century that uncannily match the final entries in al-Bakrī's field-defining *KMM* book.⁶⁸

The big question is whether this surprising connection between Isidore and al-Bakrī can be said to contribute to the larger question of medieval globalism upon which this volume is predicated. Here the jury is out. Isidore's work did not influence the entire text of al-Bakrī's *KMM* geography, but only a few passages and possibly some final manuscript folios during descriptions of places in the Iberian Peninsula. What we learn from the extant medieval Islamic geographical literature is that Isidore's impact was not outsized. For instance, the question has been raised that perhaps Muslims started creating alphabetical place-name dictionaries according to the etymological pattern of Isidore. But the Muslims were producing biographical dictionaries organized alphabetically, known as *ṭabaqāt*, from the earliest centuries of Islam and most of the carto-geographical literature is organized regionally not alphabetically.⁶⁹ Sustained study of Islamo-Christian carto-geographic inter-connections across the Greater Mediterranean is needed in order to determine the depth and breadth of transcultural scholarly connections.⁷⁰ We should also not ignore lines of communication and translation that eventually also crossed the Alps toward the North.⁷¹

⁶⁸ Please note that the Isidorean text only has an impact on the final pages of al-Bakrī's *KMM* not his entire text as some medieval Europeanists may misunderstand in the over-enthusiastic spirit of global Middle Ages that appears to be sweeping the world of Latin scholars in the twenty-first century. Nor can it be said that Isidore's work influenced the entire text of later Islamicate geographers only a few passages and possibly some final manuscript folios during descriptions of places in the Iberian Peninsula.

⁶⁹ For more details on the *ṭabaqāt* tradition, see, Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam* (see note 26); and Touati, *Islam and Travel* (see note 26).

⁷⁰ I have collected additional examples of Islamo-Christian cartographic connections that I hope to lay out in a future book on the subject. See already the contributions to the present volume by Najlaa Aldeeb, Maha Baddar, Fidel Fajardo-Acosta, and Abel Lorenzo-Rodríguez. They support a growing awareness of intercultural exchanges within the Greater Mediterranean region in keeping with earlier work on the subject (see note 17).

⁷¹ See now the contributions to *Communication, Translation, and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: New Cultural-Historical and Literary Perspectives*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 26 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2022).

William Mahan

Going Rogue Across the Globe: International Vagrants, Outlaws, Bandits, and Tricksters from Medieval Europe, Asia, and the Middle East

Abstract: This study will compare medieval vagrants who traveled far and wide across borders and who can be considered global travelers. Furthermore, this study attempts to take a global approach in examining medieval outlaws and vagrants in history and literature from different continents and regions. Comparing the global outlaws of Middle High German and other European tales and history to those of Middle Eastern and Asian tales and history, I consider ranges of travel, lifestyles, and lawlessness – and examine the global outlaw archetype as an (anti-)hero of the people. In literature, bandits, outlaws, and vagrants are mischievous and clever. An archetypal connection for outlaws in literature from various cultures is their hybrid identity as a trickster, with a common invocation of religion for purposes of deception. Because many tricksters employed multiple religious and social identities to their advantage, the geographical and social mobilities of such traveling vagrants fostered their hybrid identities.

Keywords: Rogue, bandit, outlaw, *Till Eulenspiegel*, *Pfaffe Amis*, Reichard von Mosbach, Banū Sāsān, travel, international, trickster, hybrid

Introduction

This study compares literary and historical rogue and outlaw travelers of the Middle Ages from Europe, Asia, and the Middle East, focusing on groups and individuals who traveled internationally and even intercontinentally, subsisted by way of theft, trickery, plunder, or begging, and who defied society. Martin Jacobs, a cultural historian of Mediterranean Jews with a focus on the Middle Ages, appraises the role of travel writing in both corroborating and challenging clear definitions of “East,” “West,” and “Orient,” all of which have become problematic terms in

scholarly discourse.¹ We see that notions of absolute or general borders are fluid in the Middle Ages due to international conquests and travel. I argue that global vagabonds and bandits further highlight the fluid nature of borders, as well as clear notions of East and West. The geographic mobility of these figures as well as the fluidity of borders contributed to the development of hybrid identities. This would also apply to famous rogues in literature who traveled from and within Europe, visiting many countries and becoming a cosmopolitan archetype, as well as to criminals and criminal activities recorded in historical texts. However, in history, outlaws were generally less famous as individuals, often avoided drawing attention to themselves, and operated as parts of criminal syndicates that received judicial attention from authorities. This study will compare international bandits of European tales and history to those of Middle Eastern and Asian tales and history, considering ranges of travel, lifestyles, and lawlessness – considering to what extent these figures are rogues and outlaws and to what extent they are heroes.

A plethora of well-known travelers characterizes European medieval literature and history. In some cases, famous travelers are also rogues or outlaws, such as the notorious Robin Hood. But this study does not focus on figures like Robin Hood, who mostly traveled locally within one country or area. Instead, this study focuses on outlaws in history and literature who were international or even global travelers and who were also clever pranksters. Such vagrants and bandits often felt too confined by the laws of their lands, and some traveled far and wide to enjoy a more flexible lifestyle. Less renowned are the counterparts of these characters from Asia and the Middle East. Nonetheless, we also find examples of outlaws from these regions who traveled internationally, reaching southern European countries and beyond. Upon close examination, many literary and historical traveling outlaws from these regions share characteristics with European outlaws, bandits and pranksters, including cleverness and an impulse for trickery, but there are also notable differences.

I argue that the most widely traveled outlaws also are the most widely educated – whether in cleverness and the practical “street-smart” skills of trickery, or whether they come from and belong to a group of intelligent literati. Till Eulenspiegel is a well-known traveling trickster of Europe, but Till’s lesser-known predecessor, der Stricker’s Pfaffe Amis, is the model for Till as well as for the “Schwank”

1 Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East: Jewish Travelers in the Medieval Muslim World. Jewish Culture and Contexts* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 2. See Albrecht Classen’s introduction and contribution to *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of Worldly Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 22 (Boston and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018).

hero (jest narrative), and is also an international traveler who is less subject to the fallout of pranks because he often departs before his victims have a chance to react and respond.

An interesting group to examine in this context is also the European Jews who traveled across various countries and converted religions for the promise of a change in identity. In some instances, such as with Reichard von Mosbach, individuals would convert religions multiple times in order to reap the benefits offered by conversion, or to avoid punishments. Here, there is a similarity to Muslim figures including the Banū Sāsān, who at times impersonated officials of Judaism and Christianity, or otherwise deceived religious communities.

I examine well-known rogue travelers from European medieval literature, as well as historical bandits that traveled and plundered illegally, including mercenary soldiers. From the Arabic world comes a particularly interesting group of international rogues. Like Till Eulenspiegel, the Arabian Banū Sāsān (pl.) were tricksters, thieves, and vagabonds. The Banū Sāsān constituted a group of widely traveled bandits who operated both in gangs and as individuals, and whose activities ranged from begging and mercantilism to theft and murder. Some of these figures are notorious in medieval Islamic literature, especially because many of them were literati who wrote about themselves. But the Banū Sāsān were also poets who made it to the far reaches of the Abbasid caliphate (from Spain and Morocco to present-day Uzbekistan), Africa, the Mediterranean islands, and even continental Europe and India.

Likewise, there were several noteworthy Chinese explorers (often Muslims, who were cultural outlaws, or conscribed Mongolian soldiers) in the medieval period; usually they were imperially sanctioned and well educated, and thus not prone to the pranks or crimes often committed by travelers from Europe and the Middle East. Still, their traveling accounts offer glimpses of the outlaws they encounter when traveling across the globe. In contrast to European and Middle Eastern travelers who steal or trick primarily urbanites into giving away their resources, examples of travelers from East Asia prove to be less imposing on local populations. European descriptions of Asian peoples they encountered both abroad and within Europe varied from barbaric to civilized, and the accuracy of such accounts must be called into question. Prominent Chinese travelers were emissaries and monks who visited Europe, and in general the Chinese literati of the Middle Ages did not write about or glorify famous criminals – or Chinese travelers. It seems that enforcement of the law was even stricter in China than in Europe, that criminals were caught more often, and that criminals were punished severely, with frequent capital punishment being a long-standing feature of Chinese law. Furthermore, those who traveled away from the center of the empire were seen as fringe figures, and what happened in the far provinces and beyond did not receive much

attention. However, those convoys who traveled to Europe recorded their encounters, including the threats of marauders with international reaches and pirates who traveled all over the Mediterranean.

The term *vagrancy* is dated to fourteenth-century England and characterizes migrancy, poverty, begging and theft.² The term has had a negative connotation since its origins, indicating an awareness of vagrant crime as a social issue that needed to be addressed. Despite the negative association, vagrants, rogues, and outlaws are prominent as heroes in European medieval literature. The allure of the rogue as a “hero” of the people has stood the test of time, and, as this study argues, this figure also gained in parallel popular appeal in various societies around the world in the medieval and early modern periods. The punishments for vagrants who refused to follow the law were often severe, but this did not stop individuals, groups, and entire communities from living as outlaws.

Thirteenth-century jurist Henry de Bracton declared the outlaw to be a “friendless man,” who has forfeited the right to friends³ – forsaking friendship and recognition within civil society. Since it was a crime to associate with an outlaw, this often meant leaving one’s family behind as well. But this did not mean complete loneliness, because outlaws formed their own communities. Itinerancy was preferred by many rogues because it made it difficult for authorities to coordinate their capture. Forests and other secluded spaces offered refuge for bandits and others,⁴ perhaps most famously Robin of the Wood or Robin Hood. Such outlaws appealed as heroes because they represented foresters: the rural yeoman class as well as people working and residing in forests.⁵ From time to time, even noble knights enjoyed the lawlessness of *aventure*, forgetting their virtue and religious dictates when it was most convenient. Yet, the forest was in fact more dangerous than it is often depicted in fiction: Alexander Kaufman claims that “outlaw narratives tend to minimize the

2 See Paul Ocobock, “Introduction,” *Cast Out: Vagrancy and Homelessness in Global and Historical Perspective*, ed. A. L. Beier and Paul Ocobock. Research in International Studies, Global and Comparative Studies, 8 (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2008), 1–34; here 3, 6.

3 Henry de Bracton, *On the Laws and Customs of England*, ed. George E. Woodbine, trans. Samuel E. Thorne, 4 vol. (circa 1235; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968–1977), vol. 2?: 353–54.

4 See Albrecht Classen, *The Forest in Medieval German Literature: Ecocritical Readings from a Historical Perspective*. Ecocritical Theory and Practice (Lanham, MD, Boulder, CO, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2015) – especially Chapter Seven, “The Ambivalence of Forest: Exile or Safe Haven?” Here, Classen discusses the forest in relation to the destiny of the female protagonist.

5 See John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton, *Outlaws in Medieval and Early Modern England: Crime, Government and Society, c.1066–1600* (Farnham, UK, and New York: Ashgate Publishing 2009; Milton Park, Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 115.

harsh realities of outlaw life in the wild woods.”⁶ Similarly, popular culture today observes these outlaws “through a romantic lens” – among other reasons, because we tend to enjoy literature that depicts outlaws as heroes. The notion of the outlaw hero is informed by Eric Hobsbawn’s “social bandit” model, in which criminals are regarded “as heroes, as champions, avengers, fighters for justice, perhaps even leaders of liberation, in any case men to be admired, helped and supported.”⁷ The allure of the rogue as a hero of the people has stood the test of time, and, as this study argues, this figure gained popular appeal in various societies around the world in the medieval and early modern periods.

Both in history and in ballads, outlaws worked in permanent bands under known leaders, and they had their own society and laws. When serious offenders were caught, they were executed publicly, in part to satisfy the community’s desire for revenge, and also to deter other brigands.⁸ The fact that there were many criminals who were not caught or who could not be found suggests that the traveling lifestyle was more widespread than can be observed by recorded criminal trials alone. As the British historian Maurice Keen observes, “The lists of [thirteenth-century] offenders presented before the forest courts are impressive, but they become less so when one examines how many cases actually came to trial; over and again the records tell of accused persons who ‘did not come’ or ‘could not be found’.”⁹ This also reflects the geographic mobility of outlaws as well as their hybrid identity, ready to travel and find new roles in life.

Mercenaries, Pirates, Women, and Jews: International Outlaws in Medieval European History

Discharged soldiers and deserters comprised a group that was prone to criminality and the outlaw lifestyle. As Linda Woodbridge details in “The Neglected Soldier as Vagrant, Revenger, and Tyrant Slayer in Early Modern England,”¹⁰ vagrants “might

6 Alexander L. Kaufman, “Introduction,” *British Outlaws of Literature and History: Essays on Medieval and Early Modern Figures from Robin Hood to Twm Shon Catty*, ed. Alexander L. Kaufman (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland, 2011), 1–8; here 1.

7 Eric Hobsbawn, *Bandits* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1969), 11.

8 See Paul B. Newman, *Travel and Trade in the Middle Ages* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company), 86.

9 Maurice Keen, *The Outlaws of Medieval Legend*, ed. Harold Perkin. *Studies in Social History* rev. ed. (1961; Milton Park, Abingdon, New York, and London: Routledge, 2000), 192–93.

10 See Beier and Paul Ocobock, *Cast Out* (see note 2), 64–87.

easily find occupation as soldiers, and in turn become vagrants when armies were demobilized” (75). When their services were no longer required, demobilization often resulted in disorder. As Appleby and Dalton comment, “the brutal nature of medieval warfare meant that these crimes [murder, rape, arson, theft] were relatively commonplace and soldiers were given, in effect, a licence [sic] to commit them by the authorities in whose cause they fought,” and in medieval Europe, warfare was an omnipresent fact of life.¹¹ When entire battalions were discharged, sometimes the product would be an internationally mobile group of criminals. This was especially prevalent during the Hundred Years’ War, when towns were plundered and castles were held for ransom.¹² Due to the disorder that they ensured, most civilians regarded soldiers in a criminal light, and sometimes locals would band together to drive soldiers out of their territories.¹³ Soldiers were thus also another group that developed a hybrid identity as outlaws due to geographic mobility in the Middle Ages.

While the size of armies remained relatively small in the twelfth century, during the thirteenth century, large armies were raised by the monarchies of France and England. The scale and geographic range of recruitment increased, as well as compulsory enlistments, which led to increased desertion. Armies also relied on foreign mercenaries. Songs such as the early fourteenth-century English poem known as *The Outlaws Song of Trailbaston* indicate that soldiers had difficulty returning to their old lives and felt socially alienated, even in their old communities.¹⁴ This made a life of crime more appealing: soldiers supported themselves by similar means of violence when not engaged in warfare.¹⁵

After the Peace of Bretigny in 1359, for example, the so-called Free Companies notoriously continued to plunder after being dismissed,¹⁶ and Pope Urban V tried various strategies for dealing with the Companies, including offering compensation for them to go crusading, which failed.¹⁷ The knight in Chaucer’s *Canterbury Tales* shows how extensive a mercenary’s travel’s might be: he wanders through Alexandria, Prussia, Livonia, and Russia, Granada, Algeciras, Balmaria, and Tramissen in North Africa, Lyeys in Armenia, Satalia in Turkey, and Palatia in Anatolia (now also Turkey).¹⁸

11 Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 91–93.

12 See Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 93.

13 cf. Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 105, 109.

14 Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 95, 99.

15 See Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 101.

16 See Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 101–02.

17 See Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 108–09.

18 See J. P. A. van der Vin, *Travelers to Greece and Constantinople: Ancient Monuments and Old Traditions in Medieval Travelers’ Tales*, Vol. 1 (Istanbul: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut te Istanbul, 1980): “The Palaeologian empire, with its continual struggle against the advanc-

Mercenary captains who committed noteworthy robberies include Hannekin Baumgarten and his company of the Star, the English captain Sir John Hawkwood, and Richard Holm, a Yorkshireman who joined the Free Companies in France.¹⁹ Many former soldiers of the Hundred Years War remained in Italy, and Italian communities such as Siena offered bribes to these companies to remain peaceful.²⁰ Mercenaries were frequently royally pardoned for their offenses in return for their service during the war. By the mid to late 1400s, countries began to create permanent armies with higher compensation as a response to this problem with discharged and deserting soldiers. Still, soldiers continued to plunder into the sixteenth century, maintaining a hybrid identity as outlaws.²¹

Within Britain, the adage “once an outlaw, always an outlaw” held true. Even if an outlaw was socially redeemed, they had no right to any of their former possessions that had been re-appropriated, unless they had special royal permission – according to *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill*, the oldest treatise on English Law, written between 1187 and 1189.²²

It is difficult to discuss medieval outlaws without considering the question of gender. Jennifer Brewer’s study on outlawing women in Yorkshire is particularly revealing of the female outlaw demographic in historical medieval documents. In an examination of about 250 outlaw cases, Brewer finds that about 10% of criminals were female, supporting similar statistics found by Barbara Hanawalt.²³ Brewer notes that women were not technically outlawed, but rather “waived” under thirteenth-century British law, which in effect means that she would be treated similarly to an outlawed man. According to thirteenth-century jurist Henry de Bracton, women who are waived, like outlawed men, shall “bear the wolf’s head.”²⁴ This

ing Turks, offered employment for such adventurers. In the early years of the fourteenth century these were mainly Spaniards, who, when the war against the Moors in their own country drew to an end, looked elsewhere for work as mercenaries. In 1302 the so-called Catalan Company was formed by Roger de Flor, former Templar Knight, pirate and adventurer. In the following year this group of Spanish mercenaries entered the service of Emperor Andronicus II to fight the Turks. They established their headquarters in Gallipoli between 1304 and 1307. When, after some years they were dismissed from Byzantine service, they continued to wander through Greek territory, and in 1311 the Frankish Duke of Athens, Gautier de Brienne, suffered a crushing defeat at their hands at the Cephissus,” 116.

19 See Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 102.

20 See Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 102.

21 See Appleby and Dalton, *Outlaws* (see note 5), 110.

22 G. D. G. Hall, ed. And trans. *The Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Realm of England Commonly Called Glanvill* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 91.

23 See Barbara Hanawalt, *Crime and Conflict in English Communities, 1300–1348* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 115.

24 Henry de Bracton, *On the Laws and Customs of England*, vol. 2 (see note 3), 361.

means that if an outlaw is captured and handed over to the authorities, the reward is equivalent to the payment for killing a wolf, which was five shillings at the time of Richard I.²⁵ About three quarters of the crimes perpetrated by women involved burglary, theft, or larceny. Many of those crimes involved the theft of livestock or fish, and they were often committed out of economic necessity – in many cases, in order to provide for families.²⁶ In general, a woman in the Middle Ages would have done her best to avoid being waived, because she would no longer have protection by society from abuse or harm.²⁷

As for more violent crimes committed by women, a commonly perpetrated act was murdering one's (possibly abusive) husband, at times with a male accomplice or lover, in "classic criminal combinations."²⁸ In that case, the female criminal was waived and the male was outlawed to the same effect. Sometimes one could even be outlawed for killing an outlaw, but often one received a reward. The weapons used by women were usually household items such as knives and hatchets, as opposed to swords or bows and arrows. Because the murder of one's husband was considered treachery, waived women, like male outlaws, fled trial to avoid the punishment of burning.²⁹ Women were often also accused of sheltering outlaws,³⁰ and here one wonders how often this hospitality was entirely voluntary. Women as outlaws could certainly have traveled internationally, as well, including to flee the law. Brewer also considers that there may have been groups of bandits comprised entirely of women.³¹

Pirates of the Middle Ages also gained notoriety, and all of them raided in seas that would have been on global trade routes. William Kyd was a fifteenth-century pirate who mostly operated between France and England, as Eustace the Monk had done in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Klein Henszlein raided the North Sea in the fourteenth century, and Pier Gerlofs Donia raided the Dutch coast in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The most famous pirate of the Mediterranean Sea was probably Hayreddin Barbarossa (Hızır Hayrettin Pasha or Hızır Reis), or Red Beard. Hızır was born on the island of Lesbos and first became a privateer with his brother to

25 See Andrew McCall, *The Medieval Underworld*, sec. ed. (1979; Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004), 71.

26 See Jennifer Brewer, "Let Her Be Waived: Outlawing Women in Yorkshire, 1293–1294," *British Outlaws of Literature and History* (see note 6), 28–44; here 30–32.

27 See Jennifer Brewer, "Let Her Be Waived" (see note 26), 40.

28 Barbara A. Hanawalt, "Women Before the Law: Females as Felons and Prey in Fourteenth-Century England," *Women and the Law: The Social Historical Perspective*, ed. D. Kelly Weisberg, vol. 2 (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman, 1982), 174.

29 See Jennifer Brewer, "Let Her Be Waived" (see note 26), 39.

30 See Jennifer Brewer, "Let Her Be Waived" (see note 26), 34.

31 See Jennifer Brewer, "Let Her Be Waived" (see note 26), 38.

counteract privateering of the Knights Hospitaller, based on the island of Rhodes. Eventually, he was appointed the admiral of the Ottoman navy by Suleiman I.

There were even some notorious women who were pirates in Middle Ages: Elise Eskilsdotter was a fourteenth-century Norwegian noblewoman who became a Scandinavian pirate to avenge the assassination of her husband and son. Similarly, Jeanne de Clisson, the Lioness of Brittany, became a pirate in the fourteenth century to avenge her husband who was executed by the French king for treason. Jeanne de Clisson raided the Bay of Biscay and the English Channel with the black fleet. Although some of these pirates may have been seeking vengeance or justice, there are no pirates in medieval history or literature that have the same reputation as Robin Hood for their altruism or virtue in helping the less fortunate. One can imagine, however, that many of these pirates would provide for their families and larger communities and employ pirates from their homeland. The title of Robin Hood of the sea would later be ascribed to Samuel Bellamy, a pirate of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who was generous in sharing bounty with his crews.

There was also an abundance of criminals and vagabonds in medieval Jewish history, although in many cases Jews were falsely accused of crimes by Christians. The Jews were expelled from Britain in 1290, but still were a subject of anti-Semitic narratives – including Chaucer's *Prioress' Tale*, and religious texts accusing Jews of "blood libel, money clipping, usury, the desecration of the Host, and the murder of Christ."³² Kate McGrath argues that, in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*, Paris does not quite represent Jews as outlaws, but does indeed represent them as outcasts.³³ Jews of Europe in the Middle Ages reflect the hybrid identity of outcast or outlaw figures.

Reichard von Mosbach was a remarkable individual in that he traveled widely and converted to different religions many times. Among other reasons, von Mosbach did so to avoid punishment for crimes, but ultimately, Reichard, who called himself Isaak among Jews, was arrested in Regensburg in 1145.³⁴ Reichard was baptized as a Christian three times, and he provides an example of a hybrid figure who highlights religious manipulation by rogue travelers – a deception similar to the hybrid

³² Alexander L. Kaufman, "Introduction," *British Outlaws of Literature and History* (see note 6), 2.

³³ See Kate McGrath, "English Jews as Outlaws or Outcasts: The Ritual Murder of Little St. Hugh of Lincoln in Matthew Paris's *Chronica Majora*," *British Outlaws of Literature and History* (see note 6), 11.

³⁴ Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität: Konversion, uneindeutige religiöse Identitäten und obrigkeitliches Handeln im Europa des Spätmittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit," *Zwischen Ereignis und Erzählung: Konversion als Medium der Selbstbeschreibung in Mittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Julia Weitbrecht, Werner Röcke, and Ruth Bernuth. Transformationen der Antike, 39 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), 297–316; here 297. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110471502-016>. See also the forthcoming book by Ahuva Liberles, *Belonging or Believing: Jews Facing Conversion in Late Medieval Germany* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press).

or disguised identities of Till Eulenspiegel. Reichard had already traveled much of Europe in his childhood, including Holland, the Rhineland, the Upper Palatinate, Franconia, Moravia, and Berlin. At nine years old, he was baptized in Würzburg as Reichard. This was only the first of several baptisms, and Reichard constantly alternated between Jewish and Christian religious and social identities as he traveled, depending on whatever identity the circumstances favored.³⁵ For twenty-one years, he lived as a traveling peddler of citrus fruit, visiting many places including Rome.

After his first baptism, Reichard traveled to Moravia, where he lived as a Christian for a year. When he visited cities in which Jews lived, he presented himself as a Jew; when he visited Aachen, Brünn, and Einsiedeln, he took Christian communion. He moved to Berlin, where he married a Jewish woman, had children with her, and divorced her five years later. In Bohemia, he was baptized a second time as Johannes.³⁶ He lived with a butcher, whom he then robbed before fleeing to Holland. In Holland, he was baptized a third time with the name Franziskus, and he was rewarded with Gulden and clothing. Then he continued on to Worms, Mainz, and the County of the Mark, where he returned to the Jewish faith. Reichard von Mosbach also confesses that he traveled to Rome and Italy, where, wearing a rosary and pretending to be Christian, he financed citrus fruits for Jews to sell in German lands.³⁷

As mentioned earlier, such tricksters often targeted urban populations as victims of their petty crimes. Von Mosbach was not an isolated case, but instead one of many individuals with geographic mobility and a Jewish background who alternated identities through religious conversions. Rabbis including Me'ir ben Baruch of Rothenburg o. d. T. and Solomon ben Abraham Andret, as well as Israel Isserlein who lived in Marburg and Vienna, reported similar instances of Jews who presented themselves as Jews to other Jews, but as Christians to Christians.³⁸ Geographic mobility and changing identity through religious conversion were connected phenomena and were fairly prevalent.³⁹

According to Benjamin Scheller, Reichard von Mosbach and similar individuals were not only prominent, but were also paradigmatic in terms of Jewish conversion in the early modern period.⁴⁰ There were countless motives for conversion beyond mere religion, and conversion was employed especially as a means to gain improved living conditions and finances. Conversion was a strategy also to

35 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 297–98.

36 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 297.

37 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 297.

38 Fram, Edward, "Perception and Reception of Repentant Apostates in Medieval Ashkenaz and Premodern Poland," *Association for Jewish Studies Review* 21(1996): 299–339; here 314.

39 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 298.

40 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 298.

nullify debts or unwanted marriages, as well to secure absolution from crimes or prison sentences. Conversion to Christianity furthermore promised the reward of alms.⁴¹ Conversions were often declared as mandatory and were then performed in order to prevent persecution, including by the Inquisition. Converting was not a sure means to avoid that, however, because converts who were discovered to be practicing their old religion were often punished with the death penalty.⁴² Conversions were also common among Muslims in predominantly Christian countries for similar reasons. Scheller notes that in both cases, there was rarely a complete break with one's original religious identity or religious social group.⁴³ Instead, conversion contributed to a form of cultural diversity specific to the Middle Ages and early modern period. Conversion thus contributed to a hybridity of identities and cultures.

While some catechumen houses converted predominantly Muslims, including those of Venice, others, including those of Rome, primarily converted Jews. Many of these catechumens attracted converts, including both Jews and Muslims, from a great geographic range. About one fourth of converts were from Europe, including anywhere from Portugal to Poland. Others came from North Africa, the Balkans, and the Greek islands, Anatolia, and the Arabian kingdoms.⁴⁴ Many converts became soldiers. One individual, Giovanni Battista, alias Abraam, converted not only to Christianity but at one point even to Islam. Battista was also well-traveled and used conversion as a means to avoid judgment: in Istanbul, he converted to Islam to avoid punishment for an affair with the wife of a local merchant.⁴⁵ Just as much as these catechumen houses were a means to crossing geographical and identity borders, they were also a means of control.

Additionally, there were Jews who traveled to the Muslim world, primarily for pilgrimages or for trade. Yet there is less research on these travelers than their Christian counterparts who traveled east, such as Marco Polo. Benjamin of Tudela, for example, was a Navarran Jew who traveled from the Iberian peninsula to the Middle East.⁴⁶ Such journeys often included a ship voyage across the Mediterranean – for instance, stopping in Crete on the way to Cairo from Palermo, and so pirates would have been a concern. The traveler Meshullam of Volterra records his Sinai expedition from Cairo to Jerusalem, where he encounters raiders. He describes the reputation of the bandits and justifies the need for a caravan with

41 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 299.

42 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 304.

43 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 299.

44 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 308.

45 See Benjamin Scheller, "Die Grenzen der Hybridität" (see note 34), 311.

46 Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East* (see note 1), 2.

armed Mamluks in the Sinai desert.⁴⁷ Travel was a prevalent theme for Jewish poets, such as Judah Alharizi (1165–1225), who writes,

The coward who chooses the stay-at-home life
must drink of the cup of vexation.
The sluggard, a tent-peg thrust deep in the earth,
is a study in want and frustration . . .
But the man who is wise travels eastward and west,
till he topple Ill Luck's domination.⁴⁸

Jews such as Benjamin or Meshulam, who chose to travel to the Middle East during the Middle Ages, did so out of a combination of “[c]uriosity, material gain, spiritual quest, and simple wanderlust.”⁴⁹ Their travel narratives offer a perspective that, according to Jacobs, challenges the Orientalist gaze of Christian Europeans on the East and the Holy Land.⁵⁰ These historical examples of outlaw offer a glimpse into the hybrid identities of various groups and individuals as vagrants, bandits, and rogues in medieval Europe.

Till: The Global Prankster at Large in Medieval German Literature

One of the most famous, non-militant, well-traveled European rogues in literature would have to be Till Eulenspiegel. Till was a vagrant said to have lived from about 1300 until 1350 who inverts conventional values and morals, robbing and fooling entire cities and playing grotesque pranks on arrogant royalty. The earliest known complete version of Eulenspiegel's adventures was published by Johannes Gröninger in Strassburg in 1515. As the tale's author, whose identity is disputed, announces, Till is widely traveled. As Albrecht Classen indicates, the most likely original author of Till Eulenspiegel is Hermen Bote (ca. 1450–ca. 1520), a Middle Low German author, but Bote's authorship of Till is still uncertain and anonymous.⁵¹

⁴⁷ See Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East* (see note 1), 67.

⁴⁸ Judah Alharizi, *The Book of Tahkemoni: Jewish Tales from Medieval Spain*, trans. David S. Segal (London: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2001), 231.

⁴⁹ Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East* (see note 1), 1.

⁵⁰ See Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East* (see note 1), 3.

⁵¹ See Albrecht Classen, Albrecht Classen, “Laughter as the Ultimate Epistemological Vehicle in the Hands of Till Eulenspiegel,” *Neophilologus* 92 (2008): 471–489; here 471, 473, 475, 485. See also Herbert Blume, “Hermann Bote – Autor des Eulenspiegel-Buches? Zum Stand der Forschung,” *Eulenspiegel-Jahrbuch* 34 (1994): 11–32; id., *Hermann Bote: Braunschweiger Stadtschreiber und Literat*.

Although most of Till's escapades take place in the Hanseatic city of Braunschweig (Brunswick), Till's travels also have an international range and include Flanders, Denmark, Prague, Poland, and Rome.⁵² As Paul Oppenheimer writes, Till is not only an explorer of places and countries, but also "of groups and classes of people [. . .] and this aspect of his nature must be seen in the light of a growing German and European enchantment with explorers generally, and especially with explorers of the New World", in that his "ridicule of the mundane matches their worship of the fantastic."⁵³ Till thus represents the general freedom of travel and an openness to redefined morals. Albrecht Classen points out that the pranks Till plays are mostly harmless and do not "destroy or hurt badly." Instead, Classen remarks, Till "invites the entire audience to look into the mirror," hence the word "Spiegel" as part of his name.⁵⁴ Thus, Till's trickster identity reflects the hybrid identities of the general population.

We read that Till always rides "a reddish-gray horse, for the sake of a clownish appearance" (Chapbook 21). We are also told that Till was such a fine entertainer "that his cleverness attracted the attention of a number of princes and lords, and he was widely talked about. He greatly pleased these princes and lords and they offered him clothes, horses, money and food." When he visits the King of Denmark, he makes himself likable. The king tells him that if he can manage some sort of trick, he will have his horse shod for him "with the very best horseshoes," and of course, Till earns the prize (Chapbook 23). Till also humiliates the King of Poland's

Studien zu seinem Leben und Werk. Braunschweiger Beiträge zur deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 15 (Braunschweig: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2009).

52 Paul Oppenheimer, "Introduction," *Till Eulenspiegel: His Adventures* (New York, NY: Garland, 1939), xli. For the latest research on Till Eulenspiegel, see Albrecht Classen, "The Continuation of the Middle Ages in the Early Modern Print Period. With an Emphasis on Melusine and Till Eulenspiegel," *Publishing Research Quarterly* 38.4 (2022): 1–19; <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12109-022-09910-4>. See also Anja Hill-Zenk: *Der englische Eulenspiegel: Die Eulenspiegel-Rezeption als Beispiel des Englisch-Kontinentalen Buchhandels im 16. Jahrhundert.* Hermaea, Neue Folge, 122 (Boston and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2010). Cf. also Hans Rudolf Velten, "Body and Gender in Till Eulenspiegel Inversions of Masculinity in the 16th Century," *Transgression and Subversion: Gender in the Picaresque Novel*, ed. Maren Lickhardt, Gregor Schuhen, and Hans Rudolf Velten. Gender Studies, 73 (Bielefeld: transcript publishing, 2018), 111–30; online at <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839444009>; see also Reinhard Tenberg, *Die deutsche Till-Eulenspiegel Rezeption bis zum 16. Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg: Königshausen und Neumann, 1996); Caroline Emmelius, "Muße, Müßiggang, Nichtsnutzigkeit. Zum Verhältnis von Muße und Arbeit in Morus' Utopia, im Ulenspiegel und im Lalebuch," *Muße und Gesellschaft Muße und Gesellschaft, Otium: Studien zur Theorie und Kulturgeschichte der Müße*, ed. Gregor Dobler and Peter Philipp Riedel (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2017), 141–62.

53 Paul Oppenheimer, "Introduction" (see note 52), xli.

54 Albrecht Classen, "Laughter as the Ultimate Epistemological Vehicle in the Hands of Till Eulenspiegel," *Neophilologus* 92 (2008): 471–489; here 471.

jester with a superior trick, and debates with students at the University of Prague in Bohemia and emerges victorious (Chapbook 24). In this victory, he realizes he must not stay long “after he had defeated these learned men with quackery. He was afraid they might offer him something to drink to trip him up. So he took off his long academic robe, left, and headed for Erfurt” (Chapbook 28).

Till also travels to Rome and visits the pope, whom he convinces he is a heretic, and subsequently he repents in order to exploit the pope’s favor.⁵⁵ Then he travels to Paris, where, posing as a horse-dealer, he removes the tail from a Frenchman’s horse and cheats him out of money with the help of the fooled townspeople (Chapbook 64). Till frequently evades death by a close call, as when “people tried to hang Eulenspiegel at Lübeck; and how, with clever trickery, he got out of there” (Chapbook 57). However, he does not regret his tricks – on the contrary, when Till is told to repent of his sins, he repents of three tricks that he had not yet played (Chapbook 90). With Till, we see that the trickster, like bandits such as Robin Hood, becomes a popular and appealing figure in the Middle Ages – echoing Greek gods like Loki or Hermes. In contrast to heroes of virtue, such popular figures represent the flaws of everyday people and become an archetype of medieval literature.

Der Pfaffe Amis and the Schwank-Book: Foundations for the Traveling Prankster as Protagonist

A model for Till Eulenspiegel can be found in Der Stricker’s *Der Pfaffe Amis*, a Schwank novel (jest novel) from around 1240. *Der Pfaffe Amis* is a comic tale of a preacher from England who, contrary to his profession, tricks, extorts and betrays people.⁵⁶ In the sense of his hypocrisy, Amis embodies a hybrid identity, much like other trickster outlaws that are examined in this study. The author’s pseudonym

⁵⁵ Paul Oppenheimer, trans., *Till Eulenspiegel: His Adventures* (see note 52), Chapbook 34, p. 67. How Eulenspiegel traveled to Rome and visited the pope, who took him for a heretic. “Eulenspiegel was dedicated to cunning roguishness. After he had tried all sorts of tricks, he thought of the old saying, ‘Go to Rome, pious man: come back worthless.’ So he went off to Rome, to give mischief a chance there too.”

⁵⁶ See Albrecht Classen, “Exploration of Reality: Der Stricker’s Contributions to the Intellectual Revolution in the Thirteenth Century, or, the Transformation of the Arthurian World,” *Arthuriana* 32.3 (2022): 21–35.

“der Stricker” can be translated as “the Knitter.”⁵⁷ The text heavily influences similar stories that come afterwards, including *Till Eulenspiegel*, *Hans Clauwert*, and the *Lalebuch*.⁵⁸ In the *Lalebuch* or *Lalenbuch*, possibly written by Friedrich von Schönberg, the people of the town Lalenburg (in later versions, Schilda) collectively form a group of pranksters, offering an alternative to the trickster archetype as an individual operating alone.⁵⁹

According to der Stricker, Amis is the originator of *liegen triegen* (lying and deceit).⁶⁰ We read,

Nu saget uns der Stricker,
wer der erste man wer,
der liegen triegen aneviench,
und wie sin wille fur giench,
daz er niht widersazzes vant
Er het haus in engelnlant
in einer stat, die hiez zu Trameys,
und hiez der Pfaffe Ameis
und was der buch ein wise man. . .⁶¹

57 For more on the Stricker, see Albrecht Classen, “Hate, Lies, and Violence: The Dark Side of Pre-Modern Literature Why Would We Care? And Yet, the Key Rests in the Past to Solve Our Issues Today. With a Focus on the Stricker (Thirteenth Century),” *Journal of Humanities, Arts and Social Science* 5.2 (2021): 281–94. See also Albrecht Classen, “Old Age in the World of the Stricker and Other Middle High German Poets: A Neglected Topic,” *Old Age in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Interdisciplinary Approaches to a Neglected Topic*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 2 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1997), 219–50. See also Albrecht Classen, “Misogyny and the Battle of Gender in the Stricker’s ‘Maeren,’” *Neophilologische Mitteilungen* 92.1 (1991): 105–22; id., Albrecht Classen, “Zum Einfluß klerikaler Hofkritiken und Herrschaftslehren auf den Wandel höfischer Epik in groß-kleinenpischen Dichtung des Strickers,” *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 46.1 (1996): 220–24.

58 See Albrecht Classen, “Review. Der Stricker; Hermann Henne, translator: *Der Pfaffe Amis von dem Stricker. Ein Schwankroman aus dem 13. Jahrhundert in zwölf Episoden* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1991),” *Mediavistik* 6 (1993): 396–97. For more on the Pfaffe Amis, see also Hedda Ragotzky, *Gattungserneuerung und Laienunterweisung in Texten des Strickers*. Studien und Texte zur Sozialgeschichte der Literatur, 1 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2011). See also Steven Wailes, “The Tale of the Provost in Der Stricker’s *der Pfaffe Amis*,” *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 97.2 (1998): 168–76.

59 For a detailed discussion on the medieval “Volksbuch” and the relevant research until the mid-1990s, see Albrecht Classen, *The German Volksbuch: A Critical History of a Late Medieval Genre*. Studies in German Language and Literature, 15 (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 1995).

60 See Steven Wailes, “The Ambivalence of der Stricker’s *der Pfaffe Amis*,” *Monatshefte* 90.2 (1998): 150–52, for a discussion of der Stricker’s ambivalent narration of the *Pfaffe Amis*.

61 Der Stricker, *Der Pfaffe Amis*, *Mittelhochdeutsch/Neuhochdeutsch*, nach der Heidelberger Handschrift, ed. Michael Schilling (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1994), 39.

[Now the Knitter tells us,
 who the first man was,
 to begin lying and deceit,
 and how his greed was such,
 that he could not resist
 He had a house in England
 in a city by the name of Tramis,
 and he was called the priest Amis
 and was a wise man of the book.]

Der Stricker's *Schwänke* are a combination of comic entertainment and cautionary moral anecdotes. Amis goes from England to Lothringen. He then travels across Greece to Constantinople, and back to England. Throughout his travels, *liegen triegen* becomes a leitmotif. Back in England, Amis remembers how much money can be made in Constantinople and decides to return. The poet der Stricker, like his character Amis, is known to have been a wanderer.⁶² It is possible that some of his moral condemnation of Amis stems either from his own regrets as a traveler and poet, or from his experiences with con artists while traveling. According to Steven Wailes, der Stricker allows room for the audience to interpret *liegen triegen* "either seriously, as evil, or complacently, as venial roguery of the *Schwankheld*."⁶³

Like Till's pranks, which are both for financial gain as well as the fun of highlighting people's stupidity, Amis also capitalizes on the gullibility of his victims. He disguises himself so as not to be recognized. Amis's singular redeeming virtue seems to be his generosity, especially when entertaining his guests. Ultimately, der Stricker reveals that the *Pfaffe Amis* is a story worth telling, but that Amis's interesting travels are morally condemnable. Such contradictions are a key component of medieval literature, according to John W. Conlee.⁶⁴ The ambivalence of *liegen triegen*, as well as Amis's combined identity as a preacher and a trickster, reflect the hybridity of medieval vagrants and outlaws, and hybridity in the Middle Ages more generally.

⁶² See Steven Wailes, "The Ambivalence of der Stricker's *der Pfaffe Amis*" (see note 60), 153.

⁶³ Steven Wailes, "The Ambivalence of der Stricker's *der Pfaffe Amis*" (see note 60), 152.

⁶⁴ See John W. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry: A Critical Anthology*, ed. John W. Conlee. Studies in the Age of Chaucer, 14 (East Lansing, MI: Colleagues Press, 1991). Conlee states, "A pre-occupation with the interaction of opposites is perhaps nowhere more evident than during the Middle Ages, when it became a fundamental habit of mind. A concern with dualities, polarities, and dichotomies is reflected in nearly every variety of writing by writers who perceived that anything, concrete or conceptual, animate or inanimate, could be seen to have a natural or logical counterpart which it often rivaled but also complemented," xi.

Literate Tricksters from the Middle East: Banū Sāsān and Other Clever Arabian Outlaws

From the medieval Arabian world, we once again have examples of figures who reflect hybrid identities in connection to geographic mobility. Like Till Eulenspiegel, the Arabian Banū Sāsān were tricksters, thieves, and vagabonds. Like the Pfaffe Amis, the Banū Sāsān frequently impersonated priests and religious authorities to financially exploit people of various towns. But, like der Stricker, they were also poets who traveled far and wide telling stories. They made it to the far reaches of the Abasid caliphate (from Spain and Morocco to present-day Uzbekistan), Africa, the Mediterranean islands, and even continental Europe and India. There is also of course the famous tale of *Ali Baba and the Forty Thieves* from the collection of folk tales published in *One Thousand And One Nights* (thirteenth century), where we have similar figures – although the Banū Sāsān's aspect of global travel is far more pronounced.

Banū Sāsān is a term applied to beggars, rogues, and charlatans in medieval Islam. A common story is that Shaik Sāsān, the son of the Persian ruler Bahman b. Esfandīār (killed in legend by a dragon), was displaced and started a band of thieves known as the Sons of Sāsān.⁶⁵ They appear in Arab *adab* literature of Jāḥeẓ, Ebrāhīm b. Moḥammad Bayhaqī, Abū Dulaf, and the *maqāmāt* of Badī' al-Zamān Hamaḍānī and Ḥarīrī. Banū Sāsān has become a universal term for rogues and beggars of all kinds in medieval Islam, and sāsāni is a standard term for beggar in Persian.⁶⁶

The Banū Sāsān are also the only known printers of the medieval Islamic world. Inspired by the value of amulets worn by Egyptians bearing verses from the Koran, which were laboriously copied by Muslim holy men, the Banū Sāsān used a printing process invented in eastern Asia to mass produce the verses and sell them as allegedly handwritten originals. They would pay an engraver to inscribe the lines on a wet clay tablet, and then use this a means to make copies. We can thus assume that at least some of the Banū Sāsān, especially the authors I discuss, knew

⁶⁵ See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic Society and Literature*, vol. 1 (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 1976).

⁶⁶ See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 42. In the Kitāb al-Mahāsin wa-l-masāwī (622–32), there is a passage called “The good aspects of beggars,” which claims that “beggars are free to roam the world, are untrammelled by worldly possessions, and can always be sure of some sustenance, wherever they may find themselves.”

how to read and write. When the amulet trade ended in the fourteenth century, so did printing in the Muslim world.⁶⁷

In the *Qasīda sāsāniyya*,⁶⁸ the traveling author Abū Dulaf expresses a longing for rest and stability after a life spent wandering the globe. The passage of yearning merges into a passage in which he boasts his membership in the Banū Sāsān and praises their conquests from “Tangier in the farthest Maghrib to China in the east.”⁶⁹ In addition to begging, the Banū Sāsān were astrologers and conjurors, who found eager audiences everywhere in the medieval Islam world.⁷⁰ They also provided (often questionable) medical care in the form of techniques learned in Greece and Egypt.⁷¹ These various identities show the adaptability of these hybrid tricksters.

Similar to Abū Dulaf’s account is the *maqāma* of Rusāfa by Badī az-Zamān, which tells of the tricks of rogues and beggars. The *maqāma* is set at the mosque of Rusāfa, but the author cites his experience of Egyptian life.⁷² Zamān describes a variety of thieves and con-artists, including a rogue who robs worshippers when they are bowing, another who robs guests at a wedding feast, one who sells a defective lock that can be opened later without a key, and several who sell or give narcotics, hashish or cannabis – substances illicit for Muslims – to victims, including new recruits, in order to rob or take sexual advantage of them when they are under the influence.⁷³ Another prominent criminal of the medieval Islam world was ‘Uthmān al-Khayyāt, who appears in the pages of ar-Rāghib al-Isfahānī. Ar-Rāghib quotes ‘Uthmān al-Khayyāt’s description of the five classes of thieves and brigands, ranging from those who never kill their victims, to those who kill without discre-

67 See Richard Bullet, *What Life Was Like in the Lands of the Prophet: Islamic World AD 570–1405* (Richmond, VA: Time Life Education, 1999), 122.

68 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 80: “The *Qasīda sāsāniyya* consists of 196 verses in the acatalectic form of the antispastic *hazaj* metre.”

69 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 81. Bosworth distinguishes passages of boasting or *fakhr* from those of longing.

70 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 89.

71 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 90.

72 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 101.

73 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 102, 113.

tion.⁷⁴ Some thieves and assassins would use ropes to ascend houses, or would even tunnel into them.⁷⁵

Umar ad-Dimashqī al-Jaubari (thirteenth century) was a traveler and author who mentions that he has been in Konya and Malataya in the Sultanate of Rūm, Damascus and Harrān in his native Syria, in Cyprus, Egypt, the Red Sea port of ‘Aidhāb, in the Hijāz and Yemen, and even in India.⁷⁶ Like Abū Dulaf, the author himself was associated with the Banū Sāsān, and he describes their thievery in Damascus. In the sixth chapter of his text, Jaubari says that the Banū Sāsān possess one thousand types of trickery. He describes many tricks involving religious deceit and mentions that there were often suspicious Christian priests and monks that he came across in his travels through Egypt, Syria, Rum and Diyārkbār. As in Europe, in the medieval Islam world there were “false pilgrims” and converts, as well as beggars who were physically capable of working for a living, although the religious culture dictated that begging should only be a profession of those physically incapable of work. In addition to urban criminals, Jaubari also describes the mudāwirūn, who operated in the countryside and desert, stealing horses and livestock.⁷⁷

Religion is used as a means for deception throughout the history of the Banū Sāsān. Like the Jew Reichard von Mosbach, who used Christian baptism in schemes for financial gain, or Der Stricker’s Pfaffe Amis, the Banū Sāsān often impersonated officials of various religions. In Safī d-Dīn’s poem, he boasts of being able to mimic accents of non-Arabs like Persians and Kurds.⁷⁸ He is “the typical vagabond, ranging through the towns and countryside, turning his hand to anything which promises a financial return,” and he admits that he has posed both as a Christian and as a

74 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 104. There is the *al-muhtāl*, who “does not kill in the course of his activities and who does not possess the qualities of fortitude and endurance which the true brigand has.” Bosworth continues to describe that the *lusūs* proper, the “real desperadoes” look down on those who did not kill and were thus not true brigands (*ibid*). The other classes are detailed as follows: “The man who works by night’ (*sahib al-lail*) is the nocturnal house-breaker, who works either by boring into house walls [. . .] or by scaling the walls [. . .] and also the nocturnal practitioner of robbery with violence, the *mukābir*. The ‘gentleman of the road’ (*sahib at-tariq*) is simply a highwayman. The *nabbāsh* (literally, ‘grave-despoiler, tomb robber, burrower, digger for treasure, etc.’) is said to be well-known; presumably he burrowed into people’s treasure vaults or exhumed their buried hoards. The *khannāq* (literally ‘strangler, assassin’) may be one of several sub-types.”

75 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 117.

76 Jaubari’s text is the *Kashf al-asrār*, see Clifford Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 107.

77 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), Bosworth 110, 118.

78 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 144.

Jew.⁷⁹ He has peddled knick-knacks and become a brigand, not hesitating to kill a Turk or a Mongol and to wound a Persian or a Kurd.⁸⁰ In his text, loanwords from Persian, Hebrew, and Greek appear, indicating the range of his travel and education, although Arabic jargon dominates.⁸¹

Another author, Jammār al-Mashā'ī, tells of how he alters his begging techniques depending on whether he is addressing a Muslim, a Christian, or a Jew. In "Ajīb wa-Gharīb," he describes the Banū Sāsān in a long *rajaz* poem: "We are the noble ones amongst mankind, we are never grudging of what we possess, / our flaming brands are raised high, in the lowlands of the earth and in the mountains, / We are the descendants of Sāsān, of their richly-arrayed kings."⁸² The poetic nature of the text reflects the hybridity of the Banū Sāsān.

A final Muslim traveler worth mentioning is Ibn Battuta, who, like most of the Chinese travelers recorded in medieval literature and in history, was more scholarly than criminal. Ibn Battuta was a fourteenth-century Moroccan traveler, who some, including Ross Dunn, see as an "icon of globalization" due to his *Book of Travels* or *Rihla*. He has also been considered the Marco Polo of Islam. In contrast to the Banū Sāsān, Battuta does not boast of exploiting less intelligent (or unwary) victims during his travels. Battuta describes events in his writings occurring in India, Russia, China, Mali, and Spain.⁸³ However, many in his time, such as Ibn Kaldūn, considered Ibn Battuta to be a liar, especially because so few others had seen the places he described. The reliability of Ibn Battuta's accounts is still debated,⁸⁴ but there is also evidence of his travels. Thus, we see that geographical mobility allowed for hybridity in the Arabian medieval world as in the European.

79 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 145.

80 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 150. Bosworth compares whether there is an expression of nationalistic Arab feeling.

81 See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 148.

82 Hammada, *Khayāl az-zill*, 225–29. Ibn Dāniyal is yet another traveler and a littérateur (1248–1310) who writes of his interactions with the Banū Sāsān. In Dāniyal's play 'Ajīb wa Gharīb, the hero Gharīb introduces himself as "Your servant, the wandering stranger, the love-lorn and broken-hearted one, whom yearning has reduced to an emaciated state, on whom separation has left its effect until he is hardly visible, whom the various countries of the world have buffeted successively, and who has travelled around with the revolving firmament in search of homeland and the fulfilment of desires." Clifford Bosworth, *The Mediaeval Islamic Underworld* (see note 65), 119. See also the comments by Albrecht Classen in the Introduction to this volume.

83 Ross Dunn, "Preface," *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta: A Muslim Traveler of the fourteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012), x.

84 See Roxanne L. Euben, *Journeys to the Other Shore: Muslim and Western Travelers in Search of Knowledge*. Princeton Studies in Muslim Politics (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006), 47.

Marauding Mongols or Refined Travelers: Absence of the International Prankster in Recorded Medieval Asian History and Literature

There was also a small number of noteworthy Chinese and broader Asian explorers in the medieval period. The opening of the Silk Road provided a new trade route and created a means of shared communication between East and West. This allowed for transport of gifts over long distances, including the gift of an elephant to Charlemagne from Hārūn al-Rashīd, sent from Persia to Aachen, Germany.⁸⁵ Medieval Europe's enterprises in the East were primarily missionary-driven (Franciscans). From 1245 to the mid-fourteenth century, the Mongol rule of China allowed for the opening of the Silk Road to emissaries, missionaries, and merchants – until the Ming dynasty seized power in China in 1368, and initially closed travel routes.⁸⁶

With the abundance of trade and even the occasional royal gift, there was plenty of merchandise to interest pirates and bandits. Still, the presence of bandits seems to have been grossly overexaggerated, in part due to the negative depiction of Mongols. In general, the thirteenth-century European's "ethnographic" depiction of the Mongol, for example, that of Matthew Paris, is as a barbarian, and the idea of Mongol alterity had become a literary motif by the mid-thirteenth century.⁸⁷ In contrast to barbarian-dominated narratives about Mongols, European texts about China depicted the civilized grandeur of the great cities. Descriptions of India ranged from "enchantment to disgust."⁸⁸

Terms such as "Orient" and "East" indicate controversy and the need for updated language in historical studies, but they accurately characterize the dominant view of Asia in medieval Europe, due primarily to Asia's remoteness. Europeans had different associations with the various peoples of Mongolia, China, India, and Southeast Asia, varying from "admiration" to "critique."⁸⁹ As Kim Phillips points, out, "Europeans were most hostile in portrayals of Mongols in the early to mid-thirteenth

85 See Albrecht Classen, "Introduction," *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 1–222; here 17–18.

86 See Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 8.

87 Shirin A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's World: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 59–60.

88 See Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86).

89 See Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 1, 6.

century.”⁹⁰ Before the Mongols, barbarian imagery had been applied to Cimmerians, Scythians, Celts, and Germans.⁹¹

Many of the prejudices against nomadic peoples as barbarians had ancient rhetorical influences, including the writings of Cicero. Ricold of Monte Croce’s account suggests that the nomadism of Mongols and their destruction of cities “confirm” their barbarian identity. As mentioned earlier, dualisms are a key component of medieval literature.⁹² Thus, the “conspicuous consumption and elaborate ritual” valued by European elites could be found in “the lavishness and sophistication of Yuan Chinese civilization,”⁹³ but was absent from the nomadic culture of Mongols.

Some writers were more objective and less judgmental of the cultures they observed than others.⁹⁴ Although Carpini attributes the Mongols with “belligerence, cruelty, and deceit,” along with “filthy eating habits,”⁹⁵ his depiction is less extreme than most other accounts. Phillips observes that a mistrust of food is paired with xenophobia, and that food mistrust “came to dominate European mentalities in tandem with their conquering and colonizing activities in the postmedieval era.”⁹⁶

In the Middle Ages, many European accounts not only of Mongols but also of other nomadic peoples of Asia prominently featured cannibalism or anthropophagy, often a misappropriation. Matthew Paris, for example, describes the Tartars as butchering, roasting, and feasting on human victims and pairs this with a gruesome illustration in *Chronica Majora*.⁹⁷ Marco Polo’s *Book of Wonders* also contains a similar illustration of anthropophagy in Somalia, and describes at least five other groups of anthropophagous peoples, including, exceptionally, the people of the Chinese city of Fugio (Fuzhou).⁹⁸ Although these extremely biased accounts often ascribed less “civilized” peoples with lawlessness, many of these cultures indeed had their own laws, customs, and expectations in place that ethnocentric travelers refused to recognize.

90 Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 2.

91 See Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 60.

92 See John W. Conlee, *Middle English Debate Poetry* (see note 64).

93 Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 170.

94 Those who traveled to Asia included John of Plano Carpini, William of Rubruck, Marco Polo, Ricold of Monte Croce, John of Monte Corvino, Hetoum of Armenia, Jordan Catala of Sévérac, Odoric of Pordenone, John of Marignolli, Sir John Mandeville, and Niccolò dei Conti. See Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 9, 60. But consider also the anonymous author of the *Nieder-rheinische Orientbericht*; see the contribution by Albrecht Classen to this volume.

95 Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 79.

96 Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 100.

97 See Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 92.

98 See Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism* (see note 86), 96–98.

As for travelers going to the West from China, most of these were imperial-sanctioned convoys and emissaries. Fan Chengda was a poet and traveler during the Song Dynasty after a life as a youth in poverty. While travel literature was popular and funded by the empire in the Song Dynasty, it was condemned during the xenophobic Ming dynasty. Zheng He, born Ma He to a Muslim family, was an orphaned youth who was captured, castrated, and conscribed into the Ming army in 1381. He then traveled through India and Eastern Africa to West Africa. One notices that these prominent figures are not bandits or criminals, but rather generally honorable men who achieved recognition through their diplomacy – but that many of them nonetheless reflect hybrid identities, especially those who transitioned from poverty in youth to prominence through the geographic and social mobility of travel. However, similar figures may have been omitted from Chinese history or simply not written about, and thus there were probably more travelers (including outlaws) than records show.

When it comes to bandits of China who are notorious by name, there is Song Jian. Though less cosmopolitan or intercontinental than the explorers mentioned above, Song Jian led a group of Chinese bandits who marauded many provinces across the empire in the twelfth century, and he is known as the Chinese Robin Hood. Such bandits also pursued Zoroastrian merchants along the Silk Road, in some cases crossing international, territorial or imperial boundaries in their pursuits.

Markos and Bar Sauma were two noteworthy Nestorian monks, who traveled together from eastern China all the way to Europe.⁹⁹ Bandits and pirates were some of the perils that they described on their journey, but fortunately their travel remained safe. Their journey first took them southwest along the Yellow River, and then along the Alashan mountain range. Traveling just south of the Gobi Desert would have been difficult, but they encountered a Nestorian community that assisted them. They followed the southern Silk Road and eventually reached Kashgar, one of the westernmost cities in China.¹⁰⁰ They found that the political struggles of Central Asia had taken their toll there, although Marco Polo had not encountered this along his own path before Markos and Sauma. To elude marauding armies and bandits, they had to take a path northwest from Kashgar and ford the Syr Darya, adding several weeks to the trip.¹⁰¹ During this time, fear of brigandage was “so pervasive that the Mongols issued laws requiring the members of a caravan to join together against robbers and mandating severe punishment

99 Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu: Rabban Sauma and the First Journey From China to the West* (Tokyo and Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1992), 34.

100 Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu* (see note 99), 51–52.

101 Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu* (see note 99), 56.

for anyone who helped robbers.”¹⁰² When they reached Baghdad, it was similarly damaged from Hulegu’s and the Mongols’ pillaging in 1258.¹⁰³

After the first trip, Sauma was destined to travel again. Early in 1287, Rabban Sauma set forth with a caravan to the Byzantine Empire and the West. His travels this time would not be as perilous as his trip from China to Persia, taking a more densely populated route with a lesser risk of thirst and starvation. The terrain was not as treacherous as the Gobi and Taklamakan Deserts and the mountains along the Silk Roads. One similarity of this trip to his earlier travels was the prevalence of bandits and protection costs along the way, but pirates navigating the Black Sea and the Mediterranean were an added source of concern.¹⁰⁴

Sauma traveled to Paris, where he got King Philip to agree to subsidize the studies of Sauma’s pupils at the university.¹⁰⁵ On this trip, Sauma also visited Bordeaux, where he met the King of England, Edward I in 1287, and Rome.¹⁰⁶ He was originally rejected a council with the pope, but waited until a new pope was elected in 1288. On his journey home, he returned with gifts from the Vatican. Rabban Sauma’s journey proves to be exceptional because, whereas most travelers went from West to East, he successfully went from eastern China all the way to western Europe.¹⁰⁷ However, there is no indication that Sauma was a trickster or that he broke the law.

Eventually, in 1524, the Ming Court closed the Silk Road to the West, forbidding western trade relations in China. This was an expression of Sinocentrism¹⁰⁸ with echoes of the Song dynasty (960–1279), in contrast to the Yuan dynasty (1279–1368) established by the Mongols and ruled by Kublai Khan or the commerce under the earlier years of the Ming dynasty, beginning in 1368.

Conclusion

As I have shown, medieval banditry in Europe consisted of a combination of plundering mercenaries as well as non-military groups of robbers. A few figures have prevailed in literature as individual rogues, including Till Eulenspiegel and the

¹⁰² Quoted from Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu* (see note 99), 57.

¹⁰³ See Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu* (see note 99), 58.

¹⁰⁴ Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu* (see note 99), 102.

¹⁰⁵ Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu* (see note 99), 145.

¹⁰⁶ Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu* (see note 99), 153.

¹⁰⁷ Morris Rossabi, *Voyager From Xanadu* (see note 99), 23.

¹⁰⁸ See Manuel Perez-Garcia, *Global History with Chinese Characteristics: Autocratic States along the Silk Road in the Decline of the Spanish and Qing Empires 1680–1796*. Palgrave Studies in Comparative Global History (Singapore: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 24.

Pfaffe Amis, who are notorious tricksters. Robin Hood, although less widely traveled, embodies the vigilante and altruistic hero in command of a group of outlaws. The bandit in literature becomes an archetype characterized as a hero of the people and as a trickster. Yeomans enjoyed such figures as heroes because they challenged and tricked the elite classes, performing feats that would have been rather difficult to carry out in reality without dire consequence. The outlaws of the Middle Ages, both in medieval literature and historical documents, reflect hybrid identities that were causally connected to geographic mobility. A greater range of travel in many cases indicates a greater hybridity of some of these tricksters.

The “converted” Jew Reichard von Mosbach embodies a historical example of a traveling figure who, similarly to the literary tricksters mentioned, exploits others’ gullibility, in this case, by capitalizing repetitively on the rewards of conversion to Christianity. But in general, historical texts show outlaws committing crimes out of necessity, rather than for fun like their literary counterparts. Historically outlaws included women, mercenaries, and pirates.

The Banū Sāsān of the Middle East operated in many forms, from large groups to the individual thief or con artist, and on average they seem to have been more cunning in experience than European bandits or rogue soldiers, and more formally educated. Like the bandits of European literature, these literary and historical criminals were cosmopolitan tricksters at large and traveled far and wide. Finally, in the case of Asia, there were a few prominent bandits within China, but these figures often did not travel internationally (by today’s borders) or globally. Instead, there were many learned monks and other travelers who made it all the way to western Europe. There were also countless bands of international marauders and bandits along the Silk Road, as well as pillaging armies of the Mongolian and other empires, both during power struggles and between dynasties.

From Asia, there is little mention of international rogues, other than marauding bandits including the military of the Mongols. Although most of the emissaries from China to Europe were imperially supported and not outlaws or rogues, they were, similarly to outlaws, compelled to leave their friends, families, and communities behind. Travel was not particularly favored, and the Chinese literature and texts of the time do not record many travels abroad in general, and authorities often regarded those who went abroad as outcasts. Therefore, these travelers also reflect hybrid identities in the Middle Ages.

Throughout all countries, the outlaw as a hero has some degree of appeal, as does the notion of clever robbers and pranksters. European literature of the Middle Ages makes internationally traveling outlaws and tricksters such as Till Eulenspiegel and the Pfaffe Amis into central characters, regardless of whether the storyteller or author finds their actions morally sound. In the Middle East, the stories and texts of the Banū Sāsān tell of crimes both cunning and ruthless, and of bandits who

traveled abroad through many countries. In China, while travelers became outcasts from their own land, they were seldom considered outlaws – but they did encounter outlaws and bandits during their journeys. Finally, although there are not many female outlaws in medieval literature, the examples of women in the Middle Ages from history who became famous rogues or pirates show that women were just as capable of brigandry as men. Medieval outlaws reflected hybrid identities due to their geographic and social mobility, as well as the ambivalence of their deceitful *liegen triegen* and trickery. For the names of outlaws that have lasted in history and from medieval literature, going rogue across the globe proved to be a valid means not only to surviving, but also, indeed, to achieving prominence and notoriety.

Quan Gan

Modifying Ancestral Memories in Post-Carolingian West Francia and Post-Tang Wuyue China

Abstract: This study compares the way in which the memories of two royal ancestors were modified in the process of dynastic construction: The first is Robert I (d. 923), in eleventh-century Capetian France; the second is Qian Liu (d. 932), in tenth-century Wuyue 吴越, an independent kingdom in the region of modern Zhejiang Province, China. A framework of premodern globalism situates the two examples, and the political cultures they represent, in a transcultural and transdisciplinary discourse of “royal dynasty.” Both political cultures, though far removed in their respective spheres, shared the assumption that ancestry and institutional rank were the two primary sources of authority. This dual-source vision would ultimately prove, in both cases, more stable than the kings or royal dynasties themselves. Precisely because it was so enduring, both dynasties reformulated the records of their ancestral deeds and identities to accord with this discourse, aiming to give their nascent polities historical depth and institutional legitimacy. Juxtaposing the two further brings to light how certain aspects of the two political cultures may have affected the autonomy of their memory-producing institutions, and the lineage-consciousness of their elite class.

Keywords: Globalism through comparison, royal dynasty, political culture, commemorative writing, Robert I, Qian Liu

Introduction

I open this chapter by responding with enthusiasm to Albrecht Classen’s “globalism” framework, especially as perceived through the lens of Religious Studies. Then I present the cross-cultural comparative case study outlined above. Finally, I argue that a cross-cultural comparative approach deepens our appreciation of both cultural particularities and the profound significance of the cross-cultural encounters and exchanges enabled by global/globalizing networks.

In his “Introduction” to this volume, Albrecht Classen offers a magisterial survey of current scholarly approaches toward premodern globalism and urges us

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to maintain an intellectual middle path. On one hand, we should not feel frustrated and subsequently dismiss the category “globalism” altogether, simply because “globalism” in a pre-modern period operated on a different scale and in a different density compared with its modern incarnation. On the other, we ought not to let our interpretation of the empirical evidence pertaining to the past – often fragmented and filtered institutionally – be determined by contemporary sensitivities or desires.

Instead of dusting off an old definition of globalism from some corner of our contemporary discourse, Classen confronts us with the following question: “what would the *notion of globalism* mean in those cultures and in those cultural-historical periods?” (3, my emphasis). Indeed, when studying a premodern culture, we must recognize that our essential concepts, including the very culture-specific articulation of identity, are bound to a context and far from universal. Entities such as “empire,” “state,” or “church” often claimed a control or even monopoly over the production, transmission, and classification of text-related knowledge. As a result, we do not do justice to the mobility of human beings, material, or ideas if we take the, most often self-legitimizing, narratives of worldly institutions at their word, or as the only reliable historical authority. I think this is part of the reason why various fields in the Humanities – above all pre-modern global history – have placed great emphasis on studies in material culture in recent years. In short, I concur with Classen’s suggestion of a transdisciplinary spirit.

Besides inviting new approaches, Classen’s vision affirms the critical place textual studies hold. Texts were not produced and preserved equally across the world. However, textual evidence reveals some otherwise invisible aspects of social production and individual interpretation of cultural systems in the past. Recognizing texts as only one among several information technologies that bridge past and present is crucial in two ways. Aware of this fact, we are called upon to gauge better the presence and quantity of different types of information technology in a given context, and to expand the horizon of our focus beyond solely the literary tradition.

Finally, I think that examples examined in Classen’s “Introduction” and individual chapters in this edited volume might broadly be split into two groups: “globalism through connectivity” and “globalism through comparison” respectively. My empirical study belongs to the second kind. Before presenting my own study, I want to highlight the three ways that such a cross-cultural comparison might contribute to Classen’s vision of “globalism before globalism.”

First, comparison highlights global concerns or challenges and provides a set of critical terms to articulate them better. The 2018 special issue of *Past and Present*, “Towards a Global Middle Ages,” showcases a group’s cumulative effort over

several years.¹ Their scholarly cooperation proposed one unifying principle for doing global history in the pre-modern era, namely identifying and clarifying the shared concerns faced by different societies. Such an orientation requires nuanced and descriptive categories, rather than uncritically received terms drawn from traditional Anglophone scholarship, such as “religion,” “law,” or “state.” These terms, as ubiquitous as they are familiar, were mainly derived from a limited set of human experiences, and construed in relation to certain agendas or sets of assumptions. Needless to say, they cannot apply to all.

Religious Studies, a discipline for which comparison is a centerpiece, similarly emphasizes its role in crafting scholarly categories. In a recently published collection of his comparative case studies and reflective essays, Bruce Lincoln advocated for micro-historical comparisons guided by structuralist social theories.² Oliver Freiberger’s *Considering Comparison* builds on Jonathan Z. Smith’s³ and William Paden’s⁴ insights and digs deeply into our contemporary structure of knowledge-production. In his book, Freiberger proposes the five potential operations of comparison: selection, description, juxtaposition, re-description, and rectification/theory formation.⁵ Freiberger’s distinction between description and re-description is in line with the “globalism through comparison” approach. Description is a process of situating the cases under comparison in their respective socio-historical and discursive contexts. During this process, *emic* categories, the reception history, and existing scholarship condition the comparativist’s observation, as they should, but they also limit his/her horizon, especially when “globalism” has not yet been integrated into our conceptualization of the cultural context which renders *local* significance to the selected cases. Re-description takes place after juxtaposing one case with others. During this process, a comparativist contrasts one set of cultural assumptions or expressions with another set, highlights their commonalities and differences, and eventually presents both cases in the cross-cultural framework besides their culture-specific conceptual frameworks. Fidel Fajardo-Acosta’s contribution to this volume showcases how re-description works in literary studies. Using the genre of medieval eschatological narratives as a lens, Fajardo-Acosta brings Arabic travel narratives, Scandinavian and Anglo-

1 Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen, “Introduction: Towards a Global Middle Ages,” *Past & Present* 238.13 (2018): 1–44; online at <https://doi.org/10.1093/pastj/gty030> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

2 Bruce Lincoln, *Apples and Oranges: Explorations In, On, and With Comparison* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).

3 Jonathan Z. Smith, “Adde Parvum Parvo Magnus Acervus Erit,” *History of Religions* 11.1 (August 1971): 67–90; online at <https://doi.org/10.1086/462642> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

4 William E. Paden, *New Patterns for Comparative Religion: Passages to an Evolutionary Perspective* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016).

5 Oliver Freiberger, *Considering Comparison: A Method for Religious Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019).

Saxon literature, and Dante's *Divina Commedia* into conversation. He distinguishes the dual functions behind these textual expressions of apocalyptic anxieties, what he elegantly terms as the function of globalization and of globalism. The former – corresponding to an aspect of globalization as the establishing and consolidation of empire – seeks to create a “great barrier” that separates the in-groups who are entrusted with the globalizing mission from the dangerous out-groups. The latter – a globalist insight – points out the precarity of the same “great barrier” and urges the readers to recognize the interdependence between those inside and outside the walls.

Second, comparison fuels theoretical creativity and helps to shape formative ideas. Theda Skocpol's and Margaret Somers's article succinctly summarizes the three stages of comparative historical studies, namely macro-causal analysis, parallel demonstration, and contract of contexts.⁶ The three supplement each other in the form of a feedback mechanism. Macro-causal analysis juxtaposes different cases to come up with hypotheses or build theory through identifying similar structural processes. Then, such a hypothesis is tested with historical evidence according to each culture's own logic. A parallel demonstration clarifies commonalities across cases, and the differences, naturally drawn out by the same process, highlight the uniqueness of each case. What pushes our scholarly inquiry forward and keeps the feedback mechanism active is not just the positive findings made in each stage but, more importantly, an awareness of its respective limitation: identified parallels give rise to theorization; generalization calls for specification; and a broad perspective of similarities/commonalities sheds light on the dispute between exceptionalism or universalism.

Third, comparison helps to illuminate a culture's uniqueness/particularities and, by the same token, enriches our understanding of the profundity of cross-cultural encounters. In other words, comparison sheds light on the question: *What crosses which boundary in such encounters?*⁷ In interpreting a culture and juxtaposing it with another, one faces a considerable challenge. On the one hand, it is imperative to honor a culture's internal articulation of its concerns and their representation, which may well not be readily translatable.⁸ On the other, we need

6 Theda Skocpol and Margaret Somers, “The Uses of Comparative History in Macrosocial Inquiry,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 22.2 (1980): 174–97; online at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500009282> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

7 My idea about culture is influenced by cultural anthropology and cultural memory studies, especially Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973); and Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (2000; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2005).

8 Robert Cummings Neville and Wesley J. Wildman, “On Comparing Religious Ideas,” *Ultimate Realities: A Volume in the Comparative Religious Ideas Project*, ed. Robert Cummings Neville. The Comparative Religious Ideas Project, 1 (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001), 187–210.

to discern what is structurally comparable between two – or more – particulars. Great insights or rewards come along with such challenges. In the process of going back and forth, it becomes clearer that certain actions or strategies were permissible and indeed enacted in one historical setting but not another, even though the structural concern was present in both cases. This helps an interpreter to be more aware of the enduring impact which, though often fluid, socio-cultural factors had on historical actions. As people and material have moved, ideas have done so as well, departing the social context of their birth: this has brought about fascinating miscommunications, appropriations, adaptations, and a great deal of cultural efflorescence. In this sense, comparison comes to serve a better understanding of connectivity, regional or global.

Now to the case study. In the following sections, I present two micro-historical cases in which royal ancestral memory was modified in the process of dynastic construction.⁹ The first case is drawn from the eleventh-century Capetian kingdom, and the second from tenth-century Wuyue 吳越. The two leading political dynasties under comparison, the Capetians and the clan of Qian, presented their rule as *continuations* of a preceding dynasty's institutional framework – that of the Carolingians and of the Tang 唐 respectively. In the hope of maintaining hierarchical stability, the Tang and Carolingian dynasties alike had established two mechanisms of transmitting power: 1) authority drawn from ancestry and bloodline, or hereditary right and 2) the authority of the royal office itself, or institutional authority. These two were interdependent: political dynasties or clans were the carriers of institutional authority; and elite reproduction *in* positions of institutional authority sustained the notion of ancestral authority.

Intriguingly, both dynasties shared the same structural problem: the deeds or status of their immediate ancestors were at variance with the cultural and institutional expectations laid upon royalty. Robert I (d. 923) had openly challenged the established hierarchical order by making a claim to the throne of a sitting Carolingian king, Charles the Simple (d. 929). Qian Liu 錢鏐 (d. 932) – the founder of Wuyue – lacked Tang aristocratic pedigree, which, by the late Tang, had become an indispensable criterion of legitimacy in the highest office. Accordingly, in both cases, their ancestral memory needed “adjustment” according to their own culturally specific logic, so as to meet expectations.

⁹ I follow Ward Keeler's cultural anthropological formulation of hierarchy as “interdependence across differences,” see Ward Keeler, *The Traffic in Hierarchy: Masculinity and Its Others in Buddhist Burma* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2017).

Robert I in Raoul Glaber's *Histories*

In the 880s C.E., the Carolingians – the royal dynasty that transformed what we now consider western and central Europe in the previous century – had problems producing legitimate heirs. The death of Charles the Fat in 888 was the final blow to the dynasty's monopoly on the royal office. This great-grandson of Charlemagne was the final Carolingian to rule over a united kingdom of the Franks, and after his death, the unified Carolingian hierarchy became a burden rather an asset to its subscribers. As it lost its persuasive power, this vision of hierarchy was replaced by alternatives.

After the end of the ninth century, the Carolingian realm fractured into different polities. Each cherished its own history, each had its own unique challenges to face, and each headed in its own direction. West Francia was an extreme case. Not only did multiple non-Carolingian families make claim to the royal throne, but, if one takes the plaintive tones of clerical writers of the period at face value, the very notion of a lasting royal power seemed in question. The instability was such that *regional* leaders were at pains to control their subordinates. As a result, the geographical extent of the royal hierarchy diminished, administrative centers changed, and history writing became granular. In this light, the tenth century was a period of thorough fragmentation – all the way down to the village level.

Nevertheless, the tenth century was also a period of continuity in West Francia, at least in a different sense. Although no leader could fully exercise the royal power in the Carolingian way, the royal office never disappeared from the uppermost political leaders' minds. They committed to different royal candidates and often lost considerable properties or even their own lives as a result of the subsequent conflicts. Kings continued to be anointed and bishops fought and argued with each other over the right to anoint their kings. Though many important Carolingian royal institutions ceased, such as the *missus dominicus* system and legislation through capitularies, others persisted, including the structure of territorial management, the administrative emphasis on education and literacy, and the collaboration between the Church and royal administrations.¹⁰ Most importantly, the assumption that a dynasty was the natural carrier of the royal office remained resilient,¹¹

¹⁰ I find Charles West's interpretation of the Feudal Revolution – the development of the post-1050 social order in the realm once under the Carolingian rule had its roots in the Carolingian system itself – convincing and congruent with my theoretical understanding of hierarchy-formation; see Charles West, *Reframing the Feudal Revolution: Political and Social Transformation between Marne and Moselle, c.800–c.1100* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹¹ Ernst Kantorowicz's theory of the king's two bodies remains a rhetorically appealing formulation of Max Weber's interpretation of the relationship between the office and the person; for an

even when the public power mastered by a king was at its ebb and non-royal elite self-representation was undergoing rapid change.¹² I suggest that a careful unification of the history-writing about the three royal dynasties – Merovingian, Carolingian, and Capetian – with the “immutable” Frankish royal office as its axis was a central part of the establishment of the new Capetian hierarchy. This synthesis, effected in the early Capetian period, allowed different political players to engage in an asymmetric exchange relationship, on Capetian terms, without severing their connection with the Carolingian past. Such reformulation provided momentum for the continuation and evolution of many modes of political communication,¹³ including monastic chronicles,¹⁴ royal diplomas¹⁵ and their forgery,¹⁶ hagiography,¹⁷ accounts of miracles and visions,¹⁸ and non-written modes of formal communication, such as ritual practice.¹⁹ All of these would have a part to play in the period’s political history.

introduction to and a survey of the evolving scholarship on this topic, see Brett Edward Whalen, “Political Theology and the Metamorphoses of The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology, by Ernst H. Kantorowicz,” *The American Historical Review* 125.1 (2020): 132–45; online at <https://doi.org/10.1093/ahr/rhz1225> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

12 Geoffrey Koziol, *Begging Pardon and Favor: Ritual and Political Order in Early Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, and New York: Cornell University Press, 1992), is a good example of this “devolution” thesis.

13 The following terms are heuristic tools rather than essentialized concepts with positivist presumptions. Whether or not such a term corresponded to a political actor’s internalized classification of knowledge, to a routinized network of manuscript production, or systems of political communication was an important question and needed to be established empirically.

14 Edward Roberts, *Flodoard of Rheims and the Writing of History in the Tenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

15 On the political significance of royal diplomas in West Francia, see Geoffrey Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840–987)*. Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy, 19 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012).

16 Levi Roach, *Forgery and Memory at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021).

17 Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

18 Patrick J. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992); and Geoffrey Koziol, “Flothilde’s Visions and Flodoard’s Histories: A Tenth-Century Mutation?,” *Early Medieval Europe* 24.2 (2016): 160–84; online at <https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12139> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

19 “Ritual” remains a heavily contested category; see the following critical comments and defensive arguments: Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual: Between Early Medieval Texts and Social Scientific Theory* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001); and Geoffrey Koziol, “Review Article: The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual Still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study?,” *Early Medieval Europe* 11.4 (2002): 367–88; online at <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.0963-9462.2002.00116.x> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

The Capetians entered Carolingian royal politics in the mid-ninth century through their service to the Carolingian kings, particularly to Charles the Bald (r. 843–77). Two kings (Odo r. 888–898, and Robert I r. 922–923) came from this family, and the dynasty eventually monopolized the royal office from 987 onwards. By the mid-eleventh century, the Capetians effectively reconfigured certain central aspects of the royal hierarchy and set in motion a centuries-long process of centralization until they stood out as the most powerful royal dynasty in Christendom. The desire of non-royal political players' to grasp the political history of West Francia from a dynastic perspective was one key factor behind this Capetian miracle.

However, the first decades of the tenth century were exceptionally difficult for the discursive project of synthesizing the dynastic and institutional past. The two major sources of authority in the early Capetian discourse were of Carolingian origin – that from service to former kings, and that from ancestry. So enduring was the Carolingian idea, that the early Capetians had to maintain – if not proactively celebrate – the former kings' memories, even when some of them had been their chief rivals in times past. The Battle of Soissons, in particular, was a problematic episode for the Capetian use of the Carolingian past. In 922, Robert I – a Capetian ancestor – was elected king in an assembly attended by many West Frankish leaders, in defiance of Charles the Simple, to whom Robert had once sworn an oath of allegiance. A year later, the Carolingian king led an army (consisting of Lotharingians, Normans, and Carolingian forces) westwards to meet him. In this battle, Robert I had been killed, but his side were eventually victorious. What's more, Herbert II of Vermandois – an close ally of Robert I – had later imprisoned Charles the Simple and held him captive until the deposed king died in 929. And from 923 to 936, Raoul, Robert I's son-in-law, had ruled West Francia as the first and only Biviniid king, to add a further complication to the proceedings.

This conflict between a dynastic ancestor (Robert I) and an institutional predecessor (Charles the Simple) troubled the early Capetian kings and history-writers well into the early eleventh century.²⁰ The dynastic history in the early decades of the tenth century was recounted differently in various administrative centers of Francia, and such differences cannot be explained easily without specific reference to a vast and disparate amount of material. Here, I use Raoul Glaber's *History in Five Books* as an example.

Raoul Glaber's monastic career gravitated around three centers of learning and information in the Capetian duchy of Burgundy, St-Germain in Auxerre, St-Bénigne

20 Geoffrey Koziol, "Is Robert I in Hell?," *Early Medieval Europe* 14.3 (2006): 233–67; online at <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-0254.2006.00182.x> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

in Dijon, and Cluny²¹ (Map 1). Raoul likely entered St-Germain in Auxerre sometime before the year 1000 and remained there until moving to St-Bénigne in Dijon in the mid-1010s. Under the supervision of William of Volpiano (d. 1031), the abbot of St-Bénigne and the famous monastic reformer, Raoul started writing his *Histories* in the late 1020s.²² Then he spent some time (ca. 1031 to ca. 1036) in Cluny before retiring to St-Germain in Auxerre, where he remained until his death in 1047.

Raoul's *Histories* is recognized today for a range of reasons: the millenarianism of his language, drawn from the book of Revelation²³ the idea of the "divine quaternity"²⁴; the accounts on the Peace and Truce of God movement²⁵; and the various references to the cult of relics and saints.²⁶ Raoul himself is otherwise remembered for his connections with the Cluniac monastic network.²⁷ But one thread going through his otherwise spontaneous writing, I believe, has been overlooked: his acute anxiety to match the political reality with history-guiding providence.

Raoul's writing features two heroes: Robert II – the second Capetian king who reigned from 987 until his death in 1031 – and Raoul's own monastic patron, William of Volpiano, who died in the same year of 1031.²⁸ This dual allegiance was not always a harmonious one: the king and the abbot had somewhat conflicting interests in the first decades of the eleventh century: Abbot William was connected through family ties and institutions with the anti-Robert II faction in the duchy of

21 The writer's name is variously spelt as Raoul, Rodulfus, or Ralf Glaber in contemporary scholarship; for a brilliant biographical sketch about Raoul Glaber, see Rodulfus Glaber, John France, and Neithard Bulst, *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum Libri Quinque: The Five Books of the Histories* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), xix–cvi.

22 Rodulfus Glaber, France, and Bulst, *The Five Books of the Histories* (see note 21); here xl–xli and xliii.

23 Richard Landes, "Rodulfus Glaber and the Dawn of the New Millennium: Eschatology, Historiography, and the Year 1000," *Revue Mabillon* 7 (1996): 57–77.

24 Paul Edward Dutton, "Raoul Glaber's 'De Diuina Quaternitate': An Unnoticed Reading of Eriugena's Translation of the Ambigua of Maximus the Confessor," *Mediaeval Studies* 42.1 (1980): 431–53; online at <https://doi.org/10.1484/J.MS.2.306265> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

25 Thomas Gergen, "The Peace of God and its legal practice in the Eleventh Century," *Cuadernos de Historia del Derecho* 9 (2002): 11–27; online at <https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/CUHD/article/view/CUHD0202110011A> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

26 Bernhard Topfer, "The Cult of Relics and Pilgrimage in Burgundy and Aquitaine at the Time of the Monastic Reform," *The Peace of God Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992), 41–57.

27 John France, "Rodulfus Glaber and the Cluniacs," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 39.4 (1988): 497–508; online at <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0022046900040562> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022); Edmond Ortigues ad Dominique Iogna-Prat, "Raoul Glaber et l'historiographie Clunisienne," *Studi Medievali* 26.2 (1985): 537–72.

28 Francis X. Hartigan, "Rodulfus Glaber and the Early Capetians," *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History* 16 (1988): 30–37.



Map 1: “Hoch- und Niederburgund EN” by Marco Zanoli (Sidonius) is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0 (reproduced in print with the creator’s permission).

Burgundy, which Robert II fought intermittently for over two decades.²⁹ Perhaps not by coincidence, Raoul started his history in the 1020s, precisely when the two had started to reconcile.

²⁹ On the Capetian involvement in Burgundy during this period, see Geoffrey Koziol, “The Conquest of Burgundy, the Peace of God, and the Diplomas of Robert the Pious,” *French Historical Studies* 37.2 (2014): 173–214; online at <https://doi.org/10.1215/00161071-2401584> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022); for a biographical treatment of William of Volpiano, see Véronique Gazeau and Monique Goullet, *Guillaume de Volpiano, un réformateur en son temps, 962–1031* (Caen: Publications du CRAHM, 2008).

The final paragraphs of Book 3 are particularly charged. Here, Raoul ambitiously attempted three things. First, he cleared William of Volpiano of any association with the anti-Capetian faction in the Burgundian war from 1003 to the mid-1020s. Second, Raoul criticized Odo II of Blois's (d. 1037) – a main rival of Capetian kings in the 1030s – by condemning Odo's ancestors, Herbert II of Vermandois (d. 943) and Theobald the Trickster (d. 975). Raoul reasoned that Odo II's violent death a just and divine retribution to the house of Blois, though three or four generations late.³⁰

Third, and the one I will focus on, Raoul dissociated the Capetian ancestor Robert I from the infamous deposition of Charles the Simple – the most intense moment of the historical Carolingian-Capetian rivalry. Notable political centers including Reims, Sens, Tours, and Île-de-France all had subtly different versions of this king's past in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and such divergences were largely influenced by institutional interests, which were not always in sync with other groups, including the royal court.³¹

Limited by space, I use only Reims as a contrast. Two Reims-centered writings – Flodoard of Reims's *Annals* (written contemporaneously) and Richer of St-Rémi's *Histoires* (compiled in the 990s) – focused on the Carolingian-Capetian dynastic struggle and are the key sources for our historical reconstruction. Flodoard reported the unfolding of this confrontation in a matter-of-fact fashion:

Franci Rotbertum seniore[m] eligunt ipsique sese committunt. Rotbertus itaque rex Remis apud Sanctum Remigium ab episcopis et primatibus regni constituitur. . .

Karolus Axonam transiit, et super Rotbertum cum armatis Lothariensibus venit. Rotbertus vero armatis his qui secum erant, contra processit; commissoque praelio, multis ex utraque parte cadentibus, Rotbertus quoque rex lanceis perfossus cecidit.

[(In the year 922 . . .) The Franks chose Robert as their lord and committed themselves to him. Thus Robert was established as king at Reims, at [the monastery of] St-Rémi, by the bishops and magnates of the kingdom . . .

(In the year 923 . . .) Charles crossed the Aisne and attacked Robert with the well armed Lotharingians who were with him. Robert, however, counterattacked Charles with his own well-armed men. The battle began and many fell on each side. King Robert also died, pierced through by lances.]³²

³⁰ Rodulfus Glaber, France, and Bulst, *The Five Books of the Histories* (see note 21); here 164–65.

³¹ I am currently researching on Robert I's afterlives in the charters, chronicles, or *gesta episcoporum* associated with Sens, Reims, Tours, and Limoges and hope to produce these findings as a chapter of my Ph.D. dissertation (expected in May of 2025).

³² The Latin text comes from “Annales, chronica et historiae aevi Saxonici” *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores* 3, ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz et al. (Hanover: Hahn, 1839), 370–71; and the English translation is from Flodoard of Reims, *The “Annals” of Flodoard of Reims, 919–966*, trans.

Writing a generation later, Richer developed on Flodoard – whose annals were his main source – and further condemned Robert I's revolt. Richer simultaneously denounced Robert I's treacherous coronation in 922 and dissociated this event with the bishop of Reims at the time:

Communi ergo omnium qui aderant decreto Rotbertus eligitur, ac multo ambitionis elatu Remos deductus, in basilica sancti Remigii rex creatur Qui si eodem tempore valuisset, tanto facinori oportunitas non patuisset.

[Therefore, by virtue of a general decree of all those who were present, Robert was chosen king and taken with a great deal of high-flown pomp to Reims, where he was crowned king in the basilica of St-Rémi If he (Hervey, bishop of Reims) had been in good health at the time, there would have been no opportunity for such a shameful deed.]³³

Second, Richer dramatized the battle scene at Soissons, highlighting the usurper's miserable end – promptly cornered and subsequently slaughtered.³⁴ Richer also preferred to designate Robert I as a usurper (*pervasor*) or a despot (*tirannus*) in this section on his rebellion.

Third, Richer invented a speech condemning the disastrous revolt and gave it to the part of Hugh the Great. This Hugh – Robert I's son – played a strategic role of installing Louis d'Outremer – Charles the Simple's son – in 936. According to Richer's account, upon restoring the Carolingian rule, Hugh – allegedly – confessed his father's crime:

Pater meus, vestra quondam omnium voluntate rex creatus, non sine magno regnavit facinore, cum is cui soli iura regnandi debebantur viveret et vivens carcere clauderetur. Quod credite deo non acceptum fuisse. Unde et absit ut ego patris loco restituar. Nec vero alieni generis quemquam . . . arbitror promovendum Repetatur ergo interrupta paululum regiae generationis linea.

[The reign of my father, who in former days was chosen king with all of your approval, was tainted by a serious crime, since the only man (i.e., Charles the Simple) who had the right to be king was still living, and yet while he was alive he was shut up inside a prison. This, you may be sure, was not acceptable to God. Thus, let no one think that I should be restored to the position of my father. Nor, however, do I think that anyone from a different family should be elevated to the throne Therefore, let us seek out once more the line of royal birth, which has been briefly interrupted.]³⁵

Bernard S. Bachrach and Steven Fanning (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), paragraphs 4E–5F, 7–8.

³³ Richer of St-Rémi, *Histories*, trans. Justin Lake (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2011); here Book 1 Chapter 41, 102–03.

³⁴ Richer of St-Rémi, *Histories* (see note 33); here Book 1 Chapter 46, 112–13: “et circumseptus ab aliis, septem lanceis confossus precipitatur diriguitque” ([Robert] was then surrounded by others, and after receiving seven spear wounds, he collapsed to the ground and lay there, unmoving).

³⁵ Richer of St-Rémi, *Histories* (see note 33); here Book 2 Chapter 2, 160–63.

Raoul Glaber's accounts of the Battle of Soissons and the rise of the Capetians could not differ from the above tradition further. In stark contrast with Reims tradition, Raoul made Hugh the Great – instead of Robert I – the first notable Capetian ancestor and introduced the latter only as an afterthought. At the beginning of Book 1, Raoul gave only two pieces of information about this otherwise totally obscure dynastic ancestor: first, Robert was a king, but not that of West Francia; second, he died in fighting the Saxons who were invading West Francia, not Charles the Simple:

Fuit enim hic Hugo Filius Rotberti, Parisiorum comitis, qui uidelicet Rotbertus breui in tempore rex constitutus et ab exercitu Saxonum est interfectus; cuius genus idcirco adnotare distulimus, quia ualde in ante repperitur obscurum

[Hugh was the son of Robert, count of Paris, who was for a short time king but was killed by the army of Saxons. We have put off speaking of his ancestry, for if one goes any distance back it becomes very obscure.]³⁶

In the end of Book 3, Raoul reiterated both points:

Vgonis Magni, qui fuerat filius Rotberti regis, quam Otto dux Saxonum, postea uero imperator Romanorum, Sussionis interfecit, ei utilia esse dicturum.

[Hugh the Great, who was the son of that King Robert whom Otto duke of the Saxons and later emperor of the Romans had killed at the battle of Soissons.]³⁷

I do not think this inaccuracy in Raoul's account – his distancing of Robert I from the death of Charles the Simple – can be explained away simply by his limited access to materials. He stayed in Cluny, at St-Germain in Auxerre, and at St-Bénigne in Dijon, three centers of administration and learning with decent libraries. Robert I appears in the eleventh-century necrology of St-Germain in Auxerre, suggesting a commemorative ritual might have been performed on Robert I's death anniversary.³⁸ More manuscript study may help to ascertain whether Raoul could have consulted the other accounts on the Battle of Soissons.

More importantly, Raoul's mistakes are too subtly conceived to be the result of any genuine muddle. Raoul called Robert I "the king" in both passages without specifying which throne Robert I occupied. His implication throughout, however, is

³⁶ Rodulfus Glaber, France, and Bulst, *The Five Books of the Histories* (see note 21); here Book 1 paragraph 6, 14–15.

³⁷ Rodulfus Glaber, France, and Bulst, *The Five Books of the Histories* (see note 21); here Book 3 paragraph 39, 162–65.

³⁸ Jean Lebeuf, "No. 5 Nécrologe Ou Obituaire de La Cathédrale d'Auxerre," *Mémoires Concernant l'histoire Civile et Ecclésiastique d'Auxerre et de Son Ancien Diocèse. T. 4*, 1848, 8–23; online at <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k36419j> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

that Robert I could not possibly be the King of West Francia; this is because he structured Book 1 – after a careful revision – by the reigns of “Kings of West Francia,” and in so doing, Raoul named only two for the period concerned (from 898 to 936): Charles the Simple and Raoul of France. Robert I, by contrast, was only introduced in a tangent – the above quote from Book 1 – in the brief section concerning King Raoul’s reign.³⁹ In addition, Raoul belonged to a new generation of writers who composed and revisited their autograph manuscripts. Unlike Flodoard’s year-by-year contemporary records,⁴⁰ Raoul revised Book 1 while composing the final chapter of Book 3, in the late 1030s, after his stay in Cluny.⁴¹ This explains the concordance between the two sections and further supports the authorial intention behind Raoul’s mistaken reports.

To conclude this section, I recapitulate the main point. By the mid-eleventh century, no systematic synthesis (between the Capetian dynastic past and the corresponding royal institutional past) had yet been achieved in political communication, whether in historical writing or elsewhere. This lack, however, did not hinder the gradual development of the hierarchy, but rather allowed writers a high level of flexibility to posit their institutional or regional networks within this nascent Capetian hierarchy. The flexibility of ancestral memory manifested in a different way among tenth-century Chinese writers.

Qian Liu’s Aristocratic Pedigree in (Post-)Tang Commemorative Texts

The century between 880 C.E., i.e., the destructive Huang Chao 黃巢 Rebellion⁴² and 980, i.e., the Song 宋 reunification and consolidation, was the period of transition,

³⁹ Again, see Rodulfus Glaber, France, and Bulst, *The Five Books of the Histories* (see note 21); here Book 1 paragraph 6, 14–15.

⁴⁰ Roberts, *Flodoard of Rheims* (see note 14); here 75–103.

⁴¹ Rodulfus Glaber, France, and Bulst, *The Five Books of the Histories* (see note 21); here xlv; and Monique-Cécile Garand, “Deux éditions nouvelles des «Historiae» de Raoul Glaber,” *Scriptorium* 45.1 (1991): 116–22; online at <https://doi.org/10.3406/crai.1985.14246> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

⁴² On the destructiveness and historical significance of this rebellion, see Nicolas Tackett, *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014); for the translation of the near contemporary Arabic accounts on Huang Chao’s sack of Guangzhou, see Abu Zayd Hasan ibn Yazid Sirafi and Ahmad Ibn Fadlan, *Two Arabic Travel Books: Accounts of China and India and Mission to the Volga*, trans. Tim Mackintosh-Smith and James E Montgomery (New York: New York University Press, 2014), 69.

which structurally resembles that from Carolingian to Capetian hierarchy in our comparison.⁴³ Two aspects of this parallel, in particular, are crucial.⁴⁴

First, both are watersheds in the traditional periodization of their respective historiographies. A clear, ambiguous interval of political fragmentation and militarism divides the histories between “before” (Tang, Carolingian) and “after” (Song, Capetian). At the same time, a redefinition of the “social elite” – a social category made through discursive self-stylization and repetitive institutional recognition – was central to this transformation. Comparable to their late/post-Carolingian counterpart, late Tang aristocratic clans were the default units to transmit authority in the sense that authority was delegated across geography through regional alliances undertaken with the imperial dynasty. Hereditary right, meanwhile, transferred authority across time.

There is one key difference to note: Tang aristocratic clans, by the end of the ninth century, had already cooperated with the imperial institution for several centuries. Most settled in the area near the Tang capitals and were distinguished from the rest of the bureaucracy or well-off local strongmen by their strict endogamy, monopoly of senior bureaucratic offices, expertise in hierarchical ritual performances, and classical learning.⁴⁵

As the Tang’s imperial structure disintegrated in the late ninth century, a group of strongmen of doubtful noble pedigree rose to power through consolidating local militias; this was typically done in the name of pacifying rebellions for the empire.⁴⁶

43 “Tang-Song transition” has been a heavily contested thesis since the early twentieth century; for a concise summary, see Tackett, *Destruction* (see note 41); here 3–12; on the history of tenth-century China, see Wang Kung-wu, *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press, 1963); Naomi Standen, “The Five Dynasties,” in *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 5: The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith. The Cambridge History of China, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 38–132; online at <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521812481.003> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022); and Hugh Clark, “The Southern Kingdoms between the T’ang and the Sung, 907–979,” *The Cambridge History of China*. Vol. 5: *The Sung Dynasty and Its Precursors, 907–1279*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Paul Jakov Smith. The Cambridge History of China, 5 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 133–205; online at <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521812481.004> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

44 Hugh Clark also argues for the need to take this period 880–980, what he calls the “Tang-Song interregnum,” as a subject of inquiry on its own right; see Hugh Clark, *China during the Tang-Song Interregnum, 878–978: New Approaches to the Southern Kingdoms* (Abingdon, Oxfordshire, and New York: Routledge, 2021).

45 Tackett, *Destruction* (see note 41); a brilliant point that aristocracy was above all a social category is made in Song Chen, “Review of *The Destruction of the Medieval Chinese Aristocracy* by Nicolas Tackett,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 75.1 (2015): 233–43; online at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/45276539> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

46 For an analysis of one such polity, Former Shu, see Hongjie Wang, *Power and Politics in Tenth-Century China: The Former Shu Regime* (Amherst, MA: Cambria Press, 2011); and for an inter-



Map 2: China in 908 C.E. (Wuyue or Wu Yue) is at the southeast corner) “L.LIANG” by Pavo Xie is licensed under CC BY-SA 4.0; online at <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=42365969> (last accessed Dec. 1, 2022).

To ingratiate themselves with these political players, who possessed considerable resources, late Tang emperors acquiesced to their *de facto* self-governance through certain formalized symbolic exchanges, such as the conferring of titles, bestowal of gifts, and by promulgating a hierarchical ritual discourse in formal communication. Further, this symbolic exchange was substantiated by concrete historical analogies and ritualized cultural norms in delegating and transmitting authority.⁴⁷ Those regional leaders, meanwhile, were newly able to represent themselves as members of the prestigious Tang aristocracy. As a result, they willingly recognized the authority not just of the Tang while they held power, but also of the five short-lived subsequent dynasties that came to control the heartland. This recognition involved the performance of important ritual practices, paying tributary offerings, and cooperating with the court to maintain formal communication. In so doing, the late/post-Tang political elite – old and new – managed to preserve certain key components of the imperial hierarchic logic despite the profound transformation.

Multiple lines of evidence – negative or positive – made it clear that Qian Liu was anything but an aristocrat in the political culture of late Tang.⁴⁸ In fact, he started his career as a salt-smuggler who served under a local militia leader during the empire-wide peasant rebellions around 880.⁴⁹ Yet, by the time of his death in 932, the Qian clan had successfully styled itself as a Tang aristocratic clan. Within the Tang hierarchical logic, there were two ways of communicating one's aristocratic pedigree. The first one can be called the “dream team” mode of ancestral memory,⁵⁰ that is a discursive incorporation of one's ancestral memory into the

pretation of various regional leaders' patronage of Chan (or Zen) masters, see Benjamin Brose, *Patrons and Patriarchs: Regional Rulers and Chan Monks during the Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2015).

47 I argue in my Ph.D. dissertation that imperial diplomas of investiture constituted the functional equivalent “genre” to early medieval royal diplomas in China's political correspondence during the period of 880–980.

48 Hugh Clark, “Scoundrels, Rogues, and Refugees: The Founders of the Ten Kingdoms in the Late Ninth Century,” *Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms*, ed. Peter Allan Lorge (Hong Kong: Chinese University Press, 2011), 47–78.

49 For an overview of the history and the political structure of Wuyue, see He Canhao 何燦浩, “Wuyue guo fangzhen tizhi de jieti yu jiquan zhengzhi” 吳越國方鎮體制的解體與集權政治 [The Disintegration of *Fangzhen* System and the Making of a Centralized Polity in Wuyue] *Lishi Yanjiu* 歷史研究 3 (2014): 39–53; and He Yongqiang 何勇強, *Qianshi Wuyue Guoshi Lungao* 錢氏吳越國史論稿 [Historical Essays on Wuyue under the Qian Clan] (Hangzhou 杭州: 浙江大學出版社 [Zhejiang University Press], 2002).

50 This “dream team” mode of ancestral memory was well attested since the first century C.E. at the latest, see Kenneth Brashier, *Public Memory in Early China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2014).

royal hierarchy.⁵¹ The early ancestors were chosen from cultural heroes or historical officials whose memories were sanctioned and preserved in dynastic official historiography. The primary method was straightforward: one presented historical figures from antiquity who happened to share one's clan-surname as distant ancestors. In fact, the cultural practice of surnames started with using the pre-imperial or early imperial names of fiefdoms or office titles to designate one's status. The second way might be called the "bureaucratic" mode of ancestral memory and was more specific to the Tang. This mode emphasized one's immediate ancestors' bureaucratic tenures and their marriage with other office-holding clans. Thus, classical learning and imperial bureaucracy heavily influenced the political elite's self-presentation.⁵²

The Qian clan attached itself to the Tang aristocracy through combining both of these hierarchical discourses of ancestral memory. Since the turn of the tenth century, the Qian clan identified Qian Jiulong 錢九隴 (573–645), a well-attested general who helped to establish the Tang dynasty, as its ancestor according to the "dream team" mode. In the hierarchical ritual discourse of ancestral memory, Qian Liu petitioned the imperial court for a privilege to establish the Qian family shrine to routinize a three-generation ancestral commemoration and to celebrate the posthumous official titles given by the court to Qian Liu's father (Qian Kuan 錢寬), grandfather (Qian Zhou 錢宙), and great-grandfather (Qian Pei 錢沛).

There is no genealogy writing of the Qian clan that can be dated safely to the tenth century. Such a text almost certainly existed but was displayed in the early eleventh century by Qian Liu's descendants to facilitate the clan's changing self-stylization from a post-Tang aristocratic regional ruling dynasty to a Song bureaucratic scholar-official clan.⁵³ Nevertheless, it is possible to infer a tenth-century genealogy

51 Roderick Campbell, *Violence, Kinship and the Early Chinese State: The Shang and Their World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); and Li Feng, *Early China: A Social and Cultural History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

52 Tackett's *Destruction* (see note 41) catalogues a wealth of such epitaphs and uses them more or less as evidence for reconstructing social reality; this approach is to be balanced with reading epitaphs as a literary genre concerning elite self-stylization, see *Chinese Funerary Biographies: An Anthology of Remembered Lives*, ed. Patricia Buckley Ebrey, Ping Yao, and Ellen Zhang (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2020).

53 Qian Weijiang 錢偉疆 "Wusu Wang 'Qian Shi Da Zongpu' Yuanliu Kao" 武肅王《錢氏大宗譜》源流考 [Source Criticism of the Account about Qian Liu in "Qian Shi Da Zongpu"] *Qian Liu yanjiu* 錢鏐研究, 12 (2003); online at http://www.taiwan.cn/zt/lszt/names/researchresults/200801/t20080102_536489.htm (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

from several scattered commemorative inscriptions,⁵⁴ and the first three decades of the tenth century were central for its making.

One of the earliest contemporary texts on this matter dates to 901 C.E. – “Zhendong jun jianjunshi yuanji” 鎮東軍監軍使院記 (The Commemorative Inscription at the Courtyard of Surveillance Commissioner of the East-Pacifying Army). This text uses archaic formularies of imperial gift-bestowing and alludes to numerous pre-/early imperial historical precedents to celebrate Qian Liu’s victory over Dong Chang 董昌, an imperial pretender in 897. As a result of that victory, the emperor appointed Qian Liu as a military governor, assisted by an imperial supervisor, Lord Zhou of Runan. The draftsman of this commemorative text, Wu Dui 吳玠, was under the Tang emperor’s direct patronage. In this text drafted by an imperial courtier, the imperial aristocratic delegate Lord Zhou first recognized that Qian Liu, in fact a salt-privateer, was a loyal and capable general serving the empire *because* he descended from the eminent general Qian Jiulong.

汝南公嘗從容謂左右曰：「當今海內竭忠誠著實效於國者，其吳越之邦乎？」抑有由也。昔武德初，巢國公為佐命功臣，逮今二百八十載，其裔孫復為定亂安國功臣，豈偶然哉？在我朝之創業也，有巢國公佐焉，其中興也，有彭城王輔焉，所謂世濟其美，代不乏賢。仲尼曰：「積善之家，必有余慶。」此之謂乎？汝南公深識而遠慮，博古而該今。...

[Lord Zhou of Runan once sedately told his entourage: “Among those who, in our time and country, put all their loyalty and sincerity forth to diligently serve the country, who could equal (the leader of) the principedom of Wu and Yue (i.e., Qian Liu)?” This indeed has good reasons. At the beginning of the Wude era (618–26 C.E., i.e., the first years of the Tang dynasty), Lord of Chao Principedom (i.e., Qian Jiulong) rendered outstanding service to restore the Mandate (of Heaven to the Tang dynasty). It has been 280 years. Could it be a coincident that his (i.e., Qian Jiulong’s) descendent (i.e., Qian Liu) again accomplished the meritorious deeds of pacifying the rebels and stabilizing the country? Lord of Chao Principedom (i.e., Qian Jiulong) assisted our Tang dynasty in the initial stage of establishing its rule. Prince of Pengcheng (i.e., Qian Liu) served (the Tang dynasty) during its resurgence. This is what is called “continuing a family’s praiseworthy behavior generation after generation with no lack of worthy member.” Confucius said that “The family that accumulates goodness is sure to have superabundant happiness.” Is it not a fitting description (of the Qian family)? Lord Zhou of Runan has such a broad understanding and a profound foresight. He is both knowledgeable about the past and can discern the present . . . (My translation).]

⁵⁴ I refer to these documents with their titles and fascicle number in *Quan Tang Wen* (The Comprehensive Collection of Tang-Era Prose), a collection compiled in the early nineteenth century, comprising over 18,000 literary pieces (including fragments), and arranged in 1,000 *juan* [fascicles].

⁵⁵ Wu Dui 吳玠, “Zhendong jun jianjunshi yuanji” 鎮東軍監軍使院記 [The Commemorative Inscription at the Courtyard of Surveillance Commissioner of the East-Pacifying Army], *Quan Tang Wen*, fascicle 821.

Ten years later, Li Qi 李琪 (d. 930), another scholar serving at the imperial court, composed a text to be inscribed on a stele in Qian Liu's *shengci* 生祠 ("a shrine for a living person"). The function of a *shengci* was to celebrate a person's achievements while he or she was still alive, unlike typical shrines where postmortem commemoration and sacrifices took place.⁵⁶ This text does not mention the early Tang general Qian Jiulong but instead emphasizes the Qian clan's privilege of venerating its three-generation ancestors, granted by the imperial court in 906 CE.⁵⁷ The section recounting his genealogy strictly follows the Tang aristocratic self-presentation, listing the immediate ancestors who received official titles.

大王父諱沛，累贈尚書左仆射。王父諱宙，累贈太師。烈考諱寬，累贈中書令...公即中書令之嫡長子也。⁵⁸

[(Qian Liu's) late great-grandfather had the taboo-name (i.e., personal name) Pei and bore the posthumous title of Vice Director of the Left of the Department of State Affairs. The late grandfather had the taboo-name Zhou and bore the posthumous title of Grand Preceptor. The illustrious late father had the taboo-name Kuan and bore the posthumous title of Secretariat Director.... The lord (i.e., Qian Liu) is then the Secretariat Director's eldest son and legitimate heir. (My translation)]

None of Qian Liu's immediate ancestors held senior bureaucratic offices during their lifetime. Yet, it was vital for Qian Liu's direct ancestors to bear bureaucratic titles – even only through posthumous conferrals – in late Tang political communication. Therefore, a senior counsellor at the imperial court composed the above text for Qian Liu and his clan.

These two modes of Qian ancestral memory had become synthesized by Qian Liu's death in 932, both at the imperial court and the Wuyue capital. Yang Ningshi 楊凝式 (d. 954), another imperial courtier, drafted one more commemorative text to be inscribed on Qian Liu's spirit-path stele (*shendao bei* 神道碑), an imperial gift to the Qian clan. The text first names Qian Liu's two ancestors in the "dream team"

56 Li Yannan 李彥楠, "Cong fangshu dao jiaohua: Han-Wei-Liuchao guanli shengci yiyi de zhuanhua" 從方術到教化: 漢魏六朝官吏生祠意義的轉化 [From Recipes and Techniques to Cultivation: The Shift of Meaning in Building Shrines for Living Officials from Han and Wei to Six Dynasties Periods], *Guoxue Xuekan* 國學學刊 3 (2018): 72–78; online at <https://www.cnki.com.cn/Article/CJF-DTOTAL-GXXX201803008.htm> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

57 The 906 entry in *Wuyue Beishi* 吳越備史 [The Complete History of Wuyue] – an annalistic state history, compiled in the early 970s with continuation through the 980s – reports that in the eleventh month of the third year of the Tianyou era [i.e., 19th Nov. to 17th Dec. 906 C.E.], "per the imperial edict, the Prince (i.e., Qian Liu) was allowed to build a three-generation ancestral temple." *Wuyue Beishi*, fascicle 1.

58 Li Qi 李琪, "Qian gong shengcitang bei" 錢公生祠堂碑 [Inscription of the *Shengci* for Lord Qian] *Quan Tang Wen*, fascicle 847.

mode: the Yellow Thearch (*Huangdi* 黃帝, a legendary sovereign traditionally dated to the early third millennium B.C.E.) and Qian Jiulong (the aforementioned general of the early Tang). In addition, Qian Jiulong, initially once invoked as a historical analogy to praise Qian Liu's military achievement and loyalty to the imperial court, has become anchored as Qian Liu's eighth-generation paternal ancestor. Next, the text reenumerates the titles received by Qian Liu's three-generation ancestors in order to show that the Qian clan was indeed "an illustrious clan in the Southeast."⁵⁹

The most striking evidence for the discursive fixation of Qian genealogy is found outside both Wuyue and the imperial court. The epitaph of Qian Kuangdao 錢匡道, a nephew of Qian Liu's, was recently excavated and dates to 937.⁶⁰ Qian Kuangdao's father, a younger brother of Qian Liu, defected to Wu 吳 from Wuyue in 911 and held a senior position in Wu. This Wu polity was geographically situated between the imperial center and Wuyue (Map 2) and, noticeably, it was in constant warfare with both the imperial regime and Wuyue throughout its short-lived existence from 902 to 937. Even there, Qian Liu, and the latter's ancestors of two generations (Qian Zhou and Qian Kuan), were nonetheless celebrated in positive terms:

[錢公]諱匡道，字佐明，其先吳興人也。宙，皇曾祖也。寬，唐太師，皇祖，先越王霸後，並前數代，皆有追贈。先越王諱鏐，世父也。⁶¹

([Lord Qian] had the taboo-name Kuangdao, the courtesy-name Zuoming, and his ancestors were from the Wuxing region. (Qian) Zhou was his late great-grandfather. (Qian) Kuan, a grand preceptor in Tang, was his late grandfather. After the late prince of Yue (i.e., Qian Liu) started to exercise power as a hegemon, (Qian Kuan) and a few more generations of (Lord Qian's) ancestors were posthumously given titles. The late prince of Yue (i.e., Qian Liu) had the taboo-name Liu and was the elder brother of (Lord Qian's) father. (My translation)]

By analyzing several commemorative texts in the first decades of the tenth century, I show in this section how Qian Liu – initially a salt-smuggler – fostered a discursive process that eventually presented the Qian family as a Tang aristocratic clan.

59 Yang Ningshi, "Wuyue guowang shi Wusu shendaobei ming bing xu" 吳越國王諡武肅神道碑銘並序 [Inscription of the Prince of Wuyue Principedom with the posthumous name Wu-Su and a Preface], *Quan Tang Wen*, fascicle 858.

60 Liu Gang 劉剛 and Xu Binghong 薛炳宏, "Jiangsu Yangzhou Chutu Qian Kongdao Muzhi Kaoshi" 江蘇揚州出土錢匡道墓誌考釋 [A Study on Qian Kuangdao's Epitaph Unearthed in Yangzhou, Jiangsu] *Dongnan Wenhua* 東南文化 06 (2014): 78–85; online at <https://dnwh.njmmuseum.com/Article/Detail/5513> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

61 Liu and Xu, "Qian Kuangdao Muzhi Kaoshi" (see note 59); here 79–80.

Comparative Synthesis

By way of concluding, I summarize the comparative insights gained in juxtaposing these two cases, with reference the three merits of comparison laid out at the beginning. In terms of the first merit, i.e., refining critical terms, this study contributes concrete material toward the concept of “royal dynasty” as a cross-cultural phenomenon. By utilizing two key concepts of cultural anthropology, “kingship”⁶² and “kinship,”⁶³ I seek to generate synergy across scholarship on medieval Europe and imperial China. In imperial China, dynastic history was not only the central concern of official history writing throughout the imperial period but was also a centerpiece to its formulation of political theory, especially that of the notion of “dynastic legitimacy” which reared its head time and again. In Medieval Studies, scholars of the (post-)Carolingian polities, such as Sarah Greer and Stuart Airlie, strive to revitalize this important category in their own field and liberate it from its previous connections with a nationalist determinism.⁶⁴ In addition, a comparative perspective is recognized as indispensable for our understanding of dynasty-making – as both social action and retrospective discursive articulation.⁶⁵

On the second merit of comparison – theory-making, I think two further theoretical considerations underpin a comparative inquiry into such global structural parallels. First, biological birth alone was insufficient to account for a person’s posi-

62 Arthur Maurice Hocart, *Kings and Councillors: An Essay in the Comparative Anatomy of Human Society* (Cairo: P. Barbey, 1936), remains an inspiration for the anthropology of sacred kingship; for contemporary treatments, see David Graeber and Marshall Sahlins, *On Kings* (Chicago: HAU Books, 2017); and the contributors to *Sacred Kingship in World History: Between Immanence and Transcendence*, ed. Azfar Moin and Alan Strathern (New York: Columbia University Press, 2022).

63 Within the vast literature on kinship, directly relevant to my interest in the intersection between political and familial structures in medieval Europe and imperial China, prove to be especially Stephen White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050–1150* (Chapel Hill, NC, and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); and Cong Ellen Zhang, *Performing Filial Piety in Northern Song China: Family, State, and Native Place* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press, 2020).

64 Sarah Greer, *Commemorating Power in Early Medieval Saxony: Writing and Rewriting the Past at Gandersheim and Quedlinburg* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021); Stuart Airlie, *Making and Unmaking the Carolingians: 751–888* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2020); and Dušan Zupka, “Medieval Dynasties in Medieval Studies: A Historiographic Contribution,” *Forum Historiae* 13.2 (2019): 89–101; online at <https://doi.org/10.31577/forhist.2019.13.2.6> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

65 Jeroen Duindam, *Dynasties: A Global History of Power, 1300–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); and Walter Pohl, “Genealogy: A Comparative Perspective from the Early Medieval West,” *Meanings of Community across Medieval Eurasia: Comparative Approaches*, ed. Eirik Hovden, Christina Lutter, and Walter Pohl (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016), 232–69.

tion within the cultural category of “royal dynasty” or “aristocracy” in general.⁶⁶ Dynasty-making required more than producing male offspring at every generation. In my two cases, family members could sometimes be the most dangerous political competitors – and binding customs, such as the concept of primogeniture, had their origins in this lasting concern. To make and maintain a political dynasty required economic transaction, commemorative ritual performances, and, as this comparison concentrates on, a discursive articulation to reconcile conflicting hierarchical logics. The second consideration that underpins comparative inquiry here is that the very existence of that social category of “royal dynasty” depended on the persistence of the hierarchical consciousness which brought about the category, and which made such a category appealing to other political players with influence and resources, like the regional strongmen in the Chinese case above. Therefore, when the ancestral deeds or status were at variance with the cultural and institutional expectations, even the hierarchical superordinate had to acquiesce to occasional revisions of the past in their formal communications.

The gap between social action and the retrospective verbal recognition is a key concern in the field of cultural memory studies.⁶⁷ I believe that using cultural memory in history is more fruitful when supplemented by a rigorous study of the evolving communication networks within which textual formulation of the past was reproduced and adopted across time.⁶⁸ Levi Roach’s study on post-Carolingian forgery of diplomas⁶⁹ and Ari Daniel Levine’s articles on the Song official-scholars’ writings on urban space⁷⁰ have shown how powerful a synthetic analysis of both political infrastructure and documents can be. The former conditioned the circula-

66 Jelle Lisson, “Family Continuity and Territorial Power in West Francia: A Reconsideration of the ‘House’ of Vermandois (Ninth to Tenth Centuries),” *Journal of Family History* 43.2 (2018): 107–26; online at <https://doi.org/10.1177/0363199017746450> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

67 On the historical memory of the Carolingian past, see Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994); and the contributions to *Using and Not Using the Past after the Carolingian Empire: C. 900–C. 1050*, ed. Sarah Greer, Alice Hicklin, and Stefan Esders (Abingdon, Oxfordshire, and New York: Routledge, 2019).

68 On a brilliant study of the political information system in Song China, see Hilde De Weerdt, *Information, Territory, and Networks: The Crisis and Maintenance of Empire in Song China* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015).

69 Roach, *Forgery and Memory* (see note 16).

70 Ari Daniel Levine, “Jiyizhong de jianyi: Songdai biji suo fanying de Kaifeng Kaibao sita he Tianqing si ta” 記憶中的建築：宋代筆記所反映的開封開寶寺塔和天清寺塔 [The Architecture of Memory: Reflections of Kaifeng’s Kaibao Monastery and Tianqing Monastery Pagodas in Song-dynasty Notebooks], *Xin Songxue* 新宋學 8 (2019): 85–103; and Ari Daniel Levine, “Walls and Gates, Windows and Mirrors: Urban Defenses, Cultural Memory, and Security Theater in Song Kaifeng,” *East Asian Science, Technology, and Medicine* 39 (2014): 55–118.

tion of information, and the latter substantiated the memory-bearers' institutional identities.

This telling parallel between places as different as eleventh-century France and post-Tang China furthermore invites a reflection on the relationship between historiographical periodization and the logic of cultural memory (re-)production. The combination between political fragmentation and cultural-institutional continuation was conducive to renegotiating elite social relations and even introduced new factors into those social relations. In Lévi-Strauss's language,⁷¹ it is a bricolage period – that of political fragmentation – followed by an engineering period – that of reunification and consolidation. Elements of a reconfigured social order became explicit during this period of transition.

For the concept of bricolage, a bricoleur's familiarity with the toolbox is necessary. Similarly, most of these new elements in the two cases did not come out of a vacuum. Rather, they resurfaced from the repository of cultural texts – held together not by a formal institution but rather through culture-specific means of knowledge transmission and identity production. Therefore, even during a period of seemingly total institutional breakdown – so were the 880s considered by multiple writers in service of the Carolingian or the Tang – the discourse of authority persisted as a central orientation of the two political cultures.

On the third point of comparative merit, two differences between my two cases shed light on their respective cultural particularities and suggest directions for future departure. First, Raoul Glaber's strategy – dissociating a problematic ancestor from the Capetian dynasty – was conditioned by the relatively early stage of normalization of a royal dynasty. The gradual routinization of the Capetian self-presentation made such a strategy of history writing more and more unlikely for the historical memories of later Capetian kings.⁷² Put simply, once a thing has been said or written "out loud" too many times, a revision becomes untenable. William Chester Jordan's recent chapter points out the hierarchical significance an anticipatory coronation had for a junior king's status in the Capetian genealogy writing.⁷³ The dynastic line and royal office became virtually inseparable from the mid-

71 Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Wild Thought: A New Translation of "La Pensée Sauvage,"* trans. Jeffrey Mehlman and John Leavitt (1962; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021).

72 Andrew W. Lewis, "Anticipatory Association of the Heir in Early Capetian France," *The American Historical Review* 83.4 (1978): 906–27; online at <https://doi.org/10.2307/1867651> (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

73 William Chester Jordan, "The Historical Afterlife of Two Capetian Co-Kings Who Predeceased Their Fathers," *Louis VII and His World*, ed. Michael Bardot and Laurence Marvin. Later Medieval Europe, 18 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 114–25; online at https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004368002_010 (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

twelfth century onward, especially after St-Denis under Suger's tenure had become the royal necropolis and dynastic cultic center.⁷⁴ Post-Tang political dynasties, by contrast, operated within a centuries-long political culture in which the merging of dynastic and royal identities was more commonplace – even “understood” in the covert sense of that term – and which manifested in imperial public rituals which commemorated both dynastic ancestors and imperial predecessors.⁷⁵

Such rigorous ritual protocols and frequent formal communication concerning ancestral commemoration made it difficult if not impossible for an offspring to write an ancestor *out* of the dynasty. On the other hand, the confluence of the institutional and dynastic identities sanctioned the “dream team” mode of cultural forgery of one's ancestry – of which Qian Liu made good use. This dream team mode specifically had its tenth-century European parallel, arguably, *not* in the royal dynastic memory – a relatively young category here – but in saints' lives.⁷⁶ Anna Taylor's treatment of the afterlife of St Dionysius in monastic composition of epic-lives provides an elegant example.⁷⁷

The second difference is that the memory-producing institutions or individuals had a much more autonomous position in post-Carolingian Francia than in post-Tang China. In addition, Raoul Glaber's personal theology was discernable in his writing. However, the above texts concerning Qian Liu's ancestral memory were all produced by a small group of scholar-officials, steeped in classical learning and well-versed in political formularies. Neither did the location of their composition nor their personal value commitment matter much in this mode of political communication. This standardized production of cultural personas – with reference to nothing but their hierarchical position and historical analogies – was so successful that individual personalities were difficult to discern in imperial Chinese biographies, in both official historiographical compilations and family-initiated commemorative texts.⁷⁸

74 Gabrielle M. Spiegel, “The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship,” *Journal of Medieval History* 1.1 (1975): 43–69; online at [https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-4181\(75\)90031-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/0304-4181(75)90031-7) (last accessed on Dec. 1, 2022).

75 Liao Yifang 廖宜方, *Wangquan de jidian: Chuantong zhongguo de diwang chongbai* 王權的祭典：傳統中國的帝王崇拜 [*The Great Chain of Kings: Emperor Worship in Imperial China*] (Taipei: 國立臺灣大學出版中心 [National Taiwan University Press], 2020).

76 For a survey of scholarship on the “rewriting” of saint's lives, see Greer, *Commemorating Power* (see note 63); here 3–16.

77 Anna Lisa Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800–1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 52–107.

78 Denis Crispin Twitchett, “Problems of Chinese Biography,” *Confucian Personalities*, ed. Arthur Wright and Denis Crispin Twitchett (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1962), 24–39; for the two modes – commemorative and official – of Chinese biographies, see Timothy M. Davis, *En-*

To summarize, the two political dynasties under comparison, i.e., the Capetians and the Qian clan, allowed or encouraged their ancestral memories to be adjusted in order to conform to the political culture cultivated by the preceding dynasties, the Carolingian and the Tang. In so doing, they were similar in important ways. They shared the hierarchical assumptions that ancestry and institutional positions were the two main sources for claiming authority. Both dynasties reformulated their ancestral deeds or identities to preserve the discourse of authority and gave their nascent polities desirable historical depth and institutional frames. At the same time, such a juxtaposition makes explicit two differences between post-Carolingian Francia and post-Tang China.

First, the post-Tang hierarchical logic of combining the royal office and the dynasty was more established than its counterpart in post-Carolingian Francia. As a result, Raoul Glaber's discursive strategy – writing a royal ancestor out – was not a cultural option in post-Tang China. Second, memory-producing institutions were more autonomous in Capetian France than post-Tang China. Early Capetian writers, though coexisting in the same royal hierarchy, maintained divergent narratives of the recent past. Post-Tang writers, on the other hand, though belonging to different polities, collaborated and presented regional leaders like Qian Liu in a similar way.

I hope this chapter has made a case for the merits of cross-cultural comparison as a constructive approach to substantiate our gradually more globalized understanding of the pre-modern era.

Abel Lorenzo-Rodríguez

Scalping Saint Peter's Head: An Interreligious Controversy over a Punishment from Baghdad to Rome (Eighth to Twelfth Centuries)

Abstract: Saint Peter was an Apostle, hence a key figure in the history of the Christian Church. The interest in his life and death in Islam was based on his proximity to Jesus (ʿĪsā), his attribution to some religious and geographical texts in Arabic, and, finally, on the relevance of Rome for Christians (one of the former capitals of the ancient world, but also the most important place of martyrdom in the West due to the execution of Saint Paul and Saint Peter there). In the popular imagination about past punishments, Saint Peter's execution was remembered throughout the centuries as a foundational moment, but understood and interpreted via different legal and penal systems. In these regards, the deeds of Saint Peter became globally known and were discussed from Baghdad to Rome. The purpose of this study is to define the possibilities of identifying a global perspective in Medieval Studies via an analysis of various forms of punishments and hence of types of identity practiced by neighboring cultures. The term 'global' is here understood as the long-distance exchange of information about executions, martyrdoms, and punishment functioning as a connector of collective identity. Two medieval Islamicate geographers, Ibn Rusta (ninth century) and al-Bakrī (eleventh century), offered descriptions of Rome and of the Christian worship of Saint Peter's corpse: every year the pope cut the beard, hair, and nails of the saint sharing with Romans his remains.

Christians and Muslims used the *decalvatio* – or scalping the head – as a humiliating punishment for criminals, but this legal measure also appeared in Saint Peter's martyrdom. The saint's scalped head became a symbol of the late Roman penal system, but also a representation of Islamic and Christian legal systems, since both head scalping entailed a form of public punishment. Both Muslims and Christians found Saint Peter's martyrdom appealing for different reasons: whereas for Muslims it triggered their religious curiosity, for Christians it was a serious worship matter. Both communities shared much information about martyrdom and penal systems during the early Middle Ages from Baghdad to al-Andalus via Rome. Both religious groups responded to *decalvatio* in this process with worship, imitation, and re-enactment of Saint Peter's life and death when they became the basis for a

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global debate from Passionaries to Christian-Arabic glossaries, and mainly in geographical (mis)information about Christians from Europe.

Keywords: Punishment and torture, *decalvatio*, Muslim geographers, relics, Rome, papacy, early Middle Ages

Introduction

Since the ninth century, Muslim geographers increasingly provided marginal information about religious controversies over relics and hagiography from western Christian Europe and lands neighboring al-Andalus, like Italy. Rome was one of the best-known Christian sites, a symbol of ancient Roman culture, yet also possessing renewed influence as the Eternal City due to the power which the Church exerted. Muslim geographers discussed Rome as a location determined by antique references without possessing much factual knowledge because of the limited Muslim diplomacy with the Holy See and the result of violent events (Rome was sacked by Arab troops in 846).¹ Even more, the idea of Rome-Roman represented a huge space assimilated, at first, with Eastern Roman Empire, more than with the “original” Rome in Italy.²

The former capital of the “known world” during antiquity was seen by the Arabs as a central place determined by the authority of the pope, but also as a confusing reality of some Christian traditions with relics. For example, Ibn Rusta described how Christians in Rome yearly cut the hair and nails from Saint Peter’s corpse, thus simulating the punishments which Romans had inflicted on Saint Peter, by shaving, or scalping his beard and hair.³ Such practice eventually relates

¹ For a general big picture on how Arabs were seen by Christians in the period, cf. John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 71–105. About what is understood here for Islam, see the definition of Brian Catlos: “Islamic unity was derived from the use of a common language, a common religio-intellectual framework, compatible institutions, and a moral and social consensus that emerged organically out of the overlapping economic and political relationships that held the dār al-Islām – the “abode” or “world of Islam” – together,” Brian A. Catlos, *Muslims of Medieval Latin Christendom, c.1050–1614* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 3.

² Koray Durak, “Who are the Romans? The Definition of Bilād al-Rūm (Land of the Romans),” *Medieval Islamic Geographies, Journal of Intercultural Studies* 31.3 (2010): 285–98.

³ A point of procedure: whether Apostle Peter died in Rome or, even more, whether Peter really existed or not, does not matter for us, but what is important here is the public and enduring belief about the saint, the hagiography, and the relationship between Rome and Muslims. My purpose here is not a religious inquiry about St. Peter’s location or real life, but an approximation about how different societies interpreted the historical narratives.

to a variety of different penal systems ranging from Roman to Arab: how can individuals belonging to one particular culture understand types of punishments in different religious and national contexts, and how were these bodily tortures related with other traditions? Were the comments about Saint Peter's punishments based on a real Roman penal code, or were they sustained by an Arab legal point of view?⁴

Both the ritual regarding Saint Peter's hair and the punishment attributed to Romans were based on real experiences about bodily relics in early medieval Western Europe but also grounded in geopolitics, as will be subsequently explained. Only in a global way and by drawing from different religious, and political discourses can we explain and understand why and what really matters in the recorded information about Rome from the perspective of Muslim geographers and how theological and penal discourses can throw light on an interreligious global perception. Written Islamic jurisprudence about punishment is later than the Roman-Christian one. In this way, and following Joseph Schacht's hypotheses, late-Roman legal compilations inspired the first Muslim jurisprudence, despite the system of *responsa* (as in Hebrew *Teshuvot*). This included the imitation or copy of *decalvatio*.⁵

What Globalism? Afro-Eurasianism, and Punishment as Identity

The aim of this paper is to shed light on how Muslims and Christians from the Middle East to western Europe exchanged information about their beliefs and rituals during the early Middle Ages in a global context. The term "global" is particularly useful to explore long-distance contacts from trade to ideology, from human movements across the world to the dynamics of religion, but it will be here applied to underline

I am extremely grateful to Prof. Albrecht Classen and Prof. Laura Lojo for their comments and corrections during the revision of this chapter, all remaining mistakes are, of course mine. I also thank the encouraging comments by Prof. Karen Pinto who helped me to avoid errors with Arabic names and other matter. Also, I thank the inspirational work of all participants in the 20th International Symposium, Medieval and Early Modern Studies: Globalism and Meeting Foreign Worlds in the Pre-Modern Era, held at the University of Arizona, Tucson, May 2022.

4 There are problems about legal foundations, especially after the Prophet Muhammad's grandson Hussein and his beheading. "One of the reasons why it is difficult to generalize about Islamic legal development is that in the centuries following Muhammad's death four major schools of Islamic law emerged, each with different interpretations of the law," Michel P. Roth, *An Eye for an Eye: A Global History of Crime and Punishment* (London: Reaktion Books, 2014), 65.

5 Joseph Schacht, *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press 1950), 100.

the relevance of penal information and tradition in the respective cultures under examination.⁶ In addition, “global” relates to *globus* and to its present relevance in our interconnected world, spanning from the medieval symbol of power (*globus cruciger*) to the modern conception of geography as globus-world.⁷ The early medieval period was understood in the past only as an European matter, so European scholars worked mainly with Latin sources. However, East-West and North-South contacts, traveling and exchange of information were more common than we would think as Michael McCormick has shown in his famous study on sixth to tenth centuries Europe.⁸ This chapter aims to consider a new way to connect the “known world”

6 On the early medieval period (ca. 500–ca. 1000), see *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages*, ed. Erik Hermanns. Arc Humanities Press Companions (Leeds: Arc Humanities Press; Amsterdam University Press, 2020); cf. also the contributions to *Global Medieval Contexts 500–1500: Connections and Comparisons*, ed. Kimberly Klimek, Pamela L. Troyer, Sarah Davis-Secord, and Bryan C. Keene (New York: Routledge, 2021); Geraldine Heng, *The Global Middle Ages: An Introduction*. Elements in the Global Middle Ages (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021). On the global Middle Ages via manuscripts, see the contributions to *Toward a Global Middle Ages: Encountering the World through Illuminated Manuscripts*, ed. Bryan C. Keene (Los Angeles, CA: The Paul Getty Museum, 2019). See also Catherine Holmes and Naomi Standen, “Introduction: Towards a Global Middle Ages,” *Past & Present* 238. 13, (2018): 1–44; Peter Frankopan, “Why We Need to Think About the Global Middle Ages,” *Journal of Medieval Worlds* 1.1 (2019): 5–10. One of the newest contributions is Michael Borgolte, *Die Welten des Mittelalters: Globalgeschichte eines Jahrtausends* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2022). For critical comments on this study, see Albrecht Classen in the Introduction to this volume. Robert I. Moore argues that there is a Eurasian “distinct and coherent” context concerning the term “medieval” in Global Studies. He also claims that the problem with *medieval* as a category is quite similar to the terms *feudal/feudalism* in the past. Over the last few decades, two major research trends appeared in Historical Studies: first, focusing on concrete microregional or local studies; the other, pursuing great global points of views concentrating on trade, cities (or urban life), and even plagues like microbial unification around the world [“unification microbienne du monde”], following Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie’s own words in his article, “Un concept: L’unification microbienne du monde (XVI^e–XVII^e siècles),” *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Geschichte* 23 (1973): 627–96. Robert I. Moore, “A Global Middle Ages?,” *The Prospect of Global History*, ed. James Belich, John Darwin, Margret Frenz, and Chris Wickham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 80–92. See, for an expansive bibliography and comprehensive discussion of the current issues at stake (with many concrete examples), Albrecht Classen’s introduction to this volume.

7 The idea is based on a philosophical point of view from Peter Sloterdijk’s philosophical perception as developed in the *Spheres* (*Sphären*) trilogy, originally published in German; see the translation in English: Peter Sloterdijk, *Bubbles: Spheres*. Volume I: *Microspherology*, trans. Wieland Hoban (1998; Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2011); id., *Globes: Spheres*. Volume II: *Macrospherology*, trans. Wieland Hoban (1999; Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2014); id., *Foams: Spheres*. Volume III: *Plural Spherology*, trans. Wieland Hoban (2004; Los Angeles, CA: Semiotext(e), 2016).

8 McCormick analyzed the sociology and economy during that period and long-distance consequences, Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, A.D. 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

with different societies, religions, and political systems, thus crossing the national and political borders which limit our knowledge.⁹ The dissemination of information is not unidirectional; instead there is an interesting mutual influence, particularly with the example of long-distance references to the punishment, hagiography, religious controversy, and dispute with geographical and religious texts.

Execution and punishment procedures have often served the purpose of establishing religious and ethnic differences, despite the similarities between cultures and societies. The English long-drop gallows, the French guillotine, the Spanish *garrote* or the more modern USA electric chair or lethal injection are only some examples from modern history that confirm the former medieval use of punishment as an identifier for specific societies but also as a taxonomy to date different periods. More interestingly, punishment or body penalties could be studied in order to learn how different ways to punish are accepted or criticized in different societies for symbolical or religious reasons.

For example, in early medieval Iberia and Northern Africa, shaving the head was strictly linked with humiliation, penance, and punishment but also identity in Berber groups. Shaving the head was considered a public visual gesture, emulated, and adapted with different goals from Muslim to Christian rulers, like the judges of Castile. In the case of Saint Peter, the difference between being bald or being tonsured/scalped had a profound significance, following Maribel Fierro's own words about the topic: "the second evokes rituality and sacrality, while the first belongs to the realm of the profane." The problem of shaving the head and its interpretation pertained to a larger legal and religious context during these centuries, as Christian Lange explained in his pioneering research about the resources and foundation of early legal Muslim punishments. Shaving the head and the beard was understood as a bodily mutilation, used in great political parades as rituals of victory and in simpler judicial processes like whipping the head, with similar consequences to those of scalping one's head.¹⁰ In the Sunnah, cutting the hair is a mark of purity after sexual pollution ("Ali said: On that account I treated my head (hair) as an enemy, meaning I cut my hair. He used to cut the hair (of his head). May Allah be pleased with him") or a public element of religious distinction ("Allah's Messenger

⁹ The term "known world" used to refer in medieval times to Europe, Africa, and Asia, following the T-O Isidorian map is still effective today in some global histories, relying on the neologism *Eufrasien*. Borgolte, *Die Welten des Mittelalters* (see note 6), 75–302.

¹⁰ Maribel Fierro, "Two Castilian Political Myths and al-Andalus," *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies* 7.1 (2015): 18–43; here 18–22. Christian Lange, *Justice, Punishment, and the Medieval Muslim Imagination*. Cambridge Studies in Islamic Civilization (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 80, 225, 234–36. See also note 28 for new references in medieval Iberia during the Muslim period about punishments to the head executed with political and sexual purposes.

(Allah bless him and give him peace) used to let his hair hang down [over his face], whereas the polytheists used to part the hair of their heads” and “The Prophet and some of his companions got their heads shaved and some others got their hair cut short”).¹¹

However, we need a new global analysis addressing the question of why societies changed and imitated these punishments. The main idea is that societies were aware of the punishments carried out by neighboring kingdoms and cultures, and, in consequence, they chose which one to use but also how to criticize legal procedures that sometimes were surprisingly similar. However, if the methods were similar, the purposes were not. Meanwhile, the jargon of authenticity (religious polemics and/or political factionalism) acted to construct differences. The problem was not the similarities, but the different societies who used the penalties.¹² Revealingly, this fact could be regarded as a social mirror. From the seventh to the tenth centuries, conquerors assimilated the social traditions from their defeated enemies in the area (especially Iberia) regarding ways to perform justice. The new Muslim rulers categorized and promoted different ways of punishment within society to underline the differences between the groups, especially *dhimmi* (Christians and Jews) versus Muslim.

Decalvatio or scalping the head is not a *démodé* punishment in pre-modern or modern societies; in fact it became famous, as François Bougard argues, because “les fantasmes qu’elle suscite du fait du rapprochement spontané et faux dans les esprits contemporains avec le scalp des Indiens d’Amérique” (the fantasies it arouses because of the spontaneous and false connection in contemporary minds with the scalp of the American Indians).¹³ It is a global reference, the connection with Amerindians, but not the only or first one.

¹¹ Ash-Shama’il Al-Muhammadiyah 30, Book 3, Hadith 7; Sunan Abi Dawud 249, Book 1, Hadith 249; Sahih al-Bukhari 1729, Book 25, Hadith 207, now online at <https://sunnah.com/> (last accessed on Jan. 30, 2023).

¹² Larissa Tracy, *Torture and Brutality in Medieval Literature: Negotiations of National Identity* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 2012).

¹³ François Bougard, “Le blason pénal du corps (Occident, VIe–Xe siècle),” *La Construction sociale du sujet exclu (IVe–XIe siècle): Discours, lieux et individus*, ed. Sylvie Joye, Maria Cristina La Rocca, and Stéphane Gioanni. Haut Moyen Âge, 33 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019), 99–119; esp. 105–08. The idea of American Indians is based on a colonial and nineteenth-century colonial propaganda, even more spread in the twentieth century because of the cinema industry and its genre of the *Westerns*; see also Polly Schaafsma, “Head Trophies and Scalping,” *The Taking and Displaying of Human Body Parts as Trophies by Amerindians*, ed. Richard J. Chacon and David H. Dye. Interdisciplinary Contributions to Archaeology (Boston, MA: Springer, 2007), 90–123. As to the general context of scalped heads and cultures of trauma in modern history, see Kristine Stiles, “Shaved Heads and Marked Bodies: Representations from Cultures of Trauma,” *On Violence: A Reader*, ed. Bruce B. Lawrence

The tradition of scalping the head had deep roots in Roman tradition, Christian martyrdom, Anglo-Saxon but also Muslim early jurisprudence, as it will be subsequently shown.¹⁴ Even in wars waged during the twentieth century, in Europe or Asia, similar punishments were performed, which entailed scalping a woman's hair for public shaming and humiliation, because of the criminal charges for collaboration with communist or fascist factions, depending on the country and the conflict itself. Thus, our current perception of this ancient and medieval punishment is not so far removed and remains linked to traumatic events around the world in recent decades.

Understanding Peter's Humiliation: Muslim Geographers in the Early Medieval Era

This article will be focused mainly on geographical Arabic sources and liturgical and theological works from the early Middle Ages in Europe and Asia. Despite the obviously existing typological contrast among them, they all served the purpose of underlining the most relevant aspect for their different communities linked with punishment and martyrdom. As Alexandra Cuffel has suggested, the creation and subsequent transmission of Christian martyrdom accounts in the Muslim world were also used by Arabic authors and historians as a mark of impurity or distasteful tradition in Europe as evident in the reference to Saint Peter's relics which will be examined below.¹⁵ The first reference comes from Ibn Rusta (Ahmad ibn Rusta Isfahani, d. 903), who wrote the *Kitāb al-A'lāq al-Nafīsa* ("Book of Precious Records") following the information provided by Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā. He was a Syrian Christian who was taken prisoner in Palestine and then moved to Constantinople where his

and Aisha Karim (Durham, NC: Duke University Press; 2007), 522–38. On the topic in contemporary USA, see Randall Collins, "Three Faces of Cruelty: Towards a Comparative Sociology of Violence," *Theory and Society* 1.4 (1974): 415–40; here 440: "Compare the practice of head-shaving in monasteries, and the emphasis on short hair-cuts (e.g., crew-cuts in America during the 1950s) in the military and in admiring civilian groups during periods of ascetic group mobilization; long hair and beards thus serve as emblems of individualist revolt."

14 Archeological evidence from human remains show that scalping the head was performed also in early medieval England, in the ninth century. Garrard Cole, Peter W. Ditchfield, Katharina Dulias, Ceiridwen J. Edwards, Andrew Reynolds, and Tony Waldron, "Summary Justice or the King's Will? The First Case of Formal Facial Mutilation from Anglo-Saxon England," *Antiquity* 94.377 (2020): 1263–77.

15 Alexandra Cuffel, *Gendering Disgust in Medieval Religious Polemic* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 47–79.

ransom was paid. After that he could travel along the Eastern Mediterranean until he reached Rome.¹⁶ During the first centuries of Islam, periegetic literature became a way to know the world from Asia to Europe, crossing Africa and even Slavic countries. In this sense, the genre entails an interesting revival of the classical tradition, as practiced in the past by Strabo or Pausanias (*Hellados Periegesis* [Description of Greece]) in ancient classic works.¹⁷

The relevance of these first accounts of ancient geographical literature was to endure and became an inspiration for later Christian and Jewish writings.¹⁸ Arabic accounts are extraordinary and interesting in their combination of their world-perspective of “the known world” and regional praise, for example western dār al-Islām and al-Andalus (not only the space and territories ruled by Islamic law, but especially al-Andalus as a point of exchange with Christian Europe). However, the purpose of this literature was not only to know the world but also to gain a particular

16 The only known information about Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā comes from Ibn Rusta in his book, the *Kitāb al-A'lāq al-Nafisa*; see Petra G. Schmidl, “Harun ibn Yahya,” *The Oxford Companion to World Exploration*, ed. David Buisseret (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), vol. 1, 371–72. On his account of Constantinople (not strictly Rome), see Jean-Charles Ducène, “Une deuxième version de la relation d’Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā sur Constantinople,” *Der Islam – Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kultur des Islamischen Orients* 82 (2005): 241–55. About Rome in the Arabic geography, see Daniel G. König, “Arabic-Islamic on the Emergence of Latin-Christian Europe,” *Visions of Community in the Post-Roman World: The West, Byzantium, and the Islamic World, 300–1100*, ed. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, and Richard Payne (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), 427–45; Bernard Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (London and New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2002). About Rome as perceived by Muslim geographers, see Mario Casari, “Decoding the Labyrinth: Rome in Arabic and Persian Medieval Literature,” *Medieval Encounters* 17.4–5 (2011): 534–65. Also, about Muslim understanding and communication with Christian sacred spaces, see the contributions to *Muslims and Others in Sacred Space*, ed. Margaret Cormack. AAR Religion, Culture, and History (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013). About Rome in that period, see Paolo Delogu, *Roma all’inizio del Medioevo. Storie, luoghi, persone (secoli VI–IX)*. Biblioteca di testi e studi (Rome: Carocci editore, 2022).

17 Pausanias is considered the first traveler-writer; Helena C. Maltezou, Androula Pavli, “Pausanias, the First Travel Writer: A Historical Perspective,” *Journal of Travel Medicine* 29.5, July (2022): 1–3. See also the work on Strabo by Duane W. Roller, *A Historical and Topographical Guide to the Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

18 Anna Maria Martelli, *Viaggiatori arabi medievali*. Istituto di cultura per l’Oriente e l’Occidente, 14 (Milan: Luni Editrice, 2021). Andrew Russo, “The North Atlantic in Islamic cartographic imaginaries,” *Viator* 51.1 (2020): 35–43. On the contrary, late antique travel writers from Latin Christianity had the aim to visit sacred places as a pilgrimage, but this in a tinier scope than contemporary Arabic literature; see Scott Fitzgerald Johnson, *Literary Territories: Cartographical Thinking in Late Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). See also André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu’au milieu du 11e siècle*. Vol. 1: *Géographie et géographie humaine dans la littérature arabe des origines à 1050* (Paris: Éditions de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2001).

vision of it, founded on religious and political differences and exchanges throughout the countries and territories.¹⁹ Considering that, Ibn Rusta's idea about the city of Rome is almost extravagant if it is not considered completely in the hagiographical context. I would argue that it implies some knowledge of and interest in "Roman issues" by Arabic writers in a qualitative, not necessarily quantitative terms:

And every Christian Easter, the ruler comes on Thursday, opens the grave and enters it. Equipped with a razor, he shaves Peter's head and beard and cuts his nails. Coming back, he gives one hair to each man in his realm, and this is what they have done for 900 years. . . . The people of Rome, big and small, shave their entire beard, not missing a single hair. They also shave the middle of their head. I asked them concerning the reason for shaving their beard, telling them that the beauty of a man lies in his beard, asking them also concerning the purpose of their behavior towards themselves. They said: Anyone who does not shave in this way cannot be considered a true Christian. And this is the case because Peter and the Apostles came to us without staff and sack, since they were weak and poor whereas we were kings at that time, clothed with brocade and sitting on golden chairs. They called us to the Christian religion, but we did not respond to them. Instead, we seized and tortured them and shaved their heads and beards. But, when it dawned on us that they had spoken the truth, we in turn began to shave our beards because of the sin we had committed when shaving their beards.²⁰

The eleventh-century Muslim geographer, Abū 'Ubayd 'Abdallāh al-Bakrī (d. 487/1094) author of a *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik* ("Book of Itineraries and Kingdoms") must have copied this almost word for word from the information shared by Ibn Rusta, adding some more mis-information about the topic: "All people of Rome

¹⁹ An example was the preservation and continuity of ablution as a religious distinction; see Sally Abed, "Water Rituals and the Preservation of Identity in Ibn Fadlan's Risala," *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 22 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 165–87.

²⁰ Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāq al-Nafisa*, 119, 28–30; the original edition is in Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-a'lāq an-nafisa wa kitāb al-buldān*, ed. Michael Jan De Goeje. Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum, 7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1892). The translation in English comes from Daniel König, "The Christianisation of Latin Europe as Seen by Arabic-Islamic Historiographers," *The Medieval History Journal* 12.2 (2009): 431–72; here 463. The version from Hanna Kassis shows the rule of the pope seen by the Arabs: "Every Maundy Thursday, he tells us, the king (the pope) enters the tomb of St. Peter to shave the saint's head and beard, and to clip his nails. The relics thus gathered are distributed among the people of his kingdom," Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafisa*, 129, in Hanna E. Kassis, "Images of Europe and Europeans in Some Medieval Arabic Sources," *From Arabye to Engeland: Medieval Studies in Honour of Mahmoud Manzalaoui on his 75th Birthday*, ed. A. E. Christa Canitz and Gernot R. Wieland (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1999), 9–23; here 15. See also the translation into French, Mohammed Hadj-Sadok, *Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au 3^e–9^e siècle, extraits du "Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik", du "Kitāb al-Buldān" et du "Kitāb al-A'lāq an-nafisa"*. Texte arabe et traduction française avec un avant-propos, des notes et deux index (Algier: Carbonel, 1949).

shave their beards and the top of their heads because they believe that all Christians that do not shave their beards are not authentic Christians.”²¹ And even more:

Their learned ones said that the reason for this practice arises from the fact that Simon, the Rock, and other disciples came to them. “They were poor people, each carrying nothing but a walking stick and a travelling bag. We (the Romans) were kings, wearing silk brocade and sitting on golden chairs. They (the disciples) called us to Christianity, but we did not heed their summons. Instead, we seized and tortured them, we shaved their heads and their beards. Then, when the truth of their message became evident to us, we shaved our beards as an act of contrition.”²²

But why were Muslims so interested in Saint Peter and Rome? Peter was an Apostle, maybe the most important one for all Christians, yet the Islamic interest in his life and death was based on the Apostle’s proximity to Jesus (Īsā). The Apostles were messengers, and their bodily remains should hence be respected.²³ Also, the Apostle Peter was believed to be the author of a group of texts with apocalyptic content written in Arabic.²⁴

²¹ For the original Arabic text translated into English from an Italian version, see Adalgisa de Simone, Giuseppe Mandalà, *L’immagine araba di Roma. I geografi nel Medioevo (secoli XI–XV)*. 2000 viaggi a Roma, 8 (Bologna: Pàtron editore, 2002), 85. About this, Nizar F. Hermes, *The [European] Other in Medieval Arabic Literature and Culture, Ninth–Twelfth Century AD*. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 69; see also 76–78. He discusses at length certain Christian precepts and rituals without polemical comments. He tells us that Christians have the habit of shaving their beards.” About al-Bakrī and the new uses of his geographical information in Europe, see Tadeusz Kowalski, Mustafa Switat, *Ibrahim ibn Yaqub’s Account of His Travel to Slavic Countries as Transmitted by Al-Bakrī*. Studies in East Asian Literatures and Cultures, 7 (Berlin: Peter Lang Verlag, 2022).

²² al-Bakrī, 205–206, in Kassis, “Images of Europe and Europeans” (see note 20), 16. Gianroberto Scarcia, “Roma vista dagli arabi: appunti su Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī,” *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 49 (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull’Alto Medioevo, 2002): 129–71; here 167. The text shows how Romans appreciated the past of the city (We the Romans were kings, wearing silk brocade and sitting on golden chairs), about this see also Veronica West Harling, “The Roman Past in the Consciousness of the Roman elites in the ninth and tenth centuries,” *Transformations of Romanness: Early Medieval Regions and Identities*, ed. Walter Pohl, Clemens Gantner, Cinzia Grifoni, and Marianne Pollheimer-Mohaupt. Millennium-Studien / Millennium Studies (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), vol. 71, 173–94.

²³ Gabriel S. Reynolds, “The Quran and the Apostles of Jesus,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76.2 (2013): 209–27. As to *Ḥawārīyyūn* as Apostles or disciples, see Gabriel Said Reynolds, “The Quran and the Apostles of Jesus,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76.2 (2013): 209–27.

²⁴ Emmanouela Grypeou, “The Re-Written Bible in Arabic: The Paradise Story and Its Exegesis in the Arabic Apocalypse of Peter,” ed. David Thomas, *The Bible in Arab Christianity*. The History of Christian-Muslim Relations, 6 (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2007), 113–30. Barbara Roggema, “Biblical Exegesis and Interreligious Polemics in The Arabic Apocalypse of Peter – The Book of The

Western Christian Traditions and Wordplays in Perspective: Samson, Christ, and Peter

How could Muslim geographers explain “weird” Christian rituals in Rome? Are these accounts only a misinterpretation of real events? If Hārūn ibn Yaḥyā was a Syrian Christian captive in Constantinople and Ibn Rusta's primary source of information, it is likely that he could have been aware of the Antiochian tradition about Saint Peter's martyrdom in the city during his short period as a bishop there. In fact, the first reference links the punishment not with Rome, but with Antioch as transmitted by a Syrian informant.²⁵ In this sense, the relevance of mobility of a foreign population in Rome during the period of the sixth-eighth centuries and their eastern connections should not be missed in our understanding of the Muslim Middle East, their cities, and traditions.²⁶

The explanation of this has no clear origin today. At a first glance, it could be explained as a pure misconception of Catholic relationship with relics, but there is an interesting tradition since late antiquity that could fit very well with Muslim writings, Peter's martyrdom, and selective theological reading. How to explain the imitation of Roman people of Saint Peter's shaved head? New studies tried to contextualize it with Muslim taboos regarding beard shaving and male idiosyncrasy. In this way, Roman men would be considered effeminate or homosexual if dispossessed of external markers of masculinity, as is the case of long beards. In this sense, Nizar F. Hermes built this argument not only in sexual terms but also in the context of religious distinction.²⁷ However, this explanation about the Romans' attitude toward the saint is not grounded on sexuality but on the memory of punishment: in that sense, Muslims and Christians had a lot to say about head scalping/shaving, both as ecclesiastical tonsure and aggressive torture. The same problem applies to

Rolls,” *The Bible in Arab Christianity* ed. David Thomas. The History of Christian-Muslim Relations (Leiden: Brill, 2007), vol. 6, 131–50.

25 On the importance of Syrian Christianity as one of the main *koine* languages in the Late Antique Middle East, see in this book, Albrecht Classen, “Globalism in the Pre-Modern World? Questions, Challenges, and the Emergence of a New Approach to the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age. Also an Introduction,” 47. Captives from Syria or even Frankish dominions in Baghdad are not strange if we are aware about other captives, like Abd Allah, the emir of Cordova's brother, and “Franks” in-eighth century neighboring area in Baghdad, McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy* (see note 8), 259.

26 Philipp Winterhager, *Migranten und Stadtgesellschaft im frühmittelalterlichen Rom: Griechischsprachige Einwanderer und ihre Nachkommen im diachronen Vergleich*. Europa im Mittelalter, 35 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2020).

27 Hermes, *The [European] Other* (see note 21), 76–77.

the first references to scalped heads among the conquerors of the Visigoth kingdom in Iberia; departing from Nizar F. Hermes, Nicola Clarke affirms that this type of public behavior was intended to shame publicly the warrior, thus showing him as a female or homosexual.²⁸

This is precisely the reason why such early Christian references should be doublechecked since they are not always clear. It is true that the beard-shaving taboo was relevant in a Muslim context; yet this also begs for more complex and sophisticated answers. It is, however, a fact that in Roman times, particularly since the emergency of the Empire, one of the mechanisms used to control the holding of slaves included scalping the head of rebels and outlaws, a tradition that endured in the Muslim penal system from early times, thus intertwining past and present; a Roman (Byzantine until eleventh century) and Muslim understanding of punishment.²⁹

In the ninth century, *decalvare* or head scalping was by no means a strange punishment either among Christians or Muslims (from West to East). Even more, it was present in many legal barbarian/post-Roman codes, especially from Iberia, but it was remembered in liturgy and the hagiographic tradition too. Augustine of Hippo and Isidore of Seville were the first Christian writers who used the metaphor of the scalped head in comparison with the biblical story of Samson and Delilah. Isidore was inspired by Augustine of Hippo who used in one of his sermons the analogy in comparison with Christ:

Agnoscimus hoc loco Redemptoris nostri opera, postquam Synagoga, ad quam venerat, a se per diabolum separata est, posteaquam decalcavit eum, id est, in loco Calvariae crucifixit Quid autem sibi vult, quod proditum est secretum, et decalvatus est Samson? Contempta est Lex, et passus est Christus. Christum enim non occiderent, si Legem non contempsissent. Nam noverant et ipsi quia eis Christum non licebat occidere. Dicebant iudici, Nobis non licet occidere aliquem. Decalvatus est Samson, revelata sunt condensa, remotum est velamentum; et Christus qui latebat apparuit. Capilli autem redivivi caput vestierunt: quia Iudaei nec resurgentem Christum credere voluerunt.³⁰

28 Nicola Clarke, "He lashed his Mawlā with a Whip, and Shaved his Head': Masculinity and Hierarchy in Early Andalusī Chronicles," *Beyond the Reconquista: New Directions in the History of Medieval Iberia (711–1085): In Honour of Simon Barton*, ed. Simon Barton and Robert Portass. The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 76 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2020), 232–57.

29 About ancient and harsh visible Roman punishments in the head, see Yann Rivière, "Chapitre XIII. *Frontes litterati*: esclaves tatoués et crânes rasés," *Le cachot et les fers. Détention et coercition à Rome*, ed. Yann Rivière (Paris: Belin, 2004), 279–93.

30 Augustine of Hippo, Sermo 364, De Samsone iudic. Capp. XIII–XVI, 4 and 5, in *Opera Omnia Augustini Hipponensis. S. Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi sermones ad populum*. Classis V. Sermones dubii. Quos inter qui visi sunt minus referre Augustinum, typis minoribus exhibentur, ed. Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus: Omnium SS. Patrum, Doctorum Scripto-*

[Here we recognize what our Redeemer did when the synagogue to which He came was separated from Him by the devil, after they had stripped Him of His hair in crucifying Him on the mount of Calvary, and He descended into hell . . . But what is the meaning of the revelation of Samson's secret, and the betrayal of his wife, whose hair was cut off? The law was despised, and Jesus Christ was delivered to the sufferings of his passion; for the Jews would not have put him to death if they had not despised the law. They knew themselves that they were not permitted to put him to death, for they said to the governor: it is not lawful for you to put anyone to death. Samson's hair was shaved off, the mysteries were revealed, the veil was removed, and Jesus Christ, who was hidden under the veil, appeared in all his glory. His hair was pushed back and covered his head again, a symbol of the Jews who did not want to believe in the resurrection of Jesus Christ.]³¹

In his landmark contribution to the *decalvatio* problem in late antique Iberian context, Jace Crouch modeled a new idea concerning the implications of this punishment by following Isidore of Seville writings, like the *Allegoriae quaedam sanctae Scripturae* (Allegories in the Sacred Scriptures): “Dalila, quae Samson verticem decalvavit, Synagogam significat, quae Christum in loco Calvariae crucifixit” (Dalila cut the hair of Samson and she represents the Synagogue, who crucified Christ in the place of Golgotha/Calvary). However, Crouch was not aware that the main idea did not come from Isidore but was taken from Augustine of Hippo.

As a result, Isidore's capacity to explain the nature of *decalvatio* in a Hispanic context is limited by his own ecclesiastical context. The relevance of the comparison and Augustine's obvious inspiration through Isidore's account makes the argument more central in his aim to underline the relevance of the punishment. As in many other examples from Iberian patristic literature, Gregory the Great and Augustine of Hippo were major sources, even if they copied or were much inspired by preceding ecclesiastical writers. Both writers established a comparison between Samson as Christ, thus reinforcing the argument with a wordplay in which the term *decalvatus* – meaning “bold/scalped” – also brought to mind *decalvatus*, as “put in Calvary.” As will be later explained, these two meanings endured even in the bilingual glossaries of Muslim and Mozarabic communities.³²

The paragraph above is useful not only to explain why al-Bakrī and Ibn Rusta used the strange rite in Rome (a type of purposeful misunderstanding in Christian polemics), but also to understand the relevance of such rites in later writings.

rumque Ecclesiarum sive latinorum, sive graecorum, Patrologia Latina, 39 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956–1968), cols. 1642–43.

31 Péronne, Vincent, Écalle, Charpentier, H. Barreau, *Œuvres complètes de Saint Augustin, évêque d'Hippone*, 19 (Paris: Librairie de Louis Vives, 1873), 333–34.

32 Jace Crouch, “The Judicial Punishment of Decalvatio in the Visigothic Realm: A Proposed Solution Based on Isidore of Seville and the Lex Visigothorum,” *The Mediterranean Review* 3.1 (2010): 59–77.

One of the oldest references found in Europe about Saint Peter's scalped head is included in Notker Balbulus's (890–912) theological writings. Notker compared the scalped head image not only with Samson or Christ but also with that of the Apostle Peter. Following a similar line of thought, Saint Peter was first tonsured by pagans as punishment and, therefore, all churchmen should emulate his sufferings and humiliation. Tonsure was assimilated not only as a punishment, but also as a crown for churchmen. In fact, thirteenth-century Jacobus de Voragine compiled some references from older times dating back to the ninth century.

We can therefore conclude that the first Christian writer in western Europe who explained Saint Peter's martyrdom in terms of head shaving was the Carolingian Notker Balbulus. The information appears in a doctrinal letter sent to his pupils in St. Gall monastery (Switzerland), aiming to maintain the rule of the monks, especially in what pertains to their bodily appearance. Balbulus quoted different texts from the Old Testament: the life of Saint Antonius by Anastasius, Pope Gregory the Great and his *Pastoral Care*, John Chrysostom, and Jerome of Strydom, among others.³³ To support his main argument, Notker followed an ancient monastic rule from southern Europe (most likely Italy or Iberia) – the *Rule of Paul and Stephen* – according to which the monks should tonsure their hair under the abbot's rule with the one exception of illness.³⁴ Notker established the rule to avoid dissensions inside the community; however, the argument was confusing: on the one hand, Notker found the tradition in Old Testament sources, like the prophet Ezekiel, but he was also careful in relating such a tradition to the Apostles Peter and Paul: "Petrum et Paulum non attonsos et derasos, sed naturaliter priorem recalvastrum asseverare soleant" (Peter and Paul, tonsured and shaved, but bald beforehand), or on the contrary in the same text: "Si autem Petrus non naturaliter calvus, sed rasorio creditur decalvatus, ut contumeliae crucis Christi participaretur" (Peter, not naturally bald, was scalped in his head for reason to participate in Christ's suffering). The legitimation of tonsure springs from ancient Roman tortures and the monks clearly emulated Peter's look as an imitation of his suffering, in the same manner that

33 28. Epistola, Formulae Sangallenses: Collectio B Salomonis III tempore conscripta, in *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi accedunt ordines iudiciorum Dei*, ed. Karl Zeumer. Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Legum section V Formulae (Hanover: Impensis Bibliopolii Hahniani, 1886), 414.

34 "[E]xceptis infirmis, quos dictante medico pro humore contrario pressius forsitan expedit tonsurari (The sick would be an exception when a doctor decides that it may perhaps be expedient to give someone a haircut precisely [to balance] a contrary bodily humor), *Pauli et Stephani abbatum regula veterum testimonia*, 29 in Harry Hagan, "The Rule of Paul and Stephen: A Translation and Commentary," *The American Benedictine Review* 58.3 (2007): 313–43; here 338; also in the original Latin, "Appendix ad opera S. Benedicti. Monumenta quaedam s. p. Benedicti operibus annectenda," ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 66 (see note 30), cols. 949–58D.

Peter had himself emulated Christ's humiliation on the cross, which also lies at the heart of Augustine and Isidore's comparison with Samson as Christ.

In the subsequent centuries, European writers like Rupert of Deutz (1075–1129), Honorius of Autun (1080–1153), Sicard of Cremona (1155–1215), and the more contemporary well-known Jacobus de Voragine in his *Legenda Aurea* (1228/1229–1298) all repeated the same idea. In Voragine's last compilation of hagiographies, Peter's first martyrdom in Antioch is rendered as follows:

For when Saint Peter preached at the first time in the city of Antioch, the pagans sheared him upon his head above, like a fool, in despising Christian law. And because this was done to Saint Peter to do him despite and shame, it was stablished that the clergy should have his crown shaven in sign of right great honor and authority.³⁵

The reading of Saint Peter's deeds in Antioch followed the steps of Christ's Passion in a perpetual comparison. In this way, the Latin words *decalvare/decalvatum* and *mons calvarius* were related. Thus, the word *decalvatum* did not imply "scalped head" but "put in Calvary." Scholasticism found thus a very convincing way of linking Christ's Passion in Golgotha-Calvary and Peter's boldness. Rupert of Deutz partially followed Balbulus's speech, but with new readings. Rupert compared Christ with Samson and Synagogue (or Jews) with Delilah, since in both the betrayal is realized by means of their hair and heads. As a result, the *decalvatio* is a symbol of victory because it is an imitation of torture: "Hoc autem humilitatis insigne vocamus coronam, id est victoriam, quia fidelis illa Domini decalvatio (Also this humility we call it the crown, it is victory which is those with our Lord "*decalvatio*").³⁶ Sicardo of Cremona is even more explicit about the past tradition to cut/scalp the hair of captives and criminals to explain the Christ's death and the resonances with Samson.³⁷

35 Jacobus de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*, XLIV, De Cathedra Sancti Petri in *Legenda aurea* / Iacopo da Verazze, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. Millennio Medievale, 6 (Florence: Società internazionale per lo studio del medioevo latino, 1998), 275.

36 The meaning of *decalvatio* is confused because it means both "scalped head" and "put in Calvary": "Olim namque nazaraei capillos nutriebant et cunctis diebus consecrationis suae ferrum non ascendebat super caput eorum nos contra capillos decidimus quia nazaraeorum princeps dominus christus decaluatus id est in loco calvariae ubi damnatorum capita abscindebantur crucifixus est," Rupert of Deutz, *De divinis officiis*, Liber II, caput XV, in dom Hrabanus Haacke, *Ruperti Tuitiensis "Liber de divinis officiis."* Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 7 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1967), 61.

37 "Mos enim erat apud antiquos, quod captos decaluabant, quos crucifigere volebant. Vnde et locus Calvaria dicebatur, ubi crucifixus est Dominus; et ideo dicitur decaluatus, non quia decaluatus, sed quia in Calvaria passus. Vnde figuratus est per Chore, qui caluus interpretatur, et per Eliseum, cui a fatuis dicebatur: Ascende, calue! Et per Sansonem, cui Dalila caput abrasit, id est quem Synagoga, mentis inobs, in Calvaria crucifixit. Nos itaque filii Chore superius decaluamur,

How did they know it? Al-Andalus, the Eastern Connection, and World- Communication

Iberia was a critical touchpoint not only between Christians and Muslims but also between East and West (as Byzantium, or Sicily)³⁸ with different micro-Christian communities showing a renewed interest in Saint Peter's tonsure and punishment. Long-distance communication is known today via the import of medical texts, as Chiara Benati and Marialuisa Caparrini have suggested.³⁹ At the turn of the ninth century, the Mozarabic monk Leovigildus of Cordoba in his *De habitu clericorum* (*On the Habits of the Churchmen*) explained how tonsure was not a punishment but a remembrance of Peter's authority in Hispania. The explanation about the tonsure is based on how saint Peter broke with the older Jewish tradition, and the Apostle shaved his hair and beard in opposition to the ancient Jewish law in Antioch. Even more, all bishops and priests sent by Saint Peter to Iberia should follow the same ordination ritual in Rome.⁴⁰ Following the same idea in the Arabic translation of Paulus Orosius's *Historia adversus paganos* (*History against the Pagans*) in the tenth century, the Christian translators inserted the same tradition explaining how seven holy men were sent by Saint Peter to Iberia to preach Christianity, following the same rules about hair and beards, shaving them once they were consecrated as priests: "and this is the reason why Spaniards shaved their beards."⁴¹ This makes al-Bakrī's account more understandable.

This two-folded sense of the ritual (tonsure as Church-mark but also as ignominious punishment for the Muslims) is preserved in a twelfth-century Greek hagiographical notice from a high-class Hispanic monk with Visigoth ancestors, who

cum radimur, et sic per circulum crinium et nuditatem rasure passionem Christi recolimus, in qua gloriari et quam imitari debemus," Sicardus Cremonensis, *Mitralis de officiis*, II, 1 in Gábor Sarbak and Lorenz Weinrich, *Sicardi Cremonensis episcopi. Mitralis de officiis*. Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis, 228 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 73.

38 Annliese Nef, *Conquérir et gouverner la Sicile islamique aux XI^e et XII^e siècles* (Rome: Publications de l'École française de Rome, 2011).

39 In this volume, Chiara Benati and Marialuisa Caparrini, "The Germanic Translations of Lanfranc's Surgical Works as Example of Global Circulation of Knowledge."

40 Leovigildus Cordubensis, *De habitu clericorum*, 4 in *Corpus Scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, II, ed. Juan Gil. *Manuales y anejos de "Emérita"*, XXVIII (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Instituto Antonio de Nebrija, 1973), 674–76.

41 Giorgio Levi della Vida, "Un texte mozarabe d'histoire universelle," *Les Études d'orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. I (Paris: G.-P. Maisonneuve, 1962), 175–83; here 179. See also the Italian translation of the text in Giorgio Levi della Vida and Maria Nallino, *Note di storia letteraria arabo-ispanica*. Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto per l'Oriente, 65 (Rome: Istituto per l'Oriente, 1971), 179.

travelled from Huelva (in south-west Iberia) to Constantinople and Egypt around 940–950. In Rome he accepted the tonsure: “the pope, attending the begging from Dunala, shaved his head and cut his beard and gave to him the monk habits.” Already some time before, and after his journey in Constantinople, Dunala was convinced to continue his pilgrimage and embassy in Egypt. However: “the impure people of Agar (Muslims), as they saw him with tonsure and scalped, or without beard, they blamed and cursed him in such a brutal manner that it cannot be told or written, as he testified in an epistle sent to the emperors).”⁴² This information from a non-Hispanic source confirmed and underlined the relevance of tonsure not only in liturgical semiotics but also the sense of infamy with which Muslims endowed this punishment. In her work on early medieval Egypt, Petra Sijpesteijn shed light on how beards and hair were used as a way of punishment in the post-conquest period connected with prior Byzantine legal dominion of the territory.

In this sense, the Egyptian report about Dunala and his punishment becomes quite plausible when seen in his historical context.⁴³ References by other travelers in the same period demonstrate that Dunala's account and claims were based on a legal problem regarding how Christians could travel in Muslim territories. In the *Itinerarium Bernardi monachi* (The Itinerary of Bernard the Wise or the Monk, circa 865) a Frankish Monk explained how it was compulsory to travel with a parchment or seal not to be imprisoned as a spy. As is known, Dunala certainly was imprisoned and punished for this reason.⁴⁴

The integration of Muslim ideas about hair-punishment made the scope of study wider and certainly more precise, because during preceding centuries the meaning, symbolism, and taboo of hair were understood in traditional historiogra-

42 The information is taken from a Byzantine Greek manuscript, *Synaxarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae e codice Sirmondiano, nunc Berolinensi, adiectis synaxariis selectis*, ed. Hippolyte Delehay. Propylaeum ad acta sanctorum novembris (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes-Socios Bollandianos, 1902), 318–19. See also the translated version into Spanish in Fidel Fita Colomé, “San Dúnala, prócer y mártir mozárabe del siglo X,” *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia*, LV (1909): 433–42; here 437–38.

43 Petra M. Sijpesteijn, “Beards, Braids and Moustachios: exploring the Social Meaning of Hair in the Mediaeval Muslim World,” *Al-Masāq* 30.1 (2018): 4–8. Petra M. Sijpesteijn, “Shaving Hair and Beards in Early Islamic Egypt: an Arab Innovation?,” *Al Masāq* 30.1 (2018): 9–25.

44 “But if in the city, or at sea, or on a journey, they were to find a man walking by night, or even by day, without a parchment or seal of some king or prince of the country, forthwith he would be ordered to be shut up in prison until the day should come when he could give an account of himself, as to whether he was a spy or not,” *Itinerarium Bernardi monachi*, 23 in John H. Bernard, *The Itinerary of Bernard the Wise* (London: Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, 1893), 11.

phy as solely a Germanic or European issue.⁴⁵ In ninth-century Kairouan (Tunisia), a *hadith* or legal response shows how scalping or cutting the hair was a legal measure, in this case, used against a group of young boys who were prostituted.⁴⁶

The introduction of the Iberian and Northern African perspective could bring about a more accurate perspective when we understand the complexities of the enormous space that is called *dār al-Islām* (Muslim regions of the world).

One of the most conspicuous pieces of evidence is to be found in glossary books. Glossaries became relatively common books during the early Middle Ages based not only on ancient sources but also with new commentaries that could endow ancient definitions with new semantic contexts. They were mainly written with Latin words, but in Iberia some of them contained Arabic words and complete definitions. In the manuscript known as *Isidorus latino-arabicus* (Codex Toletanus, now MS Vit. 14.3 in the Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid, eighth-twelfth centuries?), the word *calvaria* (“calvary”) is translated as *al-hāma*, which in Arab could be understood as “the top of the head,” but also as “the summit of something,” or, in a very similar way, it is defined again as *hāmat ar-rās* (“the top of the head”).⁴⁷ So, the word *calvaria* had two different but similar definitions that required a direct explanation, and they were related to the wordplay in Latin between *decalvare* as related to the top of the mount Calvary but also with the head/hair. The same problem was based not only in Arabic similitudes but in definition precedents also in Isidore of Seville: “the word skull (*calvaria*) comes from its bald bones (*ossa calva*) through ellipsis of letters, and it is treated as a neuter noun.”⁴⁸

45 Deborah Karl-Brandt, *Haartracht und Haarsymbolik bei den Germanen* (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau Verlag, 2020). Ian Wood, “Hair and Beards in the Early Medieval West,” *Al-Masāq* 30.1 (2018): 107–16.

46 “Ḥamdīs (al-Qaṭṭān), disciple de Saḥnūn. 2. Muḥammad b. Yazīd b. ḥālid dit à Ḥamdīs qu’il avait mis aux fers de jeunes garçons imberbes, désœuvrés et se prostituant. Ḥamdīs l’approuva et estima qu’il fallait les enfermer chez leurs parents et non en prison. Un certain cadī de Kairouan leur fit raser ou tondre la tête et les revêtit d’habits moins beaux que les leurs [Fès, II, 318; Rabat, II, 409],” Vincent Lagardère, Aḥmad Ibn Yahyā Wansharīṣī. *Histoire et Société en Occident Musulman au Moyen Âge: Analyse du Mi‘Yār D’al-Wanšarīṣī*. Collection de la Casa de Velázquez, 53 (Madrid: La Casa de Velázquez, 1995), 19. More examples about this in François Clément, “Variations andalouses sur le corps du délit. Corps puni, corps humilié dans l’Occident musulman médiéval,” *Corps outragés, corps ravagés de l’Antiquité au Moyen Âge*, ed. Lydie Bodiu, Véronique Mehl, and Myriam Soria-Audebert. Culture et société médiévales, 21 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 503–22.

47 Pieter Sjoerd Van Koningsveld, *The Latin-Arabic Glossary of the Leiden University Library: A Contribution to the Study of Mozarabic Manuscripts and Literature* (Leiden: New Rhine, 1977), 63–64. From *al-hāma* derives also the Spanish *aljama*, a very important noun to define the non-Christian political and religious autonomous communities inside Christian kingdoms during the Middle Ages in Iberia.

48 Isidore of Seville, *Origines*, XI, I, 27, in *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, ed. Stephen A. Barney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 232.

In the definition given by Isidore of Seville in his *De differentiis* (About the differences) of *decalvatum/calvum* (scalped/bald head), they are partially or completely modified, probably in the eighth century. The book of Isidore is not exactly a glossary, but it had the goal to make differences between nouns which look similar (lexical, not semantic): “inter caluum et caluatum. Caluus est natura, caluatus manu. Inde et decaluatus dicimus ualida manu decaluator” (Between bald and scalped head. Bald is by nature, scalped is by hand. This is why we also call the person who had to go through with this the one who was heavily shorn by hand, scalped).⁴⁹ Jace Crouch took the passage to explain the idea of *decalvatio* in late antique Iberia, and although he did not quote the Augustinian inspiration, there is another problem in the transmission of the text and the manuscript. Carmen Codoñer, the publisher, affirmed that this part of the text was modified, or it was added around the eighth-ninth centuries in central Italy (following the type of handwriting). Even more, in the same Italian manuscript (MS Vat. Lat. 3321) appears, after the Isidorian works, a curious opusculum with the title of *Curiosum Urbis Romae* (Curiosities from the city of Rome) with a late antique complete description of Rome in the days of Constantine or immediately after.⁵⁰ So, around that period the meaning of the discussion of *decalvatio* and the curiosity about the dying city of Rome in the eighth-ninth centuries were mixed in the same manuscript, while the same combination appeared very far away from Italy, in Ibn Rusta's and al-Bakrī's works, but both sharing a similar connection.

Conclusion

Altogether then, first Muslim writers were partially acquainted with relevant problems of human geographical knowledge and hagiographical traditions from distant territories. Meanwhile, some topics were readapted to encompass new visions and sensibilities; however, the heart of the problem remained such reassessments, especially in what pertains to how Christian and Muslim writers became aware of ancient and contemporary traditions about scalping heads as punishment.

⁴⁹ Translation to English taken from a German version, Karl-Brandt, *Haartracht und Haarsymbolik bei den Germanen* (see note 45), 316.

⁵⁰ Isidore of Seville, *de differentiis*, I, 130, in *Diferencias: Libro I*, ed. Carmen Codoñer. Auteurs Latins du Moyen Âge (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1992), 53–54 and 156. The *Curiosum* is also a very problematic document, as Javier Arce argues, the text is fantastical, the data unreal, and it was likely used as an impressive description of the city and not as an administrative document. About the *Curiosum urbis Romae* (also known as *Notitia*), see Ralf Behrwald, “Les régionnaires de Rome: stratigraphies d'un texte,” *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 150.2 (2006): 743–64. Arvast Nordh, *Libellus de regionibus Urbis Romae* (Lund, Sweden: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1949).

As could be expected in Ibn Rusta's and al-Bakrī's accounts, the pope performed every year Saint Peter's martyrdom, and the Romans emulated it to humiliate their own heads. This behavior is based on commemoration of the Apostle's shaved head, the first accounts of which came from Antioch in Syria. During the first centuries of the Middle Ages, some misreadings intentionally combined Peter's *decalvatio* (*decalvare*, shaving the head) with the word *decalvare* in Christ's Passion, crucified on Mount Calvary or Golgotha. Even more, this intentional lexical confusion was used to get closer both to Christ and to Peter on the grounds of their executions and the constitution of the Church and the "first Apostle." In a (theo)logical or mystagogical order, the allegory was based in this theorem: Samson as Christ, Christ as Peter, Peter as the Romans. They were consecutively imitated or compared with preceding figures, both historical and biblical. This was perfectly understood by early Muslim geographers, whose dissemination of such knowledge and beliefs now proves to be extraordinarily important for our understanding of global connections. Well before Notker Balbulus wrote his epistle in the St. Gall monastery, Ibn Rusta in the Near East was already acquainted with the same metaphor and used it to offer an approximate and imaginative picture of Christians in Rome based on their religious and penal customs.

Maha Baddar

A Global Dialogue in al-Kindī's "A Short Treatise on the Soul"

Abstract: This article examines the beginnings of the global medieval Arabic engagement with the Greek and Neo-Platonic philosophical traditions by analyzing al-Kindī's "A Short Treatise on the Soul." As the first Arabic philosopher and head of one of the first translation circles in Baghdad during the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement, al-Kindī is a significant figure to study when examining the global nature of medieval Arabic philosophy. This paper focuses on one of his treatises on the soul, "A Short Treatise on the Soul," where he claims to be summarizing Aristotle's, Plato's, and Pythagoras's views on the soul for Aḥmad, son of the Abbasid caliph, al-Mu'taṣim. The document shows clear knowledge of the tradition of Neo-Platonic commentary tradition on Aristotle as well. It provides an Islamic account of the nature of the soul and Islamizes many of the Greek and Neo-Platonic references, and does so in a traditional Arabic style. The global significance of this treatise lies in presenting these Greek and Neo-Platonic ideas through an Islamic lens and within an Arabic rhetorical framework. The global aspect of al-Kindī's work in general is that, as the head of one of the two translations circles, knowledge from many eastern languages and cultures, such as Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian, and Syriac, were put in direct dialogue with the Western thinking of the Hellenic and Neo-Platonic traditions. This encounter resulted in the emergence of new theories of knowledge in many fields that was the result of the hybridization, analysis, and experimentation with these older theories and replacing them with more accurate theories in fields that ranged from logic, astronomy, and mathematics to optics, pharmacology, and medicine. In its turn, this knowledge was adopted by the West during the Renaissance to start a new golden age for human knowledge.

Keywords: Islamic philosophy, Arabic philosophy, metaphysics, ethics, the soul, al-Kindī, Medieval Arabic Translation Movement

If one collects together the little truth that each one of [the ancient philosophers] has attained, the result is one of considerable extent. So we ought to be very grateful to those who have brought a part of the truth, since they have shared with us the fruits of their thought, and facilitated our studies into things that are true but hidden, by offering us introductions that pave the way to the truth.

Had it not been for them, we would never – not even with intense inquiry over the course of all our lives – have collected these true principles, by means of which we proceed to the ultimate aims of our study into the hidden. Indeed it has only been possible to collect this knowledge over the course of previous ages, century after century until our own time, through the most intense inquiry, requisite persistence, and predilection for toil.¹

Introduction

“In the beginning there was al-Kindī.” This is how Adamson and Pormann, the editors and translators of the first translation of a collection of al-Kindī’s treatises into English describe him.² Who is al-Kindī and why should we read about him in a collection about the global Middle Ages? As the first Arabic philosopher, Abū Yūsuf Ya’qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Kindī (800–873 C.E.) set the stage for a global dialogue between East and West during the Middle Ages. This dialogue later became one between West and East during the Renaissance. Al-Kindī was a polymath with knowledge in fields as diverse as arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, musical theory, optics, meteorology, geography, medicine, pharmacy, cryptography, and politics, as the accounts of his scholarship in the primary historical sources indicate.³ Al-Kindī was also head of a prominent translation circle that was functioning at the peak of the Translation Movement in Abbasid Baghdad between the eighth and tenth centuries, the output of which was described as “a full-fledged scramble of Greek scientific and philosophical texts.”⁴ In this capacity, he played a pivotal role in the transmission and evolution of knowledge not only into Arabic during the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement, but also centuries later from Arabic into Latin

¹ Peter Adamson and Peter E. Pormann, *The Philosophical Works of Al-Kindī*. Studies in Islamic Philosophy (Karachi: Oxford University Press, 2012), 11.

² Adamson and Pormann, *The Philosophical Works* (see note 1), ix.

³ For a detailed introduction to al-Kindī see George N. Atiyah, *Al-Kindī: The Philosopher of the Arabs* (Rawalpindi: Islamic Research Institute, 1966), and Peter Adamson: *Al-Kindī* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁴ Kevin Staley, “Al-Kindī on Creation: Aristotle’s Challenge to Islam,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* 50.3 (1989): 355–70; here 355. For information on the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement see Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early ‘Abbasid Society (2nd–4th/8th–10th Centuries)* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), and Maha Baddar “Texts that Travel: Translation Genres and Knowledge-Making in the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement,” *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 22 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 95–119.

during the Renaissance. The body of knowledge produced by the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement, which al-Kindī was one of its pioneers, and all the medieval and early modern scholarship that was based on it are global in nature because of the direct dialogue between East and West that was at the core of this scholarship. As to this phenomenon, Rafael Ramon Guerrero explains that medieval Arabic philosophy was the connecting thread between ancient thinking and modernity and that it is only out of ignorance that it is ignored today:

Los filósofos árabes constituyen un eslabón más en la cadena de que enlaza la filosofía del mundo antiguo con la de la modernidad, aunque otra cosa predendan quíenes por desconocimiento e ignorancia, excluyen cualquier valor a la filosofía de la Edad Media.⁵

The Arabic translation and commentary traditions brought knowledge from Arabic, Syriac, Sanskrit, and Persian sources and put it in direct dialogue with the Greek and Neo-Platonic traditions in all fields of knowledge. Al-Kindī's "A Short Treatise on the Soul" analyzed here is only an example of this global dialogue between East and West in the fields of ethics and metaphysics. Theories of dialogism, therefore, inform the analysis of these philosophical works because the medieval Arabic philosophical tradition was based on responding to previous traditions and had set the scene for future works of later Christian, Jewish, and secular traditions.⁶

Because medieval Arabic scholarship analyzes and comments on previous knowledge and ultimately produces independent theories in different fields, scholars of medieval Arabic philosophy should, therefore, be aware of rhetorical theories of audience and authorship and of the overlap between the two rhetorical situations in the case of the works produced during and in the wake of the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement.⁷ Finally, addressing medieval Arabic philosophy from a postcolonial lens is essential because the colonial movements that swept the Arab world during the crusades and in the nineteenth century greatly diminished the contributions of Arab thinkers to knowledge in order to justify the "civilizing" missions of colonizing the East and Africa. Current scholars could address this challenge by showcasing the contributions of medieval Arabic philosophy at the global level.

5 Ramón Guerrero, Rafael, "La Tradición Griega en la Filosofía Árabe: El Tema del Alma en Al-Kindī," *Al-Qantara* 3.1 (1982): 1–26; here 1.

6 I am particularly referencing Mikhail Bakhtin's theory of dialogism as a lens to explore the global nature of al-Kindī's engagement with the Greek and Neo-Platonic traditions. For more details, see Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays by M. M. Bakhtin*, ed. Michael Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1981), 259–422.

7 For an extensive account of theories of audience and authorship, see Maha Baddar, "Toward a New Understanding of Audience in the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement: The Case of al-Kindī's 'Statement on the Soul,'" *Rhetoric Across Borders*, ed. Anne Teresa Demo (Anderson, SC: Parlor Press, 2015), 59–70.

The translations included Greek and Neo-Platonic works supervised and edited by al-Kindī himself.⁸ Within this context, al-Kindī became the first Arabic philosopher to engage with this intellectual heritage, and he set the scene for many significant thinkers who came after him such as al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and many others who in turn followed in the footsteps of these prominent scholars. Al-Kindī was the first to write a Greek-Arabic lexicon and defined many terms from Greek philosophy in Arabic.

The Beginnings of a Global Approach to Knowledge: Al-Kindī's Translation Circle

Richard Walzer describes al-Kindī as having naturalized Greek philosophy in the Islamic world.⁹ In such a role, al-Kindī's treatises provided his audience with a philosophical initiation, according to Alfred L. Ivry, and "an invitation to Islam to philosophize," as Staley comments.¹⁰ Adamson and Pormann compare his engagement with the newly-introduced Greek and Neo-Platonic philosophy in the Arab world to the work of Michelangelo: "fashioning sculptures inspired by just-discovered classical art-works, al-Kindī reacted to the new philosophical corpus in Arabic as he helped to compile it."¹¹ As the first Arabic philosopher, al-Kindī "represents the exciting beginnings of a tradition that was to revolutionize thinking not only in the Arab and Muslim world, but also the Latin West, Renaissance Europe, and beyond."¹²

Scholars differ on al-Kindī's defense of Greek and Neo-Platonic philosophy and his insistence on its compatibility with Islam. Some scholars describe his œuvre as an *apologia*, whereas others insist that he had clear views on what he believed and that on many occasions adopted Islamic teachings that did not agree with Greek

8 The medieval sources include contradictory information regarding whether al-Kindī translated from Greek or Syriac himself, or whether he revised the works translated by the members of the translation circle he headed. See Matti Moosa, "Al-Kindī's Role in the Transmission of Greek Knowledge to the Arabs," *Journal of Pakistan Historical Society* 25.1 (1967): 1–18. Moosa concludes that al-Kindī revised the translations done within his circle but that had no knowledge of Greek or Syriac himself.

9 Richard Walzer "New Studies on Al-Kindī," *Oriens* 10.2 (1957): 203–32; here 214.

10 Alfred L. Ivry, *Al-Kindī's Metaphysics: A Translation of Ya'qub ibn Ishaq al-Kindī's Treatise "On First Philosophy"* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1974), 4; Staley, "Al-Kindī On Creation" (see note 4), 356.

11 Adamson and Pormann, *The Philosophical Works* (see note 1), ix.

12 Adamson and Pormann, *The Philosophical Works* (see note 1), xiii.

thinking such as his belief in the non-eternity of the universe and its creation in time, which is contrary to Aristotle, as well as the resurrection of the dead (the bodily resurrection) and creation *ex nihilo*.¹³ He also disagreed with Aristotle and Plotinus on the claim that there is no will of God.¹⁴ Most importantly, al-Kindī was a believer in the superiority of prophecy over philosophy. He commented:

If a person sets out to consider the answers which the Apostles have given to questions about essential and hidden things, he will find out this: should a philosopher intend to give an answer to these questions employing all the effort which has provided him with knowledge through his prolonged study and application to research and training, we should not find that he could produce a similar answer as brief and clear and simple and comprehensive as the Prophet gave the infidels.¹⁵

Such standpoints are used by scholar to defend al-Kindī as an independent thinker who does not fully adopt the thought of one school or philosopher. He is more aligned with an Islamic viewpoint on creation than al-Farabi, for example who adopted the emanation standpoint of the Greek and Neo-Platonic thinkers.

The Translator as Global Communicator

Al-Kindī's role as a "commissioner and knowledgeable master of a circle of translators" placed him in an instrumental position whereby he was able to be selective in the way he approached the material to be translated.¹⁶ His position on what to translate and what not to translate was informed by factors including the religious and ideological atmosphere in Abbasid Baghdad. In this socio-religious setting, there was much resistance from traditional Islamic scholars to the pagan philosophical output of the Translation Movement, a resistance described as "an atmosphere fraught with theological polemic and doctrinal disputes."¹⁷

¹³ For a detailed analysis of al-Kindī's argument regarding the non-eternity of the universe, see Staley, "Al-Kindī On Creation" (see note 4).

¹⁴ Walzer, "New Studies" (see note 9), 208.

¹⁵ Walzer, "New Studies" (see note 9), 209. The translation is from *Rasā'il al-Kindī al-Falsafeyya*, ed. A Muhammad Abū Rida (Cairo: Dār al-Fijr al-'Arabī, 1950), 373. The prophet mentioned here is Prophet Muḥammad.

¹⁶ Gerhard Endress, "The Circle of al-Kindī: Early Arabic Translations from Greek and the Rise of Islamic Philosophy," *The Ancient Traditions in Christian and Islamic Hellenism: Studies on the Transmission of Greek Philosophy and Sciences Dedicated to H.J. Drossaart Lulofs on His Ninetieth Birthday*, ed. Gerhard Endress and Remke Kruk. CNWS Publications, 50 (Leiden: CNWS, 1997), 44.

¹⁷ Moosa, "Al-Kindī's Role" (see note 8), 24.

al-Kindī, therefore, walked a fine line when deciding to translate a certain philosophical work or certain parts of a work but not others. As such, we can describe al-Kindī's project as one that attempts to create a global dialogue between his audience and the output of Hellenic and Neo-Platonic philosophy.¹⁸ The goal of this dialogue was to prove the compatibility of philosophy and his audience's Islamic viewpoint. Not only that, but he aimed to persuade his readers that philosophy could in fact be used to promote, a point that will be illuminated later while presenting didactic passages from "A Short Treatise on the Soul."¹⁹ The inclusion of such material would have compromised al-Kindī's larger philosophical goal of proving the compatibility between philosophy and Islam.

The process of translation in al-Kindī's translation circle set the stage for a global intellectual movement that normalized certain ideas and creates a vocabulary and definitions that enables Arabic writers and thinkers to articulate and understand new philosophical ideas. In Endress's analysis of the translations produced in al-Kindī's circle, he lists a number of characteristics, or "guide fossils," of the translation style of the circle. These characteristics include the use of transliterated Greek and Persian words; the influence of Alexandrian lecture-course style in the phraseology of the translations (for example, the use of introductory, summarizing, transitional, and connecting phrases); interpretation through a Neo-Platonic lens while eliminating the Neo-Platonic plurality of deities; and the common use of paraphrasing as the form of translation.²⁰ These characteristics, especially the latter three can be seen in "A Short Treatise on the Soul" and some of them illuminate the global nature of al-Kindī's dialogue with Greek and Neo-Platonic philosophy. One of al-Kindī's treatises that set the scene for a lexicon and an entire tradition of Arabic philosophical thought that engages with Greek and Neo-Platonic philosophy is his treatise, "The Number of Aristotle's Books."²¹

18 For an analysis of authorship and audience in the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement, see Baddar, "Toward a New Understanding" (see note 7).

19 A well-known example in the literature regarding eliminating sections of original philosophical treatises in the translation process is the case of the *Theology of Aristotle* (a translation of books four to six from Plotinus's *Enneads*, wrongly attributed to Aristotle during the Translation movement according to Endress, "The Circle of al-Kindī" (see note 15), 53. The *Enneads* was translated by al-Kindī's circle and the inclusion of pagan content would have compromised al-Kindī's larger philosophical goal of proving the compatibility between philosophy and Islam.

20 Proclus Arabus: *zwanzig Abschnitte aus der Institutio theologica in arabischer Übersetzung* = *Muqtaṭaṭaṭ 'arabiya min kitāb Buruqlus al-aflāṭūnī al-ma'ruf bi-kitāb Mabādī' al-ilāhiyāt*, intro., ed., and commentary by Gerhard Endress. Beirut: Texte und Studien, 10 (Beirut: Orient-Institut der Dt. Morgenländ. Ges.; Wiesbaden: F. Steiner, 1973). Quoted in Gutas, *Greek Thought* (see note 4), 146.

21 Abū Rida, *Rasā'il al-Kindī* (see note 14), 362–74.

Readers should be aware that authentic Kindian ideas, and those many other medieval Arabic philosophers for that matter, are presented under the guise of a translation, a summary, or commentary of a Greek or Neo-Platonic work.²² This is of significance for the purposes of this volume because it shows, as I will illustrate later, that a global dialogue between different cultures was taking place in the form of these genres and that, as a result, a synthesis and hybridization of ideas resulted in authentic scholarship. Al-Kindī himself describes his translation project as the attempt to supply what the ancients said and to complete what they missed following the linguistic and other customs of his time language and the practices of the time.²³

"A Short Treatise on the Soul" as Global Dialogue

Interest in the soul has been a topic covered by the ancient Greek and Neo-Platonic philosophers. Both the pagan and Christian traditions of these schools of thinking have analyzed the soul, divided it into different parts, theorized on its connection to the body, and ultimately agreed on its survival beyond death and its re-connection to some divine entity that was called by different names in these different traditions. It is no wonder that medieval Arabic philosophers have written about the soul because these theories and questions surrounding the soul are ones also raised and answered in the Islamic tradition. Medieval Arabic philosophers, as a result, have produced an extensive tradition on the soul in the form of translation, commentaries, and independent thinking. On this Ramón Guerrero writes:

En efecto, el problema del alma también les fue sugerido a los *falasifa* por su pertenencia a una religión revelada. El Islam apareció como una doctrina de salvación según la cual, el hombre está destinado a una vida distinta a la actual, que solo obtendrá después de la muerte. Por consiguiente, el hombre, constitutivamente, ha de poseer una parte que le facilite el gozar de la salvación personal y la fruición de la visión divina.²⁴

"A Short Treatise on the Soul" is among the extant treatises of al-Kindī collected by Abū Rida in 1950. The original title of the treatise is "A Discourse on the Soul from the Books of Aristotle and Plato and the Other Philosophers."²⁵ The treatise was recently translated into English.²⁶ An alternative translation is provided here. In

²² For an explanation of translation genres, see Endress, "The Circle of al-Kindī" (see note 16), and Baddar, "Texts that Travel" (see note 4).

²³ Ivory, *Al-Kindī's Metaphysics* (see note 10), 58.

²⁴ Ramón Guerrero, "La Tradición" (see note 5), 2.

²⁵ Abū Rida, *Rasa'il al-Kindī* (see note 15), 270–80.

²⁶ Adamson and Pormann, *The Philosophical Works*, "Discourse on the Soul" (see note 1), 111–18.

this treatise al-Kindī's responds to an invitation from the son of Abbasid Caliph, who asks al-Kindī to summarize for him the ancient philosophers' views on the soul. Al-Kindī provides such summaries which include accurate references to Greek and Neo-Platonic views on the soul.²⁷ The accuracies of some of the references to the specific philosophers is questionable, however, as will be shown here.

Additionally, al-Kindī takes the liberty to attribute to these very philosophers purely Islamic and even Qur'anic ideas. Needless to say, there was no confusion or naiveté on al-Kindī's part, as some have claimed. Instead, we need to keep in mind that al-Kindī was a pioneer who attempted something that would affect countless thinkers after him and that would put medieval Arabic philosophy on the map, not only as the preserver of Hellenic pagan thinking at a time of Church suppression of it as pagan, but within the translation and commentary traditions so much authentic thinking in many fields of knowledge revolutionized many fields of study from medicine to astronomy and many more.

Scholarship on psychology, metaphysics, politics, and ethics and their interconnection, addressed in this treatise, was no exception. These fields engaged with questions that have preoccupied thinkers from the dawn of time regarding creation, knowledge, the afterlife, good and evil, as well as how to design and govern a virtuous society and way of life. Therefore, when attempting to answer these questions, Arabic philosophers started with al-Kindī, used the plethora of knowledge they had access to through his translation as well as their strong foundation in their Islamic faith that influenced every aspect of their culture.

Thus, they had at their disposal a long heritage of Greek and Neo-Platonic treatises in which the soul was considered responsible for performing many of the complex functions that make human knowledge, behavior, and communication possible. Plato's theory of knowledge, for example, is dependent on his conception of the soul as the seat of both reason and *eros* as illustrated in the *Phaedrus*. In *De Anima*, Aristotle considers the soul to be the form of the body.²⁸ The sensory and the thinking powers of the soul are further clarified in the *Nicomachean Ethics* where the thinking power is explained as the rational power (*logos*), which is the

²⁷ The reader should note that the Arabic philosophers, to a great extent, adopted the Neo-Platonic approach of looking at Aristotle from a Platonic lens. This is accurate in the case if al-Kindī, who, in his account of Aristotle's books has placed the soul between the physical and spiritual worlds, between the sensible and the intelligible. This Kindian stance is attributed to the Neo-Platonic school of Athens and the writings of Simplicius. See Ramón Guerrero, "La Tradición" (see note 5), 4–5.

²⁸ There is no evidence that al-Kindī had access to a translation of *De Anima* because it was first translated by Ishaq Ubn Hunayn, who is forty years al-Kindī's junior. See Ramón Guerrero, "La Tradición" (see note 5), 7.

mind (*nous*).²⁹ In all these traditions, the intellectual and sensory aspects of the soul contribute to both knowledge (in particular of the divine) as well as the soul's sensory powers (that lead or prevent humans from engaging in anger or desires of the flesh) are the seat for all aspects of human life. In the treatise at hand, some Pythagorean, Platonic, Aristotelian, and Neo-Platonic ideas are examined through an Islamic lens and presented in a global language that preserves the essence of these ideas while attempting to keep the integrity of the Islamic world view.

The treatise represents one of the earliest attempts in Islamic philosophy at adopting a philosophical lifestyle as a means of putting an ethical lifestyle at the heart of achieving happiness. This happiness comes as a result of having knowledge, especially of the divine, and leads to a society that is virtuous and a guarantee to a dignified afterlife,³⁰ achieving happiness, defined in this tradition as the combination of knowledge and virtue. This is a Platonic concept introduced in dialogues such as the *Phaedrus*. Rooted in a polytheistic approach to faith, Arab philosophers, starting with al-Kindī, adopted the notion of happiness rooted in knowledge of the divine, but a monotheistic divine, in accordance with an Islamic viewpoint.

The treatise on the soul belongs to al-Kindī's philosophical approach to religion described by Walzer as "a very interesting mixture of primarily religious concepts with qualifications which recall age old Greek arguments."³¹ Walzer also describes al-Kindī's work as including "Islamic religious terms [that] are blended with Greek ideas, but those Greek ideas are only subsidiary to religion and are used to explain a religious tenet in a rational way."³²

Throughout the treatise, al-Kindī continuously evaluates Greek and Neo-Platonic ideas, modifying and adapting them to an Islamic milieu as well as removing ideas that are not compatible with his audience's world view. Subjecting the Western text to an Islamic lens results in a rhetorical exchange that produces a hybrid text where significant, common viewpoints are kept while others are closely examined, re-evaluated, and packaged in a different cultural and religious guise. Such a re-evaluation of the Western text is clear in the rhetorical gestures present in throughout the treatise.

One of these gestures is the genre of the treatise. Despite the fact that the title of the treatise mentions that it is a summary of several Greek authors' views, the treatise itself is an epistle following the Arabic rhetorical tradition of the time. Fol-

²⁹ There is no evidence in the literature that al-Kindī has access to this particular source.

³⁰ Such a though process is at the heart of the Platonic and Aristotelian curricula and are adopted and modified by later Neo-Platonic thinkers, both pagan and Christian, and by Arabic/Muslim philosophers, such as al-Kindī in this treatise., and especially by al-Farabi.

³¹ Walzer, "New Studies" (see note 9), 207.

³² Walzer, "New Studies" (see note 9), 208.

lowing the epistolary tradition, al-Kindī addresses an audience (Ahmad, the son of Caliph al-Mu'tassim, whom al-Kindī tutored) and states that the treatise is a response to his request to review the philosophers' views on the soul. The treatise starts with the traditional greeting, prayer for the audience, and the use of the second person singular. The epistle genre can be either taken at face value if we agree on the possibility that Ahmad Ibn al-Mu'tassim indeed commissioned the research on the soul, or it can be viewed as a generic formality in which al-Kindī packaged his philosophical agenda and persuasive project. Within that epistolary format two other genres are adopted in the treatise, namely *sharḥ* (commentary) and *ikhtisar/mukhtasar* (summary).

Al-Kindī himself, after a traditional Arabic greeting to his reader, indicates that his purpose is to fulfill his reader's wish "by providing a sufficient summary and a clear commentary." In "Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works, Dimitri Gutas defines the genres of *tafsir* (interpretation), *sharḥ*, and *mukhtasar*.³³ The last two are identified by al-Kindī as his goal for writing "A Short Treatise on the Soul." According to Gutas, *sharḥ* is the term proper to commentary, one that is to be contrasted to *mukhtasar*.³⁴ *Mukhtasar* is defined as an abridgment, or a condensation that follows the wording of the original.³⁵ Al-Kindī's goal to provide both a summary and a commentary in the same document does seem to be possible according to Gutas's classification where the genres are described as fluid and uncertain.³⁶

The presence of didactic passages creates a text appropriate for a Muslim audience. These are exhortations that are Islamic in nature that are strategically placed among text reporting the Greek philosophers' views. Amidst mentioning complex views on knowledge, psychology, and the afterlife, he inserts didactic claims such as this one: "[I]f you understand what I wrote to you, you will be happy with it. May God, glory be to Him, make you happy in this life and the afterlife." It is through these moves that al-Kindī acknowledges and resolves the tension between some of the ancient philosophical views and the religious views of his own immediate context.³⁷

33 Dimitri Gutas, "Aspects of Literary Form and Genre in Arabic Logical Works," *Glosses and Commentaries on Arabic Logical Texts: The Syriac, Arabic, and Latin Traditions*, ed. Charles Burnett (London: Warburg Institute, 1993), 29–76.

34 Gutas, "Aspects of Literary Form" (see note 33), 33.

35 Gutas, "Aspects of Literary Form" (see note 33), 35.

36 Gutas, "Aspects of Literary Form" (see note 33), 37.

37 This is a fairly common occurrence in the history of the religious rhetorical traditions that employed the tools of Greek philosophy to defend faith, as evidenced by the work of St. Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, and John Philoponus. The latter was a major influence on the Arabic philosophical tradition that started with al-Kindī.

A process of omission and substitution is at work in "A Short Treatise on the Soul" where the terminology of the original is rewritten using terms that appeal to an Arab-Muslim readership. When discussing Plato's views on the soul, for example, al-Kindī substitutes Plato's concept of knowledge of the divine with one of God's names in Islam, *al-Bareī*, hence developing Plato's theory of knowledge into an Islamic one. In addition to using *al-Bareī* to refer to God throughout the treatise, further qualifications of God in Islam are used to describe God as *al-Bareī*, such as "the Great and Almighty" throughout the treatise to substitute Greek and Neo-Platonic references such as "Demiurge," "First Cause," and "First Intellect" that his primary sources used.

These references are present throughout the treatise and represent al-Kindī's critical attitude toward the new knowledge he was introducing to his audience. By removing pagan references, keeping only those concepts compatible with monotheism, and adding Qur'anic references, al-Kindī, and the medieval Arabic philosophers that followed in his footsteps, presented their own version of ethics and metaphysics. In accordance with a tradition of omission adopted by the translation circle al-Kindī headed, the treatise omits pagan Platonic references. While describing the charioteer, a metaphor clearly borrowed from the Plato's *Phaedrus*, al-Kindī compares the human soul to a charioteer trying to control two horses. Here, al-Kindī omits half of Plato's version because of the pagan references. In Plato's dialogue, the gods have two horses each, both good horses. It is a procession where these pagan deities follow Zeus, a reference clearly omitted by al-Kindī. Another example of omission from the same Platonic narrative is when al-Kindī claims to be listing Plato's qualities of God. As already mentioned, al-Kindī only mentions qualities that are compatible with Islam and omits references such as the four kinds of madness that Plato attributes to Apollo, Dionysus, the Muses, and Aphrodite.

In al-Kindī's philosophy, the distinction between divine and human qualities, and the omission of human qualities with reference to God is a clear departure from the paganism of Greek metaphysics and represents an attempt to Islamize the latter's teachings. Al-Kindī says, "A person may prepare himself with these means to the best of his abilities to become wise, just, generous, benevolent, and having preference for the true and beautiful. All of these qualities are of a quality inferior to those of al-Bareī, praise be to Him." It is true that this is a reference to the Greek definition of philosophy as the imitation of God. However, provides a qualification to that definition: in accordance with Islamic teachings perfection can only be attributed to God, and therefore, the human qualities of wisdom, justice, generosity, and benevolence are inferior to the same qualities in God's essence.

Unlike Greek deities who engage in human behavior and foolishness, God's sovereignty is preserved and distinguished from human qualities. A faithful account of Plato's deities in the *Phaedrus* does not follow al-Kindī's and his audience's belief

system and jeopardizes his project of incorporating Greek and Neo-Platonic thinking into an Islamic culture. It would have also widened the divide between the philosophers and the traditional Islamic scholars already present in the Abbasid society.

Not only does al-Kindī omit content that does not suit the Islamic world view of his audience, he also adds Islamic content. The most prominent of these additions is, for instance, the introduction of angels. As mentioned earlier, he inserts some of God's Qur'anic names and qualities in passages he credits to Greek philosophers. He additionally introduces the Abrahamic belief in angels as an element of Greek philosophy. In his account of Aristotle's views on the soul, al-Kindī mentions a king who, after waking from a coma, "informed people about the arts of the unknown and told them about what he saw including souls, forms, and angels." He also claims in another section that "Plato compared the sensual faculty in man to the pig, the anger faculty to the dog, and the rational faculty to the angel." The comparison is based Plato's Republic where Plato compares the three parts of the soul to three creatures: desire is compared to a chimera; spirit is compared to a lion; and intellect is compared to man.³⁸ Al-Kindī replaces Plato's man with an angel, a creature closer to perfection according to the monotheistic belief. This particular addition illustrates the evolution that the field of metaphysics at the hand of the medieval Christian and Muslim thinkers who wrote under different religious belief systems than the Greeks.

The reader should be cautioned that, while the organization of the treatise gives the initial impression that it does indeed follow a summary format, the unfaithfulness of some of the content to the authors this content is attributed to should make us pause and examine the generic nature of the treatise. In the treatise, al-Kindī follows the following organizational pattern: he mentions the name of a certain philosopher, covers his views, and concludes by mentioning the philosopher's name, such as saying "these were the words of Pythagoras the wise." He then moves on to summarizing the views of another philosopher. The unfaithfulness of the summaries to the views of the philosophers they refer to interferes with the reader's acceptance of the treatise as belonging to the summary genre. It raises the question of whether the term was loosely used in al-Kindī's time, and that much of the philosophical contributions of these authors were presented within genres such as summary and commentary. Readers of the treatise, and of medieval Arabic philosophy in general, should look beyond the generic labeling of these works and examine the presence of authentic content within these generic boundaries.

38 Adamson, *Al-Kindī* (see note 3), 228, 12n.

Despite claiming to be summarizing certain philosophers' views on the soul, the end-result is a hybrid document that is Islamic in organization and tone and that attempts to present Greek and Neo-Platonic ideas as part of an Islamic world view. "A Short Treatise on the Soul" follows an Arabic and Islamic rhetorical tradition typical of both written and oral discourse and that can be seen in Arabic communication until today. The tone of the treatise mirrors khutbas (sermons). Al-Kindī starts by praying for his audience: "May God guide you toward the truth and assist you in overcoming the difficulties involved in striving for it" and ends with a general prayer: "Praise be to God, the Lord of the two worlds, and blessings be upon Muhammad and all his household." This, combined with the religious exhortations mentioned earlier, clarify the real but hidden purpose of the treatise, namely to promote a version of ethics rooted in virtue that purifies the human soul and prepares it to acquire higher levels of knowledge available only through philosophy.³⁹

The close connection between virtue and the achievement of happiness in Islamic philosophy is a theme that is present throughout its history and, in the medieval Arabic tradition, it is covered in the interconnection between ethics, metaphysics, psychology, and political theory where happiness is equated with living in a just state in significant Arabic works such as al-Farabi's *Opinions of the Inhabitants of the Virtuous City*.

In "A Short Treatise on the Soul," al-Kindī addresses global issues that have occupied thinkers since the dawn of time on the nature of the soul, good and evil, the afterlife, and the call for leading a virtuous life and why a Muslim readership needs a treatise on leading a virtuous lifestyle and the afterlife. This leaves the reader with the question whether the treatise at hand is one on ethics.

To start, the literature on the subject denies that al-Kindī had access to Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, and the treatise's references to Aristotle cannot be corroborated.⁴⁰ There is a consensus that al-Kindī's views on the soul are predominantly Platonic and Neo-Platonic, specifically following the views of the Athenian Neo-Platonic school of Proclus.⁴¹ A close reading also indicates that al-Kindī had access to Pythagorean, Platonic, and Neo-Platonic sources, specifically Plato's *Phaedo*, the *Republic*, and *Timaeus*, as well as Plotinus's *Enneads* which was translated into Arabic's by al-Kindī's translation circle as *The Theology of Aristotle*. References to chariot metaphor, as mentioned earlier, are based on Plato's *Phaedrus* and the

39 For an account of how the study of ethics was preparatory to the study of philosophy see Therese-Anne Druart, "Al-Kindī's Ethics," *The Review of Metaphysics* 47.2 (1993): 329–57.

40 See Walzer, "New Studies" (see note 9), and Druart, "Al-Kindī's Ethics" (see note 33).

41 Druart, "Al-Kindī's Ethics" (see note 39).

references to the transmigration of the soul after death is a Plutonian reference.⁴² Druart situates “A Short Treatise on the Soul” as well as another treatise, “The Art of Dispelling Sorrow,” as studies on ethics that constitute a prerequisite to the study of philosophy. She explains:

[R]eason or intellect can work properly only if it dominates the passions, which are represented mainly by anger (the irascible part of the soul) and sensual desire (the concupiscible part of the soul), but which also include sorrow and other such passions.⁴³

In purifying the soul from anger and desires, the treatise prepares the reader for an intellect ready to engage in the higher knowledge available in philosophy.⁴⁴ The soul here, occupies a special place in the philosophical curriculum because its different faculties occupied an intermediary place between the material and spiritual worlds.⁴⁵ Along the same lines, the treatise is in accordance with the definition of philosophy as the imitation of God as claimed by Plato and the Alexandrian Neo-Platonic philosophers and later adopted by medieval Arabic philosophy.⁴⁶ Abū Rida, in his introduction to the treatise mentions that al-Kindī considers the rational soul, once it has become part of the eternal world, it becomes similar to God in His qualities and acquires abilities derived from His.⁴⁷ Here Abū Rida, clarifies, as does a close reading of al-Kindī’s treatise, that al-Kindī does not equate humans with God, in accordance with Islamic teachings. On the same topic Druart explains:

That this definition focuses on the effect of philosophy reinforces the connection between knowledge and deeds. In fact, two of the definitions al-Kindī gives are taken from philosophy’s effect. The first defines philosophy as the imitation of God’s actions. It is immediately followed by the second, “Being mindful of death,” for “in [the] view [of the ancients] death is two-fold: natural, that is, the soul ceases to make use of the body, and secondly, the killing of sensual desires; it is the second which they meant here, because the killing of sensual desires is the way to excellence. This, of course, leads us back to the theme of suppression of passion and suggests that the imitation of God implies suppression of the passions.⁴⁸

42 For an account on Plotinus’s theory of transmigration see Giannis Stamatellos, “Plotinus on Transmigration: A Reconsideration,” *Journal of Ancient Philosophy* 7.1 (2013): 49–64.

43 Druart, “Al-Kindī’s Ethics” (see note 39), 336.

44 In this capacity, ethical works such as the treatise at hand are foundational for the study of metaphysics, a major field of study that medieval Arabic philosophers wrote about extensively.

45 Walzer, “New Studies” (see note 9), 229.

46 Druart, “Al-Kindī’s Ethics” (see note 39), 336–37.

47 Abū Rida, *Rasa’il al-Kindī* (see note 15), 271.

48 Druart, “Al-Kindī’s Ethics” (see note 39), 336–37. The reader should be mindful that Arabic philosophers adopted this viewpoint while stating that the imitation is that of God’s action, not the essence of God, because according to the Islamic viewpoint, there is nothing like God. For a detailed account of the concept of imitation of God in the literature, see Druart, “Al-Kindī’s Ethics” (see note 39), 338.

Al-Kindī's thinking prepares Arabic scholarship for the work of philosophers who adopted his standpoint regarding the compatibility of philosophy and religion; however, through some of the controversial views covered in his scholarship, such as the non-Islamic reference to reincarnation in "A Short Treatise on the Soul," his work foreshadows the more aggressive tension that later scholars were to engage in as a result of questioning the compatibility of philosophy and religion. A heated exchange on the topic is the famous work by al-Ghazali in *Tahafut al-Falasifa* (The Incoherence of the Philosophers) where he uses Aristotelian logic to criticize Aristotelian philosophy and Ibn Rushd's response to him in *Tahafut al-Tahafut* (The Incoherence of the Incoherence) where he attacks al-Ghazali and adopts an Aristotelian stance.

Islamic Philosophy is not Mainstream Islam

In al-Kindī's œuvre, the attempt at synthesis between pagan and Islamic views results in inaccurate claims sometimes. These inaccuracies include presenting certain ideas as Islamic when they are not, such as the notion of reincarnation and the references to the celestial spheres in "A Short Treatise on the Soul." Scholars have described discrepancies in his work as a result of his attempt to present Greek thought as homogeneous to his audience when in fact it is not. Other explanations include the speculation that he depended on summaries of certain Greek and Neo-Platonic works, not the original works themselves. This, however, does not explain the sometimes-blatant deviation from mainstream Islamic theology in his writing.

Despite this deviation, al-Kindī did stay clear from ideas that he believed disagreed with Islam such as creation *ex nihilo*, the belief in eternity of creation, and an adherence to emanation as a way of God to delegate power to the celestial spheres. All this shows that al-Kindī did not ignorantly and consistently combine earlier philosophers' views or that he blindly reiterated their viewpoints. Indeed, we see in the titles of his treatises references to disagreements with Euclid and Aristotle. When studying al-Kindī, scholars should approach his work as that of a pioneer whose work, although not always consistent, is key to the study of medieval Arabic philosophy.

Conclusion

As the first Arabic philosopher and head of a translation circle, al-Kindī is a pioneer who set the stage for an exceptional level of scholarship of a global nature by not only providing access to such knowledge through his translation circle, but also

as a philosopher and scientist himself. The work that al-Kindī started set the stage for future thinkers such as al-Farabi and Ibn Sina. These philosophers influenced future Arab thinkers, such as Ibn Baja and Averroes to mention only a few. These thinkers wrote in Arabic as a *lingua franca*, and by they themselves they formed a global network that spanned the Muslim world from Persia, central Asia, Baghdad, Damascus, North Africa, and Andalucía. In their turn, these thinkers were subsequently the foundation for much of the scientific and philosophical advances in Europe during and in the wake of the Renaissance. An example of work on the very topic of the souls that has gone a full circle from Athens to Alexandria to Baghdad to Andalucía and back to Europe is Ibn Sina's treatise on the soul known in the Latin West as *Liber sextus de naturabilis*, or *De Anima*, which was accepted in the twelfth-century Augustinian circles.⁴⁹ Arabic philosophers, starting with al-Kindī, introduced and built on the works of Greek thinkers such as Aristotle Plato, and Simplicius as well as later thinkers such as Plotinus, Alexander of Aphrodisias, John Philoponus, and Proclus. As the result of later translations, Western thinking such that of Thomas Aquinas and Maimonides was influenced by these very Arabic thinkers in a complete cycle of the global exchange and development of thinking.

A Translation of “A Short Treatise on the Soul”

The Arabic text of “A Short Treatise on the Soul” is included in a collection of sixteen treatises titled *Al Kindī's Philosophical Treatises (Rasa'il al-Kindī al-Falsafeya)*. Published in 1950, the collection was edited by Muhammad A. Abū Rida, an Assistant Professor on the Faculty of Arts at the University of Fouad the First (now Cairo University); Abū Rida also wrote introductions for both the volume and for each specific treatise. Abū Rida mentions that he himself discovered the manuscript in the 1930's in al-Maktaba al-Taymoureyā in Dar al-Kutub al-Masreya (The National Library and Archives of Egypt). It is in the manuscript number 55, which is a collection of treatises on wisdom and is found on pages 63–76. Abū Rida states that the treatise does not have a specific date and contains a number of scribal errors. I have followed Abū Rida's corrections without referring to them except when he replaced one word by another.

Abū Rida identifies this treatise as typical of al-Kindī's style; for example, he notes that beginning and ending a work with a prayer is standard in al-Kindī's works. Moreover, the treatise contains commentaries and opinions expressed by

49 Ramón Guerrero, “La Tradición” (see note 5), 1.

al-Kindī in other treatises, such as his treatise on sleep and visions, which makes it easy to determine that the treatise is indeed one of al-Kindī's works.

In this translation, I have used the paragraph divisions found in Abū Rida's version. Because of the distinctive syntactic structure of Arabic and the fact that certain stylistic moves do not translate well into English, I have broken up some of the lengthier sentences to make them shorter and more accessible to an English reading audience.

A Treatise on the Soul from the Books of Aristotle and Plato and the Other Philosophers

May God guide you to reach the truth and may He assist you to overcome the difficulties involved in reaching it.

You asked, may God bless you with His obedience, that I summarize for you a statement on the soul following what the philosophers have said on the topic, and summarize Aristotle's book on the soul. I would never hesitate to put the most effort into fulfilling your wishes and accomplishing what you asked by providing a sufficient summary and a clear analysis by God's will, for He is the one who provides strength. I say:

The soul is simple. It has dignity and is perfect. Its essence is from the essence of al Barei', the Great and Almighty, the way the light of the sun originates from the sun.

He has shown that the soul is independent from the body and different from it. Its essence is divine and spiritual as can be seen from the nobility of its nature and its opposition to the desires and anger that the body is susceptible to.⁵⁰

The irascible faculty moves the person at times to commit terrible deeds. The soul opposes this anger and stops it from committing these deeds. It stops rage from taking over and controls it in a way similar to that of a horseman regulating or pulling their horse if it attempts to be unruly. This is evidence that the faculty through which humans become angry is different from that which prohibits anger, and because the prohibitor, clearly, is different from the prohibited, for no one thing contradicts itself. The concupiscible faculty may sometimes yearn toward some desires. The rational soul thinks that these are sins that lead to an inferior

⁵⁰ The reference here, according to Abū Rida, is probably to Aristotle. Adamson agrees that the reference is not clear, but states that the argument that follows seems to derive from Plato. For this, see Adamson, *Al Kindī* (see note 3), 114.

state, so it stops and opposes them. This is also proof that each of these [anger, desire, and the rational souls] is distinct from the other.

When the soul, which is from the essence of al-Barei', the Great and Almighty, departs the body, it learns everything that is in the universe and nothing is hidden from it. The proof for this is Plato's statement that when many of the ancient virtuous philosophers freed themselves of the world, was detached from material things, and were devoted to observing and pursuing the truth of things, the unknown was revealed to them, they knew what people hid in their souls, and they became aware of the secrets of creation.⁵¹

If this is the case when the soul is still attached to the body in this dark world (which, if it weren't for the light of the sun, would be extremely dark), what would be the case if the soul becomes abstract, departs the body, and has arrived in the World of Truth, the world where the light of al-Barei', the Great and Almighty exists!⁵²

Plato said the truth and arrived at correct evidence in this analogy. Plato followed up on this previous statement by saying that if a person's purpose in this world is to enjoy food and drink that will end up as carrion, as well as the pleasure of intercourse, there is no way for their rational soul to learn noble things or to arrive at the semblance of al-Barei', the Great and Almighty.

Plato compared the concupiscible faculty in man to a pig, the irascible faculty to a dog, and the rational faculty to an angel. He said that whoever is overcome by sensuality and for whom it is the ultimate goal is similar to a pig, whoever is overcome by anger is similar to a dog, and whoever is mostly overtaken by the faculty of the rational self, whose goal is thinking, distinguishing, knowing the truth of things, and searching for ambiguities is a virtuous person close in resemblance to al-Barei', the Great and Almighty. This is because the things attributed to al-Barei', the Great and Almighty, are wisdom, ability, justice, benevolence, beauty, and the Truth. A person may prepare themselves with these means to the best of their ability to become wise, just, generous, benevolent, and preferring the true and beautiful. All of these qualities are inferior to those of al-Barei', glory be to Him, in His power and ability, because these qualities have acquired an ability similar to His due to their closeness to Him.

The soul, according to Plato and the great philosophers, survives after death. Its essence is similar to the essence of al-Barei', the Great and Almighty. When the soul is in an abstract state, it is able to know everything in the same way that al-Ba-

⁵¹ The Arabic word translated as "detached from" could also mean to become celibate.

⁵² Both the exclamation point and the question mark are in the original. The "world of the truth" is a Qur'anic reference to life after death.

rei' does, or in a manner below His with a slight degree, because it has been filled up with the light of al-Barei', the Great and Almighty.

When the soul is in an abstract state, departs the body, and becomes in the World of Reason beyond the spheres, it sees al-Barei', the Great and Almighty, [its light] equals His light, and is exalted in His Kingdom. Hence the knowledge of everything is revealed to it. Everything becomes clear to it in the same way that these things are clear to al-Barei', the Great and Almighty. This is because we, while in this impure world, might see many things in the light of the sun, so what if our souls have become abstract, have been comparable to the world of eternity, and have started to see with the light of al-Barei'! the No doubt they see, with this light, all that is apparent and concealed, and are aware of everything that is secret and public.⁵³

Pythagoras used to say that if the soul, while attached to the body, is rid of desires and clear of impurities, continuously searching and looking into knowledge of the truth of things, it becomes polished with an apparent luster is united to an image of the light of al-Barei'. This state of light occurs to the soul is similar to His light because of the polish that the soul acquires as a result of purification. At this time, images and knowledge of everything emerge in the soul in the same manner that images of the shadows of all tangible things appear in a polished mirror. This is an analogy of the soul, because a mirror, if it were rusty, no image at all is clear in it. But if the rust is removed, all images appear and are clear in it. The same applies to the rational soul; if it were rusty and impure, it is most ignorant and the images of information do not appear in it. But if it is purified, refined, and polished, which entails getting rid of impurities and acquiring knowledge, the image of knowledge of everything appears in it. The better the quality of its polish, the better would be its knowledge of things.

The more the soul is polished, the knowledge of things is apparent in it and for it. This [rational] soul never sleeps because, at the time of sleep, it abandons using the senses and remains confined [within itself].⁵⁴ It is not quite in an abstract state by itself, within its limits.⁵⁵ [While in this state], it knows all that is in the worlds and all that is apparent and hidden.⁵⁶ If this soul were to sleep, a person would not know, if they saw something in their sleep, if they are in fact asleep, but would not

⁵³ It is common in Arabic to combine opposites to metaphorically mean "everything."

⁵⁴ Abū Rida's clarification.

⁵⁵ "By virtue of the fact that it hasn't departed the body," clarifies Abū Rida.

⁵⁶ The plural, the worlds, is in the original.

be able to distinguish between what they see in their sleep and what took place while they are awake.⁵⁷

If this soul reached utmost virtue, it would see wonders in its dreams, the souls that departed would address it, and al-Barei' would emanate His light and mercy into it. Then the soul would then enjoy eternal pleasure that is above every pleasure obtained through eating, drinking, intercourse, hearing, seeing, smelling, and touching because these are sensual, impure pleasures that cause harm, but [the eternal pleasure] is divine, spiritual, and heavenly, one that leads to the highest honor. Only the miserable, arrogant, and ignorant are those who are content with the pleasures of the senses and make them their ultimate goal.

We arrive in this world in the likeness of a bridge on which passersby walk; we do not have a long residence. Instead, the residence where we expect to dwell permanently is the highest, noble world where our souls move after death, and become close to their Creator and His light and mercy. The soul is then able to see Him in a rational, non-sensual manner and He emanates His light and mercy into it. This is the statement of Pythagoras the Wise.

On the other hand, Plato said on the topic [of the residence of the soul] that the rational souls, once they have become abstract, are, as the ancient philosophers said, beyond the spheres, in the realm of divinity, where al-Barei's light exists.

Not every soul, upon departing the body, immediately reaches this place because some souls depart the body while having impurities and vicious things in them. Some of these only reach the sphere of the moon and reside there for a period of time.⁵⁸ Once they are refined and purified, they are elevated to the sphere of Mercury and they reside there for a period of time. Once they are refined and purified, they are elevated to the sphere of a higher planet. They reside in each sphere for a period of time. Once they reach the highest sphere and are completely purified, free of all the impurities of the senses with their shadows and vices, they are elevated to the World of Reason and go beyond the spheres reaching the greatest, noblest places. There, nothing is hidden from them and they become similar to the light of al-Barei'. They know everything, the smallest and biggest, in the way a person knows their own self (their fingers, nails, and hair). Everything is clear to them and al-Barei' emanates into them knowledge of governing the world that these souls would enjoy practicing and planning for. By my life, Plato has described and condensed many meanings in this summary.

⁵⁷ Abū Rida's clarification: Al Kindī considers sleep pure thought and only sleep for the senses Abū Rida refers the reader to the following treatise in the collection: "On the Nature of Sleep and Visions."

⁵⁸ The reference is most probably to Plotinus's theory of transmigration of the soul.

There is no way for the soul to reach this noble status in this world and the other one except through purification from impurities. If a person purifies themselves from impurities, their soul becomes polished and becomes capable of knowing the mysteries of the unknown. This power of the [rational] soul occurs when it becomes abstract, is separated from the body, and has reached the divine world, is similar to that of the God Almighty.

Humans are strange! How can they neglect their soul and keep it away from its Creator and a pure state!

Aristotle describes the case of the Greek King who was sick; he was neither alive nor dead for many days.⁵⁹ When he woke up, he informed people about arts from the unknown and told them about what he saw including souls, images, and angels. He provided proof about what he saw and informed a group from his household about the life expectancy of each one of them. When what he said was put to the test of time, none of them exceeded the age that he mentioned. He also reported that an eclipse would take place in the land of Aws after one year, and that a flood would take place at another location after two years. Both of these events took place as he had anticipated.

Aristotle mentioned that the king's soul acquired this knowledge because it was about to depart the body and was almost separated from it and was thus able to see these things. What would be the case if it indeed departed the body! It would have seen wonders from the Upper Kingdom!

So tell the weepers, whose custom is to weep over sad things, that they should weep a lot over those who neglect their souls and indulge in inferior, base, vice, misleading desires which make people covetous and make their nature incline toward that of animals. They avoid occupying themselves with looking into noble matters and ignore purifying themselves to the best of their ability. Real purity is indeed purity of the soul, not of the body. The wise sage who shows devotion to his creator, even if his body is smeared with [dirt], is still better and more noble in the eyes of the ignorant, not to mention the knowledgeable, than an ignorant person whose body is covered with musk and amber.⁶⁰ It is one of the merits of the person devoted to God, who has abandoned the world with its lowly pleasures, that all the ignorant, except those whom they had ridiculed, admit this person's merit, glorify them, and are happy to learn about their errors from them.

⁵⁹ This Aristotelian reference comes from an extant fragment from preserved in manuscript format. See Ramón Guerrero, "La Tradición" (see note 5), n25.

⁶⁰ The original sentence is not clear regarding what the bodies of the virtuous is covered with. Abū Rida's note indicates that it may be a plant that is edible but some of its variables are poisonous. The reference could be to fungus.

O you ignorant humans: do you not know that your dwelling in this world is like the blink of an eye, and then you will become in the real world, where you will stay forever?! You are just a passerby. It is a matter, God's will, which the great philosophers have known and we have summarized from their statements: that the soul is a simple essence.⁶¹

If you understand what I wrote to you, you will be happy. May God, glory be to Him, make you happy in this life and the afterlife.

Praise be to God, the Lord of the two worlds, and blessings be upon Muhammad and his household.

⁶¹ This sentence is vague in the original.

Najlāa R. Aldeeb

Globalism in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and Its Refutation by Ibn Taymiyya

Abstract: Paul of Antioch, an Arab Christian theologian (ca. 1200), wrote treatises that were well known by the Christians and Muslims of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. At that time, the Arab Christian Middle East was treated only peripherally by European Christians since the term 'Arab' was regarded as the synonym of 'Muslim.' Therefore, Paul's letters were buried in the manuscript repositories of Europe and the Middle East. His narrative entitled *Letter to a Muslim Friend* was rediscovered in the twentieth century through the reexamination of the works of the controversial medieval Muslim theologian Ibn Taymiyya, who had been wrongly accused of being a strong advocate of jihad. Paul sent his letter to a Muslim friend who wanted to know what the learned Byzantines thought of Mohammad and Islam. In 1316, an anonymous Arabic-speaking Christian apologist in Cyprus edited Paul's letter and re-wrote it in the form of a dialogue focusing on the major themes that had attracted the attention of earlier Arabic-speaking Christian thinkers. This edited version was sent to the Muslim theologian Ibn Taymiyya, who in turn wrote a refutation in his book *Al-Jawāb Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* [The Right Answer]. Shihab Ud-Dīn Al-Qaraḥī and Mohammad Ibn Abī Ṭalīb Al-Ansarī criticized Paul's use of the Qur'ān for apologetic purposes. In this paper, I argue that Paul of Antioch's letter and its refutation by Ibn Taymiyya are examples of medieval globalism because they circulated across many countries, reflected the authors' intellectual and fairly tolerant cultural milieus, and anticipated the rationality of the interreligious dialogue adopted by twenty-first-century academicians.

Keywords: Paul of Antioch, Ibn Taymiyya, apologists, Arab Christians, Islam, globalism, interreligious dialogue

Introduction

Globalization as it has developed in our lifetime is not a new concept. When you consider this topic more critically, you realize that it is the form of globalism that was already in place in the past. Globalism means the connection between countries and cultures through intellectual and material engagement, while globalization is the force that causes changes in these countries.

Pieter Emmer linked globalism to the time of the European colonialism between 1500s and 1800s,¹ while other scholars, including Christian Domenig, firmly connected it to the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.² I argue that the concept of ‘globalism’ could be identified even before the sixteenth century. It could be associated with the Islamic conquests – between the seventh and eleventh centuries – which united the Mediterranean world of Rome and its ancient empire with Mesopotamia under their rule. The victories of the Muslim armies and the expansion of Islam resulted in the spread of the Arabs’ culture, agriculture, and traditions, both urban and monarchical.³

The circulation of Arab-Christian literature resulted in a type of cultural globalism through the transmission of ideas and knowledge shared both by Christians and Muslims. Over the course of centuries, the Christian-Muslim dialogue has been a complex phenomenon. Although Islam and Christianity both originated in the Middle East, in the wake of the Muslim conquests, Christianity abandoned its place of origin to flourish in other places such as Rome and Constantinople. The authors of most of the texts written by Arab Christians in the medieval period were unknown to Christians in Europe until the reexamination of the works of Ibn Taymiyya in the twentieth century. These texts were important yet missing parts of a profound interreligious dialogue long before our time.

An example of the Muslim-Christian dialogue in the medieval era was that between the Arab Christian theologian Paul of Antioch⁴ (ca. 1200) and the Muslim

1 Pieter Emmer, “The Myth of Early Globalization: The Atlantic Economy, 1500–1800,” *European Review* (Chichester, England) 11.1 (2003): 37–47.

2 Christian Domenig, *Geschichte in Bewegung: Das Mittelalter jenseits der Politik* (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2021); see Albrecht Classen’s review in *Mediaevistik* 35 (forthcoming), and his extensive discussion of the larger issue in the Introduction to this volume.

3 Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

4 Paul of Antioch was born in Antioch, which was known as ‘Antakya’ in the various tongues of the Middle East. “Today, Antioch is a small town in the Hatay province of southern Turkey.” Paul became a monk and later the Melkite bishop of Sidon, Sayda in today’s Lebanon. See “Antioch,” *Encyclopaedia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political, and Religious History, the Archaeology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible*, ed. Thomas Kelly Cheyne and John Sutherland Black. Vol. I (Toronto: Morang, 1899), 125–612; here 186.

theologians who responded to his letter. Paul was “the Melkite bishop of Sidon, best known for his polemical treatise *Letter to a Muslim Friend*,” a significant work of an Arabic-speaking Christian theologian.⁵ Paul Khoury estimated that Paul of Antioch composed his letter between 1140 and 1230,⁶ whereas Assaad Elias Kattan approximated the time of writing this letter to be between 1027 and 1232.⁷ This treatise was ignored in the western historiography of Christianity until the twentieth century. Sidney H. Griffith, for instance, confirmed that “scant scholarly attention has been paid to the works of this important Arabic-speaking Christian theologian.”⁸ Although Paul’s works were ignored, his letter and its responses by Muslims resulted in a discursive and lengthy dialogue between Christian and Muslim scholars. However, these works along with their responses deserve renewed attention particularly with regard to identifying forms of pre-modern globalism.

Paul’s letter was a request made by a Muslim friend in Sidon asking Paul of Antioch for an account of his journey into the homelands of the Romans, mainly what the most learned people among the Byzantines thought of Mohammed and Islam.⁹ At the time of Paul of Antioch, it was common that participants in the interreligious dialogue supported their beliefs in a fierce polemic against their counterparts. In his letter Paul did not display any doubt about Prophet Mohammad and Islam. Instead, he used respectful and amicable language along with verses from the Qur’ān to bolster his arguments; however, he demonstrated superiority to Christianity.

In the thirteenth century, the Muslim theologian Shihab Ud-Dīn Al-Qarafi (1228–1285) responded to Paul’s original letter in his book entitled *الأجوبة الفاجرة عن الأسئلة الفاجرة* *Al-Ajwiba Al-Fākhira ‘an Al-As’ila Al-Fājira* [The Right Answers to Blasphemous Questions]. In 1316, Paul’s letter was edited by an anonymous Ara-

5 Alexander Treiger, “Paul of Antioch’s Responses to a Muslim Sheikh,” *Heirs of the Apostles: Studies on Arabic Christianity in Honor of Sidney H. Griffith*, ed. Alexander Treiger. Vol. 1 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2019), 333–48; here 333.

6 Paul Khoury, *Paul d’Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe S.)* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1964), 58–83 (Arabic) and 169–87 (French).

7 Assaad Elias Kattan, “Paul of Antioch’s Letter to a Muslim Friend: An Argument from Universality against Islam,” *The Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 73 (2021): 49–56; online at: https://www.ancientfaith.com/specials/iota/07_paul_of_antiochs_letter_to_a_muslim_friend (last accessed on Nov. 6, 2022).

8 Sidney H. Griffith, “Paul of Antioch,” *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700– 1700: An Anthology of Sources*, ed. Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger. (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 2014), 216–35; here 216.

9 Chirat Henri, “Paul d’Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe s.): Texte établi, traduit et introduit par Paul Khoury,” *Recherches publiées sous la direction de l’Institut de Lettres Orientales de Beyrouth XXIV, Revue des sciences religieuses* 40.3 (1966): 296–99; online at: https://www.persee.fr/doc/rscir_0035-2217_1966_num_40_3_2450_t1_0296_0000_2 (last accessed on Nov. 6, 2022).

bic-speaking Christian apologist in Cyprus. In 1321, this edited version of Paul's letter was sent to Mohammad Ibn Abī Talīb Al-Ansarī (1256–1327), a *Sufi* native of Damascus, who wrote a response in a book entitled رسالة لأهل جزيرة قبرص *Risāla li-ahli jazīrat Qubruṣ* [A Message to the People of Cyprus]. Paul's edited letter was also sent to Taqī Ud-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328), a *Ḥanbalī* theologian, who in 1327 wrote a refutation entitled الجواب الصحيح لمن بدل دين المسيح *Al-Jawāb Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man Baddala Dīn Al-Masīḥ* [The Right Answer for Those Who Changed the Religion of Christ].

Conducting thorough research, I found that nothing was written about Paul of Antioch's letter from the second half of the fourteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century. In 1964, the edited version of Paul's letter was translated into French by Paul Khoury and printed by the Institute of Oriental Literatures in Beirut,¹⁰ while in 2014 it was translated into English by Sidney H. Griffith. I believe that these translations appeared as a result of the reexamination of the works of Ibn Taymiyya due to the adaptation of one of his *fatāwa* [religious verdicts] by some modern armed movements, including Al-Qaeda,¹¹ to justify jihadist operations. Al-Qaeda and other jihadist groups use his controversial *fatāwa*, such as his *Takfīr* [declaration of unbelief] of the Mongol Ilkhanates, to allow jihad against other Muslims and justify their militant overthrow of contemporary Muslim governments. Thus, for five centuries Paul's letter was ignored by scholars and theologians, yet it had already been reexamined through its refutation by Ibn Taymiyya.

Of the very few scholars who have written about Paul's treatise, David Thomas discussed its provocative arguments and compared both its original and edited versions in order to gauge the changes that were made by a later hand. He stated, "The letter itself provoked a stern rebuttal, and when it was later circulated in an

¹⁰ Abdul Radi bin Muhammad Abdul Mohsen, *Manhaj Ahlus-Sunna wa Al-Jama'a fi Ar-Rad 'alā An-Naṣarā: Dirasa 'ilmia min Khilal Juhud Al-Imām Ibn Taymiyya* [The Approach of Ahlus-Sunna wa Al-Jama'a in Responding to the Christians: a Scientific Study through the Efforts of Imam Ibn Taymiyya] (Cairo: Maktabat Nour, 2008).

¹¹ Al-Qaeda, a group of militant Islamic extremists, has mounted attacks on civilian and military targets in various countries, including the 1998 United States embassy bombings, the September 11 attacks in 2001, and the 2002 Bali bombings. See Mohamed Abdelrahman, *Limadha Irtaḥaṭ Al-Irḥab bi Ibn Taymiyya wa matā bada' Atharuha 'alā Al-Jama'āt Al-mutaṭarifa?* [Why was terrorism associated with Ibn Taymiyya and when did its impact with extremist groups begin?] *Al-Yawm Al-Sābi' Newsletter* May 12, 2020. Online at: <https://www.youm7.com/story/2020/5/12/%D9%84%D9%85%D8%A7%D8%B0%D8%A7-%D8%A7%D8%B1%D8%AA%D8%A8%D8%B7-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%A5%D8%B1%D9%87%D8%A7%D8%A8-%D8%A8%D9%80-%D8%A7%D8%A8%D9%86-%D8%AA%D9%8A%D9%85%D9%8A%D8%A9-%D9%88%D9%85%D8%AA%D9%89-%D8%A8%D8%AF%D8%A3-%D8%A3%D8%AB%D8%B1%D9%87-%D9%85%D8%B9/4770560> (last accessed on April 2, 2023).

expanded form, it attracted some of the most lengthy and heated responses ever written by Muslims.¹² Also, Sidney H. Griffith explored how Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* has provided the contemporary reader with a comprehensive history of the Christians within the Muslim world. Griffith confirmed the contribution of Paul's letter to the history of medieval Christianity in the Middle East.¹³ He stated that the tone and features of Paul's letter fit in with the historical conditions of the period before 1221, a time determined by Byzantine-Islam polemics. Unlike Griffith, Jan Dominik Bogataj argued that Paul's work could be regarded as following one of the most irenic approaches opposing the polemical and apologetical Byzantine theological tradition.¹⁴

All these studies have focused on the effect of Paul's letter on stirring up antagonism among Muslim theologians. Unfortunately, in the Arab world very few scholars have reviewed Paul's letter and its replies by Muslim scholars; one of these researchers is Abdullellah Abdulaziz Altuwajri, who discussed the response of Al-Ansari to Paul of Antioch's letter. Altuwajri highlighted Al-Ansari's denial that the Qur'an includes verses endorsing the Trinity, the existence of one God in three coequals: coeternal, consubstantial divine persons: God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Spirit. This scholar showed the similarities between Al-Qarafī's, Ibn Taymiyya's, and Al-Ansari's responses to Paul's letter regarding the Trinity and the universality of the Qur'an. Nonetheless, the scholar did not discuss the significant role of these works in establishing a global interreligious dialogue.

Interreligious Dialogue and Globalism

In the current paper, I explore a topic that has not previously been addressed; I employ a historical approach to examine the elements of globalism in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and its refutation by Ibn Taymiyya. I believe that this approach is significant as it will facilitate the analysis of credible and meaningful sources of pre-modern globalism. To apply this qualitative approach, I rely on historical and religious books and journal articles to examine in detail the Muslim-Christian relationship in the Middle Ages and to reveal the reasons for not

12 David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and the *Letter from Cyprus*," *Syrian Christians under Islam: The First Thousand Years*, ed. David Thomas (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2001), 203–21; here 203.

13 Sidney H. Griffith, "Paul of Antioch," *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700: An Anthology of Sources* (see note 8).

14 Jan Dominik Bogataj, "Byzantine Theology and Islam: Paul of Antioch's Irenic Approach," *Edinost in Dialog Unity and Dialogue* 74.2 (2019): 195–210.

knowing about Paul's letter until the twenty-first century. Also, this approach will improve the reader's understanding of the early interreligious dialogue between Muslims and Christians in general and Paul of Antioch and the Muslim theologians who refuted his letter in particular.

The paper covers seven sections. The first section discusses globalism in the Middle Ages and identifies the spheres of globalism. The second section explores the reasons for ignoring the literature of the Arab Christians in modern Church history. Section three reveals the argument and cultural milieu in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*. Furthermore, section four examines the edited version of Paul's letter, *Ar-Risāla al-Qubruṣiyya* [the Letter from Cyprus]. After that, section five gives a brief overview of the time and approach of the controversial Medieval Muslim theologian Ibn Taymiyya. Then, section six demonstrates the journey of getting Paul's letter. Finally, section seven investigates the elements of globalism in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and its refutation by Ibn Taymiyya.

Background: Globalism in the Medieval Ages

The term 'globalism' is defined in the *Oxford English Dictionary* as:

the belief, theory, or practice of adopting or pursuing a political course, economic system, etc., based on global rather than national principles; an outlook that reflects an awareness of global scale, issues, or implications; *spec.*, the fact or process of large businesses, organizations, etc., operating and having an influence on a worldwide scale, globalization.¹⁵

This definition implies that examples of globalism could be scripts or speeches that circulate across different countries resulting in changes in beliefs or practices. The political scientist Joseph Nye differentiated between globalism and globalization defining the former as the connection between countries and the latter as the forces that cause changes in these countries. He stated that globalism did not require a total system; "it [could] instead be productively understood as relative, manifesting in 'thick' or 'thin' and complete or partial degree."¹⁶ Nye defined thick globalism as the complex networks or several intersectional relationships; for example, the effect of an event in one place could cause intense impacts in other places. He con-

¹⁵ *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, online at: <https://www.the-globalist.com/globalism-versus-globalization/> (last accessed on April 9, 2022).

¹⁶ Joseph Nye, "Globalism Versus Globalization: What Are the Different Spheres of Globalism – and How Are They Affected by Globalization?" *The Globalist Rethinking Globalization* (April 15, 2002), online at: <https://www.theglobalist.com/globalism-versus-globalization/> (last accessed on April 9, 2022).

firmed that globalization is the process by which thin globalism becomes thick/intense since thick/ dense networks of interdependence change relationships, as these relationships intersect more deeply at different points.

Nye added that globalism comprises four dimensions: economic, military, environmental, and cultural. Economic globalism includes the far-reaching flows of goods, services, and capital; for instance, the United States and European countries produced low-wage goods in Asia and sell them in the markets in the West. Military globalism refers to the long-distance networks of force such as the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union during the Cold War. Environmental globalism is the widespread transfer of materials in the atmosphere. One of its examples is the spread of the Coronavirus disease from China to the whole world. Cultural globalism involves movements of ideas, information, and religions.

In addition to Nye, Geraldine Heng argued:

The study of globalism foregrounds *interconnectivity*: in the first instance, the interconnectivity of lands around the world whose cultures, stories, religions, languages, art, goods, germs, plants, and technology were braided into relationship across distances that may have seemed vast, perhaps even almost unimaginable, in their time . . . [E]arly globalism involves not just a concept of *space* – how geographical spaces and vectors were interlinked, say, by trade or commerce – but also that globalism exists as a *dynamic*: as forces pushing toward the formation of larger scales of relation Early globalism took many forms for different peoples in the many localities of the globe, and manifested diversely, unevenly, and differentially from place to place.¹⁷

In this quote, Heng explained that globalism means the *interconnectivity* between countries, and this interdependence could be geographical or dynamic. She explained that early globalism took several forms and differed from one place to another. Heng agreed with Nye that globalism is not a post-modern term. Similarly, Alicia Walker proclaimed that “in medieval studies, globalism has come to represent intellectual engagement with and valorization of cultural fluidity, and an attitude of parity toward disparate groups.”¹⁸ Like Nye, Heng, and Walker, Albrecht Classen rejected the idea that globalism is a contemporary phenomenon only; he confirmed that this thought resulted from “a dangerously myopic perspective not based on any historical foundation.”¹⁹ Classen classified the elements of globalism, for example, in Lambrecht's *Alexander* as imaginary instead of factual.²⁰

17 Geraldine Heng, *the Global Middle Ages: An Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 16–18. For critical comments, see Albrecht Classen's Introduction to this volume.

18 Alicia Walker, “Globalism,” *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 183–96.

19 Albrecht Classen, “Globalism before Globalism: The Alexander Legend in Medieval Literature (Priest Lambrecht's Account as a Pathway to Early Global Perspectives),” *Esboços, Florianópolis* 28.49 (2021): 813–33; here 816.

20 Albrecht Classen, “Globalism before Globalism” (see note 19), 817.

Classen declared that intensive forms of early globalism could be identified in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries even before the Europeans discovered the New World and expanded their colonies. These early forms “were subsequently followed by intriguing cases of global exchange, at least as endeavored by western travelers in the seventeenth century.”²¹ Although globalism is related to the fifteenth century, I think that it could also be seen earlier than that time, mainly in the spread of Islam from the Arabian Peninsula and its movement eastward to South Asia and westward to Africa.

The letters between Muslims and non-Muslims, the translations of these letters, and their refutations are dynamic forces of early globalism. I argue that Paul of Antioch’s *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and its refutation by Ibn Taymiyya are examples of medieval globalism because they disseminated in many countries, revealed their authors’ different intellectual and cultural milieus, and initiated the interreligious dialogue. Hence, it is, first, worth discussing the reasons for ignoring this letter by scholars for centuries.

Background: Arab Christianity – An Ignored Area of Church History

It is significant to give a brief overview of the Arab-non-Arab-Christian relation during the Middle Age period to understand why Paul of Antioch’s *Letter to a Muslim Friend*, written between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was unknown for epochs. Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger state, “The Middle East is the birthplace and the ancient heartland of Christianity, where the first Christian communities were founded by the apostles.”²² In the seventh century, the time of the rise of Islam, most of the Middle East areas were inhabited by Christians. These Christian communities spoke and wrote different languages, “including Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Armenian, Georgian, Middle Persian, and Sogdian.”²³ However, Palestinians, Syrians, and Iraqis who converted to Christianity between the fourth and sixth centuries spoke the Arabic language. Although the Middle Eastern Christians

²¹ Albrecht Classen, “Persia in German Baroque Literature: Sa’di’s Rose Garden and Adam Olearius’s Embassy to Persia: Global History and World Literature from a Pre-Modern Perspective,” *Orbis Litterarum* 76.2 (2021): 51–66; here 51.

²² Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700: An Anthology of Sources* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 3.

²³ Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World* (see note 22), 3.

are Arabs, the Copts of Egypt and the Maronites of Lebanon do not consider themselves to be of Arab descent, and they reject the term 'Arab.'

According to Bernard Lewis, "in many Mediterranean countries, Muslims and Christians shared not only the local vernaculars but also a knowledge of Arabic,"²⁴ which resulted in embracing diverse genres of Christian literature ranging from biblical commentaries and theological and polemical treatises to poetry and diaries. Nevertheless, this heritage was ignored in the West and kept only in the Middle East. Noble and Treiger state:

In the Western historiography of Christianity, the Arab Christian Middle East is treated only peripherally, if at all. The popular assumption, current even among scholars of Christianity, is that in the wake of the Islamic conquests, Christianity abandoned the Middle East to flourish elsewhere, leaving its original heartland devoid of an indigenous Christian presence. To make things worse, the term "Arab" is widely, though needless to say, incorrectly regarded as synonymous with Muslim, and so even the very notion of Arab Christianity appears to many to be a contradiction in terms.²⁵

This quote gives one of the main reasons for ignoring the Christian literary heritage written in Arabic since these texts were not available to the Western readers and their translations were difficult to access to non-specialists. When the Patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem became under the control of Muslims, the Byzantines lost their eastern possessions from the Arab Christian literature. "The Arab Islamic world and the Byzantium represented two main rival powers in the Mediterranean region."²⁶ Nonetheless, "the Byzantines displayed a much more accurate understanding of Islam than Muslims had of Christianity or the Latin West had of Islam at the time."²⁷

Between the seventh century, the time of the rise of Islam, and the eleventh century, the period of the advent of the Western Crusades, there was a heated argument between Muslims and Christians. John Victor Tolan states:

²⁴ Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 5.

²⁵ Samuel Noble and Alexander Treiger, *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700–1700: An Anthology of Sources* (see note 23), 4.

²⁶ Adam Folorunsho Olowo, "The Dialogical Evolution of Christian-Muslim Relations: From the Medieval to Modern Period," *Conference: GCRR International eConference on Inter-religious Dialogue* (2021): 1–15; online at: https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Adam-Olowo-2/publication/356184821_The_Dialogical_Evolution_of_Christian-Muslim_Relations_From_the_Medieval_to_Modern_Period/links/618f236107be5f31b7754b35/The-Dialogical-Evolution-of-Christian-Muslim-Relations-From-the-Medieval-to-Modern-Period.pdf (last accessed on Sept. 24, 2022).

²⁷ Jan Dominik Bogataj, "Byzantine Theology and Islam: Paul of Antioch's Irenic Approach" (see note 14), 197.

For medieval Christians, Islam presented a series of disquieting challenges. Militarily, most of the Christian world fell into Muslim hands in the seventh and eighth centuries, and much of the rest of it succumbed to the expansion of Muslim dominion by the sixteenth century. Intellectually, Muslim science and philosophy were built on an edifice of Greek, Persian, and Hindu learning inaccessible (until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries) to the Latin West. The Muslim world developed a thriving trade-based economy; Italian and Byzantine merchants saw the Muslim lands as opulent and sophisticated. Theologically, Islam presented a series of quandaries: Were Muslims pagans? Were they heretics or schismatics?²⁸

In this quote, Talon argues that the first Christians of the eastern Mediterranean saw Muslims as a formidable political and military force, and they cared little about their religious beliefs. One of the consequences of Muslim conquests was the disconnection between the Melkites²⁹ residing in Antioch and their compatriots in Rome and Constantinople. In the tenth century, Antioch was ruled by the Byzantines,³⁰ and in 1054 there was no relation between the Melkite Church and the Western Catholic Church. At that time the Melkites were considered as schismatics and heretics. During the Latin occupation, Latin patriarchates were set up in Antioch and Jerusalem, and the Melkite patriarch resided in Constantinople. In 1086, Antioch was captured by the Turks, whose country was invaded by the Crusaders in 1099, and for 150 years it was under the control of the Romans. In 1154, Antioch was re-occupied by the Byzantines, and an Orthodox patriarch returned to the Throne.

The Patriarchate of Antioch, residing in Damascus, was marginalized by both western Christians and Turkish Muslims; it was financially poor, and it lacked “political influence.”³¹ After the fall of the Crusaders’ kingdom of Antioch in 1268, the Antioch Patriarchate was considered hostile to Rome. For many centuries, corresponding between Muslims and Arab Christians was ignored. In the twentieth century, Paul of Antioch’s *Letter to a Muslim Friend*, an example of Arab Christian

²⁸ John Tolan, “Introduction,” *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan (New York and London: Garland, 1996), xi–xxi.

²⁹ The term Melkite means “royal” and refers to various eastern Christian churches of the Byzantine Rite and their members originating in the Middle East. Melkites are the Arab Christians of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt who remained faithful to the Council of Chalcedon (451) when the greater part turned Monophysite, believing that in the person of Jesus Christ there is only one nature (wholly divine or only subordinately human), not two.

³⁰ Fr. Michel Najim and T. L. Frazier, “Antioch: A Brief History of the Patriarchate of Antioch,” *Antioch History Encyclopaedia* (2006): 1–60; here 1; see also Frederick John Foakes-Jackson, *The History of the Christian Church: From the Earliest Times to the Death of St. Leo the Great, A.D. 461* (1905; Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2010), especially Fr. Michel Najim and T. L. Frazier, “Antioch: A Brief History of The Patriarchate of Antioch,” *ibid.*, 1–60; online at: <http://najim.net/ANTIOCHhistoryencyclopedia.pdf> (last accessed on Nov. 6, 2022).

³¹ Fr. Michel Najim and T. L. Frazier, “Antioch: A Brief History of the Patriarchate of Antioch” (see note 30), 34.

apologetic writing, was finally referenced in studies conducted by Muslim scholars investigating the works of Ibn Taymiyya. The letter, its version edited by an unknown scholar in Cyprus in 1316, and its refutations by Muslim theologians circulated across many countries. As a result, these works have taken part in the Christian-Muslim dialogue.³² The following section reveals information about Paul of Antioch and the reasons, time, and style of his letter.

Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*

Not much is known about Paul of Antioch because few sources give information about his life. He came from Antioch, one of the four cities of Seleucis of Syria, which was called the cradle of Christianity.³³ Paul entered the monastic life, and was later consecrated as a Melkite³⁴ bishop of Sidon, Sayda in today's Lebanon. His writings are almost about two dozen Arabic theological and philosophical texts; these works are among the surviving Arabic manuscripts of the Middle Ages since Paul was a Melkite, an Arab Orthodox.

The time of writing Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*, originally written in Arabic as رسالة إلى أحد المسلمين *Risāla ilā Aḥad Al-Muslimīn* [A Letter to a Muslim Friend], is controversial. Samir Khalil Samir linked the date of the letter to the tenth or eleventh century. He stated that the time of writing Paul's letter might be in the tenth century. Samir built his estimation on the time of writing the letter of Al-Muhtadi Al-Hasan Ibn Ayyub³⁵ to his brother, which was written in the tenth century and which was believed to be a response to Paul's letter. According to Altuwajri, Ibn Ayyub's letter was mentioned in Ibn Taymiyya's response to Paul's letter.³⁶ Samir also confirmed that Paul's letter alluded to the ideas of Elias of Nisibis³⁷ who

³² John C. Lamoreaux, "Early Eastern Christians Responses to Islam," *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan (New York and London: Garland, 1996), 3–31.

³³ Libanius, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius*, trans. by A. F. Norman (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2000).

³⁴ The term Melkite means "royal" and refers to various eastern Christian churches of the Byzantine Rite and their members originating in the Middle East (see note 29).

³⁵ Al-Hasan bin Ayyub lived in the tenth century. He was a Christian who embraced Islam and wrote to his brother Ali explaining to him the reason for his conversion to Islam.

³⁶ Abdullellah Abdulaziz Altuwajri, *Kitab fihī Jawab Risalat Ahl Jazīrat Qubruş fī Ar-Rad 'alā An-Naṣarā* [A Book Including the Answer to the Message of the People of the Island of Cyprus in Response to the Christians] (Cairo: Wahba Bookstore for Printing, Publishing and Distribution, 2018), 92–106.

³⁷ Elias of Nisibis was born Al Zab, Iraq, in 975, and died in Nusaybin, Turkey in 1046. He was a cleric of the Church of the East and served as bishop of Beth Nuhadra and archbishop of Nisibis.

died in 1046, and who was “a significant figure in the so-called ‘Nestorian’ Church of the East.”³⁸

On the other hand, Paul Khoury estimated that Paul composed his letter between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries because its tone and style of writing fit in with the historical conditions of this period.³⁹ He estimated the date of the original letter to be between 1140 and 1231 since this era witnessed the appearance of the Christian apologetic writing at large. Khoury elucidated that in this type of writing, Christians made use of passages from the Qur’ān to defend Christianity and to prove that it is the true religion. Nevertheless, Samir negated Khoury’s assumed date saying that Khoury, in his calculation, relied on “MS Sinai Arabic 448, which is not part of the original text but in fact a later reader’s note.”⁴⁰ Like Khoury, Heiko Hartmann stated that in medieval and early modern times Christian polemic was common, and at that time, Christians had negative views on Mohammad and Islam; they considered Islam as a Christian heresy and Mohammad as a false prophet.⁴¹ These elements were found in Paul of Antioch’s letter because Paul relied on Qur’ānic verses that are controversial among Christians to raise suspicions against Islam. However, unlike Christian polemicists, Paul wrote his Letter in an easy language and comprised logical sentences.

Also, like Khoury, Alexander Treiger linked the time when Paul wrote his letter to the thirteenth century, asserting that “The Egyptian Muslim jurist Shihāb al-Dīn al-Qarāfi (d. 1285) wrote a refutation of Paul’s original letter (though he refrains from referring to Paul by name).”⁴² Rifaat Ebied and David Thomas confirmed that Paul’s letter was rewritten in the fourteenth-century by an unknown Nestorian author from Cyprus, and this adaptation was sent to two Muslim theologians, Ibn

Elias of Nisibis is considered the most important Christian writer in Arabic during the eleventh century. See David Bertaina, “Elias of Nisibis,” *Encyclopaedia Islamica*, 3rd ed. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2014), 287–88.

³⁸ David Bertaina, “Science, Syntax, and Superiority in Eleventh-Century Christian–Muslim Discussion: Elias of Nisibis on the Arabic and Syriac Languages,” *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 22.2 (2011): 197–207; here 198.

³⁹ Paul Khoury, *Paul d’Antioche, évêque melkite de Sidon (XIIe S.)* (see note 6).

⁴⁰ Samir Khalil Samir, “Notes sur la ‘Lettre a un musulman de Sidon’ de Paul d’Antioche,” *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 24 (1994): 179–96.

⁴¹ Heiko Hartmann, “Wolfram’s Islam: The Beliefs of the Muslim Pagans in *Parzival* and *Willehalm*,” *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 427–42.

⁴² Alexander Treiger, “Paul of Antioch’s Responses to a Muslim Sheikh” (see note 5), 333.

Abī Ṭalīb Al-Ansarī and Ibn Taymiyya. Both Muslim theologians responded to it with lengthy refutations.⁴³

The Main Arguments in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*

Paul's 64-paragraph letter is reasonable on the surface, yet polemical when the argument unfolds. Paul appears in his letter as a transmitter who gives an account of his journey to Byzantium, Constantinople, Amalfi, parts of Europe, and Rome. This letter was a response to the request of a Muslim friend in Sidon; this friend wanted to know what educated people in those places thought of Mohammed and Islam. Paul's letter is considered the most irenic example of Christian-Muslim dialogue in the context of Byzantine polemics with Islam. Paul reported that Mohammad was a true messenger; however, Islam: *لم يرسل الا إلى الجاهلية من العرب lam yursal illā ilā al-jāhiliyya min al-'Arab* [It was sent to the Arab pagans only] (para. 7). Paul's statement demonstrated his agreement with the Europeans' opinions of the authenticity of Mohammad, yet it highlighted his disagreement on Islam as a universal religion. Paul's argument reflected the views of Christians, Arabs and non-Arabs.

In the opening paragraphs, Paul discussed in detail the principles of his argument. Then he made six main points of dispute. David Thomas states:

[Paul] shows variously how the Qur'an accords high status to Jesus and Mary (para. 8–10), endorses the role of the disciples of Jesus and confirms the reliability of the Gospel (para. 11–16), and expresses approval of Christians and their forms of worship (para. 17–23). Even more significantly, he argues, it refers to God in Trinitarian terms (para. 24–32), mentions Christ in words that imply both his humanity and divinity (para. 33–40), and refers to the characteristics of God in ways that are consistent with what Christian doctrine says about the Trinity (para. 41–63).⁴⁴

Paul defended the doctrine of the Trinity; he began by explaining the reply of the European experts to the Muslims' accusation of Christians believing in three gods: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Paul stated that the educated Europeans whom he had met on his journey accused Muslims of giving the impression of anthropomorphism when they refer to God as having eyes, hands, a leg, and a face. He said that

⁴³ Rifaat Ebied and David Thomas, *Muslim-Christian Polemic During the Crusades: The Letter from the People of Cyprus and Ibn Abī Ṭalīb al-Dimashqī's Response*. Vol. II (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005).

⁴⁴ David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and *The Letter from Cyprus*" (see note 12), 209.

he replied to people in Bysantium that Muslims would respond to such an accusation by saying that they talk of God in this way because the Qur'ān does, though these expressions are not to be taken literally. Paul added: المراد بذلك غير ظاهر اللفظ *al-maurād bi-dhalika ghayru ṣāhir al-lafẓ* [What is meant by this is not the exoteric meaning of the words] (para. 51). He stated that the Christians crushingly reply to this claim saying that although the Gospel gives them sanction to talk in this way about God, they do not employ their terminology according to the normal usage (parag. 49–54).

Despite his friendly tone and confirmation that Islam is a true religion, Paul conveyed an implicit message that Islam is unneeded for Christians. However, he applied a neutral approach to minimize the diversity between Christian and Muslim perspectives. Paul argued that Q 57: 25 endorses the authenticity of Jesus's disciples. He interpreted the verse as "We have sent our messengers, *rusulanā*, with the proofs, and with them the book, so that men may practice fairness." Paul explains that *rusul* [messengers] is meant for the Apostles of Jesus (para. 13). However, the verse says: لَقَدْ أَرْسَلْنَا رُسُلَنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ وَأَنْزَلْنَا مَعَهُمُ الْكِتَابَ وَالْمِيزَانَ لِيَقُومَ النَّاسُ بِالْقِسْطِ *laqad arsanā rusulanā bilbaynāt wa anzalnā ma'ahum al-kitābwa al-mizan liyaqūm an-ans bil qasṭ* "We have sent Our Messengers with clear proofs, and revealed with them the Scripture and the Balance (justice) that mankind may keep up justice."⁴⁵ Paul edited the verse to present his perspective that Prophet Mohammad was sent only to Arabs.

Furthermore, Paul's Christian apologetic approach could be seen in his interpretation of the Qur'ān to praise Christ and Christianity. He claimed that the Qur'ān rejects the idea that there could have been any change to the text of the Bible (para. 13). Paul intended to prove that the Qur'ān affirms the status of the Gospel and Jesus. He gave an interpretation of the opening verses of Q 2: 1–2, أَلَمْ ذَلِكَ الْكِتَابُ لَا رَيْبَ ۚ فِيهِ هُدًى لِّلْمُتَّقِينَ *alif lām mīm dhalika al-kitābu lā rayba fih hudā lilmutaqīn* "A L M, that is the book in which there is no doubt, guidance for the pious" (para. 14). Paul Christianized the verse by explaining that the three letters A L M are part of the Christ title in Arabic *Al-Masih* and that the book must be the Gospel. He asserted that the Qur'ān is redundant to Christianity, so Christians do not need to convert to Islam. To reduce the Christians-Muslims enmity, the Cyprus editor shortened Paul's letter and focused on the main points.

45 Muhammad Taqī Ud-Din Al-Hilali and Muhammad M. Khan, *Interpretation of the Meanings of the Noble Qur'ān in the English Language* (Riyadh: Darussalam, 2011), here 974.

***Ar-Risāla Al-Qubruṣiyya* [The Letter from the People of Cyprus]**

According to Thomas F. Michel, in the early fourteenth century, a Christian scholar in Cyprus revised Paul's letter thoroughly and named it الرسالة القبرصية *Ar-Risāla Al-Qubruṣiyya* [Letter from the People of Cyprus].⁴⁶ This edited version was sent from Cyprus to the Muslim theologians Taqī-Ud-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya in 1316 and Mohammad Ibn Abi Talib Al-Ansarī Al-Dimashqī in 1321.⁴⁷ Michel added that the edited letter was found incomplete in the manuscripts of the Coptic Museum in Mary Gerges Church in Cairo; the number of the manuscript is ninety five and the general number is 1254.⁴⁸ As it is mentioned in Khoury's book, which includes a copy of Paul's letter consisting of 64 short paragraphs, the edited version was changed into a 26-page dialogue. David Thomas asserted that the original letter, a Christian apologetic text, applied an approach which is deemed more provocative than any direct attack (220),⁴⁹ whereas the style of the edited letter follows the etiquette of contemporary arguments.

According to Thomas, the unknown editor made changes to the original letter by omitting some verses from the Qur'ān and adding some quotations from the Bible to demonstrate Christ's Hebrew prophecy. The editor "omits Q 2: 255 to which Paul gives a Trinitarian interpretation . . . He likewise omits Q 17: 110 and the quotation of *bismillāh* [in the name of God], in which Paul also detects references to the Trinity."⁵⁰

About the purpose behind editing Paul's letter, David Thomas states:

The intention of this unknown Cypriot editor is nowhere stated directly, but the evidence from his work in revising Paul of Antioch's earlier letter shows that he may well have meant to be constructive towards his Muslim correspondents, and to suggest a relationship between Christianity and Islam that might reduce enmity. It is this attitude that makes his letter inter-

46 Thomas F. Michel, "Ibn Taymiyya's Al-Jawab Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ," *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity*, ed. and trans. id. Studies in Islamic Philosophy and Science (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books House, 1978), 68–87.

47 Diego Sarrió Cucarella, "Al-Qarāfī Reply to the *Letter to a Muslim Friend*," *Muslim-Christian Polemics Across the Mediterranean: The Splendid Replies of Shihāb Al-Dīn Al-Qarāfī (D. 684/1285)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 100–40.

48 Taqī Ud-Din Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya, *Al-Jawab Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man Baddala Dīn Al-Masīḥ* [The Right Answer for Those Who Changed the Religion of Christ] (Riyadh: Dar Al-Asima, 1999), here 29.

49 David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and *The Letter from Cyprus*" (see note 12).

50 David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and *The Letter from Cyprus*" (see note 12), 209.

esting – it indicates the strategy of Eastern Christians in the period of the later Crusades to make sense of the relationship between their own faith and Islam, and their own abiding certainty of salvation in a world where, despite all the efforts of the Crusading armies, Islam continued to be in the ascendant.⁵¹

This quote reveals that the editor of Paul of Antioch's letter in Cyprus intended to strengthen the argument and to lessen the Muslim-Christian antagonism. According to Thomas, the edited letter had the same form of the original letter by Paul of Antioch. The unknown author started by talking about the journey and the people he had met; however, the European people in Paul's letter were changed to Cypriots, whom he asked what they thought about Mohammad. They expressed their thought that the Prophet was sent to the Arabs alone and that the Qur'ān praised Christ, Mary, the Apostles, Christian scripture and doctrines, and they concluded by stating that God had put an end to suspicion between his servants the Christians and the Muslims through clearly implying the harmonization between the Qur'ān and Christian teachings. Thus, the editor's intention in removing the unnecessary points that were not central to the main points and that might anger Muslims was to suggest a friendly relationship between Christians and Muslims to reduce enmity. Nonetheless, Thomas concluded that the editor did not succeed to achieve this aim since the addition he inserted from the Bible made the letter much longer and increased the polemical features, which stirred the antagonism of the Muslim theologians. This edited version was sent to the controversial medieval Muslim theologian Ibn Taymiyya.

The Controversial Medieval Muslim Theologian Ibn Taymiyya

Taqi Ud-Dīn Abul-Abbas Ahmad Ibn Abd al-Haleem Ibn Abd As-Salam Ibn Taymiyya Al-Harranī Al-Hanbalī, was born on 22nd of January 1263 C.E. in Harran. His father fled with his family from Harran to Damascus in 1268 C.E., out of fear of the Tatars who invaded Muslims and were very close to Harran. Ibn Taymiyya completed his studies when he was a teenager; at the age of nineteen, he became a teacher of Islamic doctrines. "He was well versed in Quraanic studies, hadeeth, fiqh, theology, Arabic grammar and scholastic theology."⁵² He started giving *fatāwā* [religious

⁵¹ David Thomas, "Changing Attitudes of Arab Christians Towards Islam," *Transformation* (Exeter) 222.1 (2005): 10–19; here 11.

⁵² Taqi Ud-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya, "*Aqīdat Al-Jihad Al-Dīniyya wa Al-Akhlaqīyya*," (The Religious and Moral Doctrine of Jihad) *Al-Siyasat Al-Shar'ia fī Iṣḥāh Al-Rā'i wa Al-Ra'ia*, Governance

verdicts] on religious legal matters without following any of the traditional legal schools. Although his *fatāwā* were taken from the Qur'ān and the *Sunna*, they were unfamiliar to people of his time.

Ibn Taymiyya responded to the threats to Islam at every possible level. At his time, the Muslim countries encountered many threats. They were the target of Tatar oppression, censured by Christians, and they were attacked by the crusaders. The European Christians in Syria and Cyprus composed works to defend Christianity and to invite theological debate. Ibn Taymiyya refuted these works through his writing and *fatāwā*. His most significant achievement in his life was his Jihad against the Tatars as he necessitated the defending of Islam against its enemy. He said, "If you find me in the ranks of the Tatars then kill me!"⁵³ Therefore, his encouragement for jihad was due to the threat of the militant power of Tatars against Muslims; in other words, he called for jihad against invaders not against innocents nor believers of other religions. Although his encouragement to jihad had historical reasons, the leaders of jihadi movements adopted these *fatāwā* to justify their wrong deeds. Thus, after the terrorist practices in the twentieth century, Ibn Taymiyya's works were reexamined because, for those who do not know the historical background of his *fatāwā*, he has been considered as a supporter for jihad.

In his book الجواب الصحيح لمن بدل دين المسيح *Al-Jawāb Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man Baddala Dīn Al-Masīḥ* [The Right Answer for Those Who Changed the Religion of Christ], Ibn Taymiyya responded to Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*. He began by giving the reason for writing his book stating that he aspired to respond to Paul's claim that Islam is not a universal religion and that neither the Torah nor the Bible heralds the prophecy of Mohammad. Believing that these claims were basic arguments predated his time, Ibn Taymiyya replaced the polemical argumentation applied in *Ar-Risāla al-Qubruṣiyya* [the letter from the people of Cyprus] with a philosophical approach to address both Christians and Muslims.⁵⁴ In his response, he determined the process through which people become unbelievers by *tahrif ad-dīn* [changing the prophetic message]. Ibn Taymiyya relied heavily on *Sunna* [Prophet Mohammad's words and acts],⁵⁵ which was an essential element in the

According to Allaah's Law in Reforming the Ruler and his Flock) (Birmingham, AL: Maktabat Al Ansaar Publications, 2001), 1–36; here 3.

53 Taqī Ud-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya, "Aqīdat Al-Jihad Al-Dīniyya wa Al-Akhlaqiyya" (The Religious and Moral Doctrine of Jihad) (see note 52), 14.

54 Thomas F. Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya's Al-Jawab Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* (see note 46), 108.

55 Naveed S. Sheikh, "Making Sense of Salafism: Theological Foundations, Ideological Iterations and Political Manifestations," *The Routledge Handbook of Religion, Politics and Ideology*, ed. Jeffrey Haynes (London and New York: Routledge, 2022), 177–97.

life of Ibn Taymiyya's community. According to Thomas Michel, Ibn Taymiyya's response was intended as a comprehensive refutation of the Christian apology.⁵⁶

Ibn Taymiyya stated that the religion in the sight of Allah is Islam and that all prophets are brothers calling for the unification of God; then he refuted Paul's claims one by one.⁵⁷ He rebutted Paul's claim that Mohammad was sent only to the Arabs of the pre-Islamic period, and he mentioned the Qur'ānic verses that undermine this claim. Ibn Taymiyya disapproved Paul's declaration that the prophets of the Torah, the Psalms, and the Gospel believed in the trinity. He ended his book confirming that it was written in the Bible that Prophet Mohammad is the seal of the prophets, but the Christians distorted the Bible.

Getting Paul of Antioch's Letter Sent to Ibn Taymiyya

Reviewing the studies on Paul of Antioch's letter and its edited version highlighted the differences between the original version and the edited one; therefore, it was significant to read the copy which was sent to Ibn Taymiyya to explore the topics discussed in the interreligious dialogue between these two theologians. An online search revealed that there is a version of Paul's letter in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, Egypt;⁵⁸ therefore, I started searching the publications of the Coptic Museum and spotted volume three, which includes the Arabic and Coptic scripts. Below is a copy of the cover of the catalogue:

The catalogue shows that there are three volumes and that Paul's letter is in volume three. The manuscripts were collected in 1939 by Marcus Simika Pasha, the founder and director of the Coptic Museum. The table of contents reveals that

⁵⁶ Thomas F. Michel, *A Muslim Theologian's Response to Christianity: Ibn Taymiyya's Al-Jawab Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ* (see note 54)

⁵⁷ Taqi Ud-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Taymiyya, *Al-Jawab Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man Baddala Dīn Al-Masīḥ* [The Right Answer for Those Who Changed the Religion of Christ] (Riyadh: Dar Al-Asimah for Publication, 1999).

⁵⁸ I started the search about the original version of Paul of Antioch's Letter in February 2022 to prepare for the *20th International Symposium, Medieval and Early Modern Studies: Globalism and Meeting Foreign Wolds in the Pre-Modern Era, 2022*, held at the University of Arizona, Tucson, on April 30–May 1, 2022. I was in the UK for doing my Ph.D. degree, so I sent my son Abdullah Nadrah from Saudi Arabia to Egypt to bring a copy of the letter since I could not find any online contact. Nonetheless, he did not find it at the address written online, and he did not find any copies in four Coptic Museums in Cairo until an employee named Nabil Farouq, working for the Institute of Coptic Studies at St. Mark's Coptic Orthodox Cathedral in Cairo, pitied my son and offered to look for this document. It took him one month of searching; finally, Farouq sent me an electronic copy.

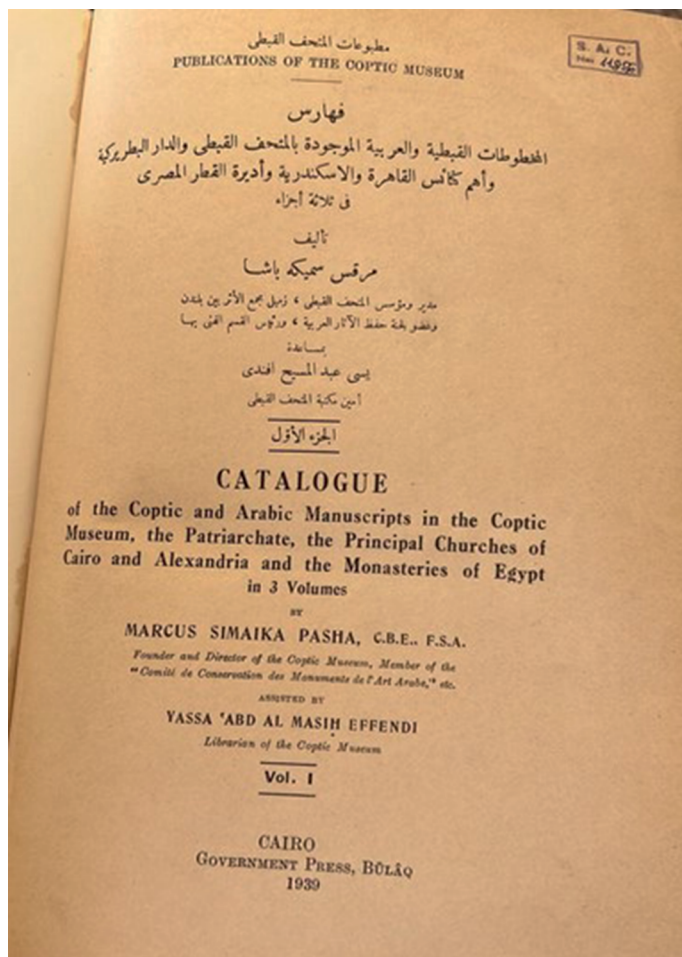


Fig. 1: The Catalogue of the publications of the Coptic Museum, Cairo, Egypt.

a copy of the letter is included among the preserved scripts in this volume as it is shown in Fig. 2 below:

Figure 2 shows that the serial number of Paul of Antioch's letter is 68 and the call number of the script is 204. The short introductory information about the letter says, "Epistle of Bûlus Al-Antaki addressed to some of his friends at Saidâ, after he had gone to Cyprus, Rome and the Country of Moldavia. Arabic". It is mentioned that the museum received this document in the eighteenth century although scholars related the time of the letter to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth century. The script has "13 folios, 16 lines, 21 X 15 cm." The information about the microfilm is shown below:

— 36 —

Serial No.	Call No. Theol.	لاهور	دفعہ
67	203	COMMENTARY ON THE SONG OF SONGS BY GREGORY, BISHOP OF NYSSA. JUDGMENTS OF SOLOMON, SON OF DAVID, the end missing. Arabic. 170 folios, 13 lines, 22 × 16 cm. Titles in red. XVIIIth cent. Binding embossed.	
		رسالة بولس الانطاكي الى بعض اصدقائه بصيدا بعد توجهه الى جزائر قبرص ورومية وبلاد الملاطفة بالعربية . القرن الثامن عشر ، ١٣ ورقة ، ١٦ سطرا ، مفاص ٢١ × ١٥ .	٢٠٤ ٦٨
68	204	EPISTLE OF BULUS AL-ANTAKI addressed to some of his friends at Saidā, after he had gone to Cyprus, Rome and the Country of Moldavia. Arabic. 13 folios, 16 lines, 21 × 15 cm. XVIIIth cent.	
		الكتاب الأول من الجزء الثاني من كتاب مدينة الله المرية يشتمل على ٢٨ رأسا بفهرس أوله بالعربية . وموس المواضع بالمداد الأسود بخط كبير والمداد الأحمر ، القرن الثامن عشر ، ١٥١ ورقة ، ٢٠ سطرا ، مفاص ٢١ × ١٦ .	٢٠٨ ٦٩
69	208	1ST VOLUME OF THE SECOND PART OF THE BOOK ON THE MYSTIC CITY OF GOD (<i>Mystica Ciudad de Dios</i> by Maria de Agreda), containing 28 chapters with an index at the beginning. Arabic. 151 folios, 20 lines, 21 × 16 cm. Titles in large letters in black and in red. XVIIIth cent.	
		المعلم والتلميذ ، ٢٢ مسألة بالعربية . وموس المواضع بالمداد الأسود بخط كبير والمداد الأحمر ، بخط نصرانه فرح الله فتيان الطروش ، القرن الثامن عشر ، ٢٢٠ ورقة ، ١٣ سطرا ، مفاص ٢٢ × ١٥ .	٢٠٩ ٧٠
70	209	THE MASTER AND THE DISCIPLE, 22 Questions. Arabic. 220 folios, 13 lines, 22 × 15 cm. Titles in large letters in black and in red. Copied by Nagrallāh Faragallāh Fityān at-Tūkhī. XVIIIth cent.	

Fig. 2: The table of contents of the publications of the Coptic Museum, Cairo, Egypt.

Figure 3 illustrates that the document was filmed on May 3, 1987, and the old number of the museum register was 1254, and the new number is ninety-five. The ink of the copy in the Coptic Museum is flowing with dark spots.⁵⁹ The first page

59 "Letter of Paul of Antioch to One of His Friends in Sidon," *Coptic Museum, Internet Archive* (Cairo: CMA, 1987), 7–4, by the Center for the Preservation of Ancient Religious Texts, BYU, <https://archive.org/details/CMA7-4/page/n7/mode/2up>. (last accessed on Nov. 6, 2022).



Fig. 3: Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, Egypt.

of the document shows that the letter starts with the phrase “in the name of the creator the living and articulating.” See Fig. 4 below:

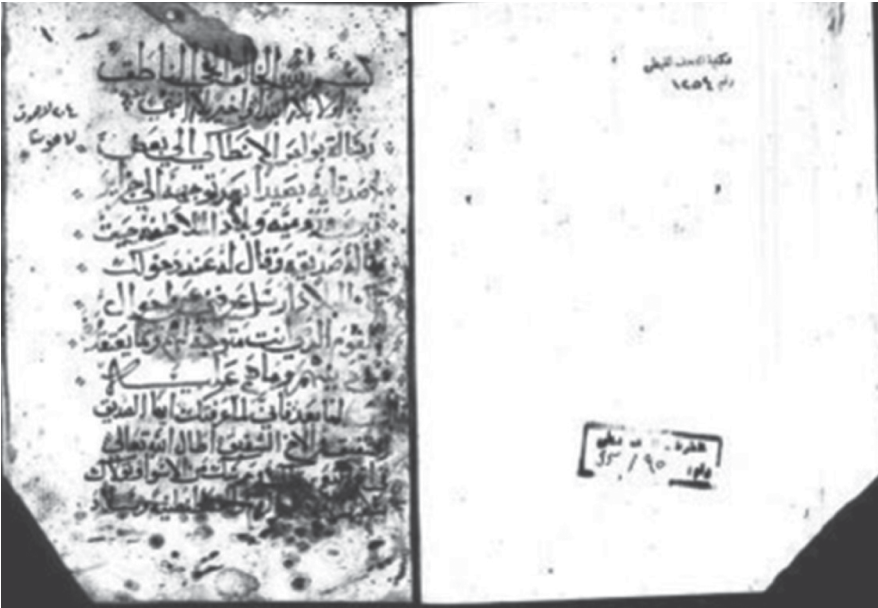


Fig. 4: Paul of Antioch's *Letter to A Muslim Friend* in the Coptic Museum, Cairo, Egypt.

Figure 4 shows that the script is hard to read; therefore, I started searching for a readable copy in other places than the Coptic Museum and indeed located several copies of Paul's letter. In his book about Shams Ud-Dīn Al-Ansarī Al-Dimashqī's response to Paul's letter, Abdullellah Abdulaziz Altuwajrī wrote that this response took place in the thirteenth century. He stated that there are three full written versions of the edited copy of Paul of Antioch's letter preserved in the National Library in Paris, France, and a fourth copy is included in Ibn Taymiyya's *the The Right Answer for Those Who Changed the Religion of Christ*.⁶⁰ On the other hand, Samir Khalil Samir confirmed that, in addition to the copy in Ibn Taymiyyah's book, there are "four manuscript examples of the *Risāla* itself, in Paris arabe 214 dating from 1538, Paris arabe 215 dating from 1590, Beirut 946 dating from 1856, and the earliest, identified in recent years by S. K. Samir, in Paris arabe 204, ff.49v-66v, dating from 1336."⁶¹

According to Altuwajrī, the first copy is preserved in call number 204 from the works of Cyprus and was transcribed by Priest Saliba Ibn Yohana Al-Mawsili in the fourteenth century.⁶² This copy is written in 18 pages in *Naskh* script⁶³ and named 'letter N1.' The second version also comprises 18 pages; it is written in thuluth script,⁶⁴ preserved under the call number 214, and given the name 'letter N2'; its transcriber and the date of transcription are not known. This version is free from defects and perforations. The third copy, preserved in call number 215, is written in the *Naskh* script.⁶⁵ The number of its pages is 21; it is also free from defects and perforations. Like version two, version three has anonymous transcriber, and the date of transcription is unknown. Below is the first page of version three, 'letter N3,' used in this paper.⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Abdullellah Abdulaziz Altuwajrī, *Kitāb fihī Jawāb Risālat Ahl Jazīrat Qubruṣ fī Ar-Rad 'alā An-Naṣarā* [A Book Including the Answer to the Message of the People of the Island of Cyprus in Response to the Christians] (see note 36).

⁶¹ Samir Khalil Samir, "Notes sur la 'Lettre a un musulman de Sidon' de Paul d'Antioche" (see note 40), 19.

⁶² I contacted Abdullellah Abdulaziz Altuwajrī, an Associate Professor of Contemporary Islamic Theology at Qassim University, Saudi Arabia, and he kindly sent me pdf copies of the three letters.

⁶³ *Naskh* is one of the first scripts of Islamic calligraphy. Because of its easy legibility, it is commonly used in writing administrative documents and for transcribing books, including the Qur'ān. See Sheila Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).

⁶⁴ Thuluth, meaning one-third, is a cursive Islamic script used in medieval times on mosque decorations.

⁶⁵ *Naskh* is one of the first scripts of Islamic calligraphy (see note 63).

⁶⁶ Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* (in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, Call Number 215).

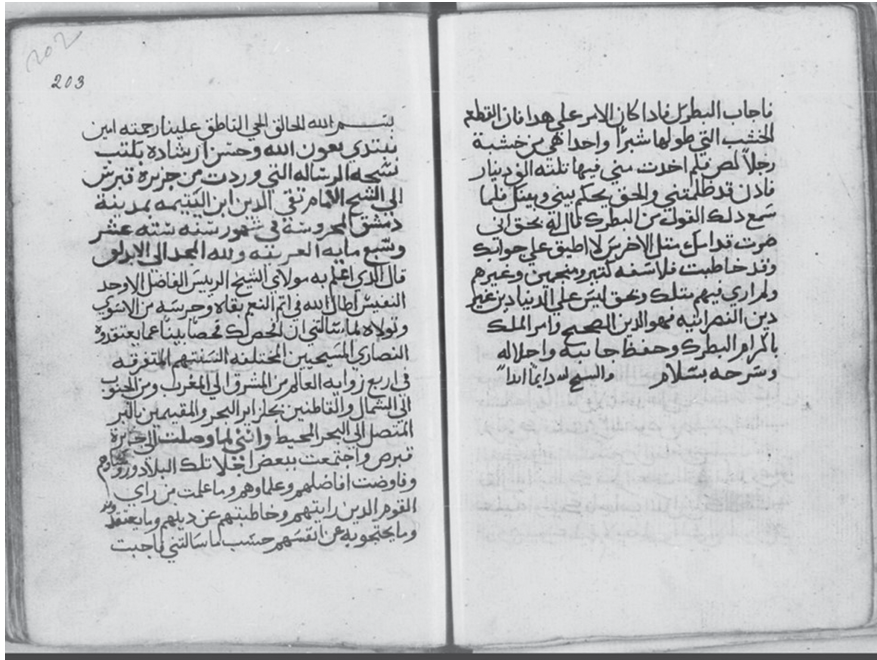


Fig. 5: Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* (Letter N 3).

Figure 5 shows that Letter N 3, the version used in this paper to extract the elements of globalism in Paul of Antioch's letter, is clear and easy to read. It illustrates that the letter was sent to Sheikh Taqi Ud-Din Ibn Taymiyya in Damascus in the fourteenth century, [716 AH] سنة ستة عشر وسبع مائة العربية and that the author sent it in reply to someone who was asked about the opinions of educated Christians living in Rome and Byzantines.

The Elements of Globalism in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and Its Refutation by Ibn Taymiyya

This section highlights the elements of globalism in Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and its refutation by Ibn Taymiyya (1263–1328), a political and social activist supporting the *Ḥanbalī* school of Damascus in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. These elements are the cross-border flow of the ideas in Paul's

letter, the demonstration of Paul and Ibn Taymiyya's different cultural milieus, and the initiation of an early interreligious dialogue.

First, Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* circulated in many countries starting in Byzantium and ending in Syria, and on its journey, it was edited in Cyprus. The ideas in the letter and its refutations spread from one place to another. It was written in Byzantium, refuted in Egypt, and edited in Cyprus; then the edited version was rebutted in Sidon, Syria. The map below shows the circulation of Paul's letter:



Fig. 6: The Circulation of Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* from Byzantium, to Antioch, Cyprus, Egypt, and Damascus.

The map shows the countries and cities where Paul of Antioch's letter circulated. The letter was sent to Egypt, edited in Cyprus, and sent to Damascus. Both David Thomas and Diego Sarrió Cucarella confirmed that Paul's letter was edited and sent to Ibn Taymiyya by an anonymous author in Cyprus.⁶⁷ Cucarella stated that *Al-Risāla Al-Qubruṣiyya* [The Letter from the People of Cyprus], the edited version

⁶⁷ Diego Sarrió Cucarella, "Corresponding Across Religious Borders the Letter of Ibn Taymiyya to a Crusader in Cyprus," *Islamochristiana* 43 (2017): 149–71, online at: <https://pluriel.fuce.eu/wp-content/>

of Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*, "has received relatively little attention in the English-speaking world. It was referenced in Thomas F. Michel's introduction to his translation of Ibn Taymiyya's *The Right Answer*.

The editing of the original letter might aim to increase the possibility of its acceptance by Muslims. Alexander Treiger gave three reasons for editing Paul's letter:

First, [the unknown editor] attempted to 'rectify' Paul of Antioch's Christological formulations and to bring them in line with the Christological thinking of the Church of the East. Second, he, no doubt, believed that his own Nestorian Christology offered a better theological platform than rival Christologies for a successful dialogue with Muslims. 'Nestorianizing' Paul of Antioch's Christological formulations was, in his view, to simultaneously increase the Letter's appeal to its Muslim addressees Finally, in addition to attempting to persuade the Muslims, the *Letter from the People of Cyprus* is also subtly but recognizably polemical against the two rival Christian groups – the Chalcedonians (Melkites) and the Miaphysites (Jacobites). It is particularly noteworthy that in its polemical defense of Nestorian Christology against its rivals, the Letter uses arguments from the Qur'ān.⁶⁸

This quote demonstrates the editor's aim to apply the Christological thoughts of the Church of the East to "increase the Letter's appeal to its Muslim addressees" and to polemically defend the "Nestorian Christology against its rivals."

The transmission of the letter through three continents contributed to cross-border flow of ideas. Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* was written in Byzantium, edited in Cyprus, and refuted by Muslim theologians in Egypt and Syria. In 1231, the original version was refuted by the Egyptian jurist Shihab Ud-Dīn Ahmad Ibn Idrīs Al-Qarāfī (1228–1285) in his book *الأجوبة الفاخرة عن الأسئلة الفاجرة* *Al-Ajwiba Al-Fakhira 'an Al-As'ila Al-Fajira* [The Right Answers to Blasphemous Questions].⁶⁹ The refutation of Al-Qarāfī gave the impression that he had a dialogue with Paul of Antioch; they started from very different theological points of departure. Al-Qarāfī focused on theology of religions, theology of the word of God, and theology of divinity. In the dialogue between Paul of Antioch and Al-Qarāfī, each one of them evaluated the religion of the other from his own frames of reference. The letter and its refutation discussed the issue of the recognition of Mohammad's prophethood, which reappears in almost every Christian-Muslim conversation.

uploads/2016/09/The-letter-of-Ibn-Taymiyya-to-a-crusader-in-Cyprus.pdf (last accessed on April 15, 2022).

⁶⁸ Alexander Treiger, "The Christology of the *Letter from the People of Cyprus*," *Journal of Eastern Christian Studies* 65.1–2 (2013): 21–48.

⁶⁹ Diego R. Sarrió Cucarella, *Muslim-Christian Polemics across the Mediterranean: The Splendid Replies of Shihāb al-Dīn Al-Qarāfī (d. 684/1285)* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015) 100–40.

In the fourteenth century, the edited version الرسالة القبرصية *Ar-Risāla Al-Qubruṣiyya* [The Letter from Cyprus] was refuted in Syria by Taqī Ud-Din Aḥmad Ibn Taymiyya in his book الجواب الصحيح لمن بدل دين المسيح *Al-Jawāb Aṣ-Ṣaḥīḥ li-man Baddala Dīn Al-Masīḥ* [The Right Answer for Those who Changed the Religion of Christ]. In the same period, the edited version was refuted by Mohammad Ibn Abi Talib Al-Ansarī Al-Dimashqī in his book رسالة لأهل جزيرة قبرص *Risāla li-aḥl Jazīrat Qubruṣ* [Letter from the People of Cyprus]; however, this refutation was less known than Ibn Taymiyya's. Thus, sending the letter, its edited version, and its refutations from one country to the other helped in the spread of the ideas expressed in these texts.

Also, the circulation of Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* resulted in some changes, which raised the doubt whether the people whom Paul had met in Byzantium were real or invented. Although Paul's sojourn is deemed historical, "we must not seriously imagine that the European experts, whom Paul says he encountered, were real people."⁷⁰ During Paul's time, Sidon was controlled by the Crusaders; thus, Paul was able to have contacts with different Byzantine and European leaders. However, it is unlikely to find "European Christian scholars who knew the text of the Qur'ān in its original Arabic so well that they could not only quote it, but also introduce subtle changes."⁷¹ Paul might have made up these fictional experts in his letter to present his own views of the Qur'ān. Paul's journey to Rome and Constantinople facilitated his exposure to the cultures of these places and he might have gotten acquainted with citizens of those countries who explained to him why Islam was not a threat to them but a partial confirmation of their beliefs. Nevertheless, it is difficult to believe that these European people knew the Qur'ān and interpreted it in the way presented in the letter.

Another reason to doubt that Paul really met Byzantine interlocutors is that they were changed into Cypriots in the edited version by the anonymous editor from Cyprus. This change strengthens the idea that the people whose opinions were transmitted through the authors were made up. Maybe, Paul of Antioch invented these people to avoid the embarrassment of expressing his opinion about Islam and Mohammad to his friend, and the editor of Paul's letter changed their nationalities to represent the place from which he sent the letter to Ibn Taymiyya. This element of fictional globalism revealed information about the milieus of the author who is Melkite, Arab Orthodox, and the editor, who is Nestorian, an Arab Christian holding

⁷⁰ David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and *The Letter from Cyprus*" (see note 12), 205.

⁷¹ Assad Elias Kattan, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend*: An Argument from Universality against Islam?" *Lecture at the Inaugural Conference of the International Orthodox Theological Association (IOTA)*, Iasi, Romuniya, 9–12 (January 2019), online at: https://www.ancientfaith.com/specials/iota/07_paul_of_antiochs_letter_to_a_muslim_friend (last accessed on April 12, 2022).

the doctrine of the Church of the East. Thus, one of the elements of medieval globalism in Paul's letter exists in the combination of the historical journey and fictitious interlocutors. Thus, the cross-border flow of ideas presented in Paul's letter and its refutations is a characteristic element that participated in the constitution of cultural globalism.

In addition to the cross-border flow of ideas, the demonstration of the author's and editor's different milieus gives another element of globalism. The arguments and evidence by Paul of Antioch and the editor of his letter revealed their different cultural milieus, including their theological tendencies. Alexander Treiger argued that the editor of Paul's letter meant to highlight Jesus's creatureliness in a polemic writing intended to address Muslims.

According to Samir, there are no Melkite manuscripts of the *Letter from the People of Cyprus*; "the oldest manuscript of the letter is, in fact, a Nestorian manuscript, copied in Cyprus itself in 1336."⁷²

Unlike Melkites who believed in the oneness of Jesus, Nestorians followed the beliefs of Nestorius, the patriarch of Constantinople, who was appointed in year 428 in the Church of the East. Nestorians believed that Christ has the features both of humans and divinity. Presenting Jesus as a human matches the religious beliefs of Muslims in the East, so the editor represented the Nestorian Christology common in the East to appeal to Muslim theologians. Therefore, this editor developed the logical method applied in the original letter by using a more compatible approach that could affect Muslims. This Nestorian Christology is closer to Islam; it represented the culture of the editor and his environment, which emphasizes the global movement of the original text. The example below shows the author's and editor's different theological stances:

Table 1 shows that Paul used verses from the Qur'ān to defend Christianity; he presented the perspective of Melkite Christians believing in the trinity. He used Q 4: 171: *Innamā al-Masīhu 'īsā ibnu-Maryama Rasūlu Allāhi wa Kalimatuhu alqāhā ilā Maryama wa rūhu mmīnahu* [The Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, was but a messenger of Allah and His word which He directed to Mary and a soul from Him]. By replacing the word ذَٰلِكَ *dhālika* 'īsā ibnu-Maryama; *qawlal haqqi al-ladhī fīhi yamtarūn* [That is Jesus, the son of Mary – the word of truth about which they are in dispute]. The word يَمْتَرُونَ *yamtarūn* means they doubt/quarrel, while يَمَيِّزُونَ *yamīzūn* means they distinguish. Muslims interpret Q 19: 34 as the Christian parties split greatly on the

72 Samir Khalil Samir, "Notes sur la 'Lettre a un musulman de Sidon' de Paul d'Antioche" (see note 40), 193.

Tab. 1: Example of Paul's and the Editor's Different Theological Stances.

Paul of Antioch	Anonymous Editor from Cypris		
<p>على هذا المعنى كانت طبيعتنا السيد المسيح المتحدتان في شخصه الواحد. فقد جاء في الكتاب ما يوافق قولنا، وذلك انه اسمي المسيح (روح الله وكلمته) واسماه (عيسى بن مريم) يقوله (انما المسيح عيسى بن مريم رسول الله وكلمته القاها الى مريم وروح منه).</p>	<p>It is in this sense that the two united natures of the Lord Christ [constitute] His one person (shakhs). There are passages in the Book [Qur’ān] that confirm what we say. For example, it calls Christ ‘God’s Spirit and Word,’ and at the same time calls Him ‘Jesus son of Mary,’</p>	<p>وقد جاء في هذا الكتاب الذي جاء به هذا الانسان يقول: (انما المسيح عيسى ابن مريم رسول الله وكلمته القاها الى مريم وروح منه) وهذا ما يوافق قولنا إذ قد شهد انه إنسان مثلنا أي بالناسوت الذي أخذ من مريم وكلمة الله وروحه المتحدة فيه وحاشا أن تكون كلمة الله وروحه الخالقة مثلنا نحن المخلوقين.</p>	<p>There are also passages in the Book [Qur’ān], brought by this man [Muhammad], saying “Christ is only Jesus son of Mary, a messenger of God and his Word, which he cast upon Mary, and a Spirt from Him” [Q.4:171]. This confirms what we say, because it indicates that [Christ] is a man like us, i.e. in the humanity assumed from Mary, [though joined together] with God’s Word and Spirit united with him, and God forbid that God’s creative Word and Spirit should be like us, created beings.</p>
<p>وقال في موضع آخر من الكتاب: (ذلك عيسى ابن مريم قول الحق الذي فيه يميزون)، فَوَحَّدَه بهذا القول.</p>	<p>In another passage, it says: ‘This, <Jesus son of Mary> is the true Word in which they draw distinctions’ [cf. Q. 19:34], but in the passage just cited [i.e. Q.4:171] the [Qur’ān] shows Him to be one.</p>	<p>وقال أيضا في موضع آخر: (إن مثل عيسى عند الله كمثل آدم خلقه من تراب)، فأعني بقوله (مثل عيسى) إشارة إلى البشرية المأخوذة من مريم الطاهرة لأنه لم يذكر هاهنا اسم المسيح إلا عيسى فقط. كما أن آدم خُلِق من غير جماع ومباضعة فكذلك جسد السيد المسيح خُلِق من غير جماع ومباضعة، وكما أن جسد آدم ذاق الموت فكذلك جسد المسيح ذاق الموت.</p>	<p>in another passage, it says: ‘The example of Jesus, in relation to God, is just like the example of Adam, whom He created from dust’ [Q. 3:59]. By saying ‘the example of Jesus’ it refers [specifically] to the humanity assumed from the pure Mary– especially as it does not here mention the name of Christ, but Jesus alone.</p>
			<p>Just as Adam was created without sexual union and intercourse, so also the body of the Lord Christ was created without sexual union and intercourse. Just as the body of Adam tasted death, so also the body of Christ tasted death.</p>

nature of Jesus Ibn Maryam, and God has made the truth clear about him saying that He is God's servant, His Messenger, His Spirit which He cast to Mary, and a word from Him, yet God made Himself free from taking a child. Replacing this word by a word that gives superiority to Jesus displays Paul's beliefs.

On the other hand, Tab. 1 demonstrates the beliefs of the editor of Paul's letter. The reworked letter by the unknown author reveals the theological tendency of the editor, whose beliefs align with those of the Nestorians who agree with Muslims on the human nature of Jesus. This version is much longer than Paul's letter; the editor attempted to prove the two subjects of Christ, divinity (*lahut*) and humanity (*nasut*). He used a verse from the Qur'ān to confirm that the humanity of Christ is similar to that of Adam. To prove the incarnation of Christ, the editor supported his Nestorian views by adding Q 3: 59. قَالَ ثُمَّ قَالَ إِنَّ مَثَلَ عِيسَىٰ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ كَمَثَلِ آدَمَ خَلَقَهُ مِنْ تُرَابٍ ثُمَّ قَالَ *Inna mathala 'isā 'inda Allāhi kamathali Aadama khalaqahū min turābin thumma qāla lahu kun fayakūn* [Indeed, the example of Jesus to Allah is like that of Adam. He created Him from dust; then He said to him, "Be," and he was]. Alexander Treiger states:

No Chalcedonian (Melkite) or Miaphysite (Jacobite) author would ever put it this way, because for both the Chalcedonians and the Miaphysites Jesus is not simply *conjoined to* but *is* God the Word incarnate, and He cannot, therefore, even in the Incarnation, be considered merely as a creature, in abstraction from His primary identity, which is that of God the Word.⁷³

This quote highlights the different theological tendencies that Paul and the editor had; it confirms that the anonymous editor is Nestorian unlike Paul. This Nestorian editor believes that Jesus has a human nature joined with God's Word. In contrast, the quote implies that Paul of Antioch who is not a Nestorian had an eirenic tone in his letter, yet a highly subversive argumentation. Hence, the *Letter from the People of Cyprus* comprises Nestorian-Muslim theological common word.

In his refutation to Paul's letter, Ibn Taymiyya rebutted the claim of the trinity giving two reasons shown in Tab. 2 below:

Tab. 2: Ibn Taymiyya's Refutation of the Trinity.

Ibn Taymiyya's Refutation of the Trinity

1. The Christians, who claim that this formulation in the Gospel was taken from Christ, differ in explaining this statement.
 2. His being a creature forbids his being eternal and necessitates that he was previously non-existent.
-

⁷³ Alexander Treiger, "The Christology of the *Letter from the People of Cyprus*" (see note 68), 32.

Table 2 demonstrates Ibn Taymiyya's beliefs and his confirmation that people in the one religion have different interpretations of their Sacred Book. He explained that not all Christians believe in the two united natures of Jesus clarifying that since Jesus is a human being created by God, he cannot be a God himself.

In addition to demonstrating Paul's Melkite stance and the editor's Nestorian position, Paul's letter and its refutation display Ibn Taymiyya's *Salafi* views. In his response to Paul's claim that Muslims use anthropomorphic expressions when they refer to God as having eyes and a face, Ibn Taymiyya confirmed that the attributes of God and anthropomorphism should be interpreted applying *al-ithbāt* [affirmation] approach. He followed the teachings of Prophet Muhammad, *Al-Sahāba* [the companions], *At-Tabi'un* [the first successors], and *Tabi' At-Tabi'un* [the successors of the successors].⁷⁴ Nonetheless, *Ash'arīs* and *Māturīdīs* (believers of two schools of Islamic theology) apply a rationalist method when they interpret the verses of the Qur'ān. According to Abū Al-Ḥasan Al-Asharī, anthropomorphism need to be interpreted through argument based on logical proofs; therefore, he calls for applying *at-ta'wīl* [interpretation] approach.⁷⁵ As a *Salafi*, Ibn Taymiyya disregarded human reasoning and *ta'wīl* [interpretation] of the meanings of the Qur'ān, he confirmed *al-ma'na az-zāhir* [exoteric meaning] of the Qur'ān not *al-ma'na al-bātin* [the exoteric meaning] of the words. Thus, globalism allowed a contact between people that were previously isolated from one another, which resulted in the display of their diverse religious beliefs.

The third element of globalism is the initiation of the interreligious dialogue. In the Medieval Ages the Christian-Muslim dialogue was "characterized by theological, political, and intellectual conflict."⁷⁶ In this dialogue, Muslims and Christians had mutual misunderstanding since they viewed each other through their own lenses, each group tried to show its superiority. According to Olowo, medieval Muslims considered Christians as believers who had gone astray and corrupted the content of the Bible (*Injīl*), while Christians had diverse reactions towards Muslims. As explained in the previous section, Monophysite and Nestorian had different views than Melkites. Each group reacted based on its social and political realities. Muzammil H. Siddiqi stated that the history of the dialogue between Muslims and Christians can be understood through the commercial and cultural exchanges;

74 Mohammad Abu Zahra, *Tarikh Al-Madhahib Al-Islamiyya fi Al-Siyasat wa Al-'aqā'id wa Tarikh Al-Madhahib Al-Fiqhia* [The History of Islamic Schools of Thought in Politics and Beliefs and the History of Jurisprudence Schools] (Cairo: Dar al-Fikr Al-Arabi, 2015).

75 Abū Al-Ḥasan 'Alī Ibn Ismā'īl Ibn Ishāq Al-Ash'arī, *Al-Ibanah 'an Usūl Ad-Diyāna*, [Evidence for the Origins of Religion] (Cairo: Dar Ibn Hazm, 1903).

76 Adam Folorunsho Olowo, "The Dialogical Evolution of Christian-Muslim Relations: From the Medieval to Modern Period" (see note 26), 2.

"Muslims were living close to Byzantine Christians and the dialogue between them always included a discussion of Mohammad and his book, al-Qur'ân."⁷⁷ Paul's letter and its refutation by Ibn Taymiyya can be considered the seed for what is known today as an interreligious dialogue.

Paul implied an attack of the universality of Islam and offered a Christian hermeneutics of the Qur'ân to emphasize the Qur'ânic teachings about Jesus. On the other hand, Ibn Taymiyya was interested in spreading Islam and defending it; he was addressing both Christians and Muslims who were divided into sects. He gave details and examples from Paul's original text which consists of 64 paragraphs (24 pages) and the edited version, which is written in the form of a dialogue and which comprises 26 pages. Paul of Antioch claimed that Mohammad was sent to the pagan Arabs with a revelation in Arabic, and when he asked the European educated people about their reasons for not following Mohammad, they said that they were not compelled to do so as he was sent to the Arabs. Below is the statement in Paul's words:

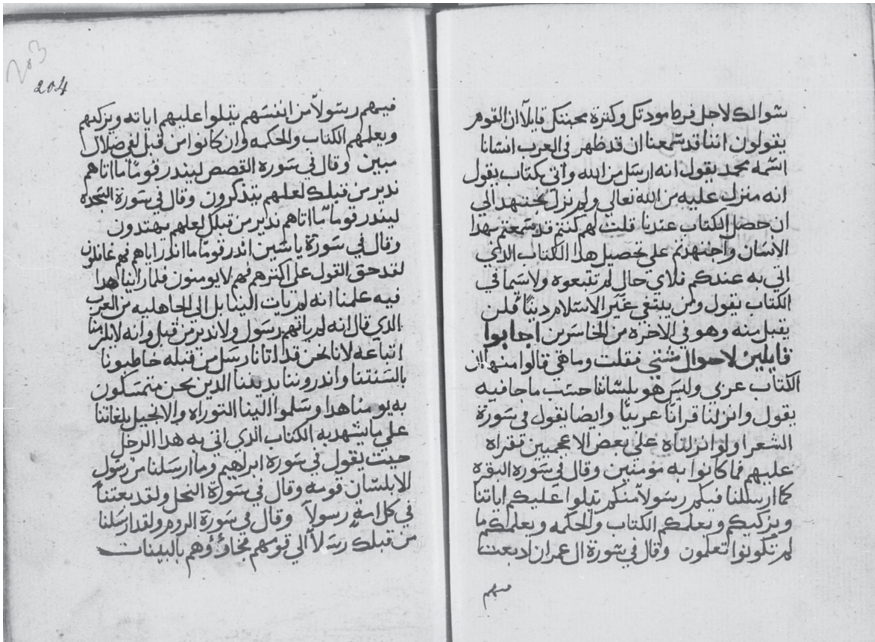


Fig. 7: Paul of Antioch's *Letter to A Muslim Friend* (Letter N 3).

77 Muzammil H. Siddiqi, "Muslim and Byzantine Christian Relations: Letter of Paul of Antioch and Ibn Taymiyya's Response," *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review* 31.1 (1986): 33–45; here 35.

Sidney Griffith translated the argument about the universality of Islam in Paul's letter as follows:

The Qur'an is in Arabic and not in our language, they said. We knew that the prophet was not sent to us, but to the pagan Arabs, to whom he said no one had come to give a warning before him. We are not bound to follow him, because messengers had already come to us before him, addressing us in our own languages. They warned us, and they handed over to us the Torah and the Gospel, in our own vernacular languages. It is clear from the Qur'an that he was sent only to the pagan Arabs.⁷⁸

As a speaker on behalf of the Byzantines, Paul said that the Byzantines thought that the Qur'an is in Arabic not in their language, so Prophet Mohammad was not sent to them. Paul added that they believed that their messengers had already revealed to them their books, the Torah and the Gospel; therefore, they did not need to follow Prophet Mohammad. Paul used Q 2: 151, Q 14: 4, Q 3: 164, and Q 9: 128 to support his argument. The table below shows the verses that Paul utilized to undermine the universality of Islam:

Tab. 3: Paul's Use of Qur'anic Verses to Undermine the Universality of Islam.

Paul's Use of Qur'anic Verses to Undermine the Universality of Islam		
Verse	Source Text	Target Text
Q 2:151	كَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا فِيكُمْ رَسُولًا مِّنكُمْ يَتْلُو عَلَيْكُمْ آيَاتِنَا	We have sent you a messenger from among yourselves-reciting to you Our revelations.
Q 14: 4	وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَا مِن رَسُولٍ إِلَّا بِلِسَانٍ قَوْمِهِ	We did not send any Messenger except in the language of his people.
Q 3:164	لَقَدْ مَنَّ اللَّهُ عَلَى الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ بَعَثَ فِيهِمْ رَسُولًا مِّنْ أَنفُسِهِمْ	Indeed, Allah has done the believers a 'great' favor by raising a messenger from among them.
Q 9:128	لَقَدْ جَاءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ	There certainly has come to you a messenger from among yourselves.

Table 3 illustrates Paul's chosen Qur'anic verses to show that Mohammad was sent to the Arab people only. He decontextualized these verses and deprived them from their intended meanings. To refute this claim, Ibn Taymiyya used Q 7: 158 and Q 34: 28, which state that Mohammad is sent to all mankind; he spoke about the universal message of Mohammad and the comprehensive nature of the Qur'an. Ibn Taymiyya discussed the unity of all prophetic religions focusing on the middle way

⁷⁸ Sidney H. Griffith, "Paul of Antioch," *The Orthodox Church in the Arab World, 700-1700: An Anthology of Sources* (see note 8).

of Islam, in matters of doctrine, religious law, and morality. He refuted Paul's claim by giving verses from the Qur'ān emphasizing the universality of Islam:

Tab. 4: Ibn Taymiyya's Refutation of Paul's Negation of the Universality Islam.

Ibn Taymiyya's Refutation of Paul's Negation of the Universality of Islam		
Verse	Source Text	Target Text
Q 7:158	قُلْ يَا أَيُّهَا النَّاسُ إِنِّي رَسُولُ اللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ جَمِيعًا	Say, 'O Prophet,' "O humanity! I am Allah's Messenger to you all.
Q 34:28	وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا كَافَّةً لِّلنَّاسِ بَشِيرًا وَنَذِيرًا وَلَكِنَّ أَكْثَرَ النَّاسِ لَا يَعْلَمُونَ	We have sent you 'O Prophet' only as a deliverer of good news and a warner to all humanity, but most people do not know.

Table 4 shows Ibn Taymiyya's reply to Paul's claim that Mohammad was sent to the Arab people only. The Muslim theologian used verses saying that Mohammad was sent to all people to undermine Paul's assertion. Moreover, Ibn Taymiyya corrected the mistakes in the interpretation of the biblical verses in Paul's letter. Finally, Ibn Taymiyya compared the three prophecies of Islam, Christianity, and Judaism to say that they complete each other. He rebutted the declaration of the author of the letter that the Qur'ān praises Christ and his Mother, and gave preference to Christian monasteries and churches over mosques. Ibn Taymiyya stated that Judaism, Christianity, and Islam are monotheistic religions. Thus, Ibn Taymiyya responded to each of Paul's claims in a dialogical form.

Paul addressed a Muslim friend; however, in his refutation, Ibn Taymiyya talked to Muslims and non-Muslims about the points below:

The doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation, the oneness of God, the union of divine and human natures in Christ, Christ's miracles, the entry of Jews and Gentiles into Christianity, the confessional differences among the several Christian communities, along with philosophical topics such as good and evil, free will, and predestination . . . [Paul] concludes his letter by expressing his wish that if the report pleases his friend, God be praised "since He will have made quarreling cease between His servants the Christians and the Muslims." Otherwise, says Paul, he would be willing as a mediator to convey his Muslim friend's objections to the learned Byzantines in expectation of a suitable reply.⁷⁹

This quote summarizes the arguments raised by Paul ranging from the nature of Christ and the praise of Christianity in the Qur'ān to the teachings of Christianity. It illustrates that Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* provoked Muslims to

⁷⁹ David Thomas, "Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* and *The Letter from Cyprus*" (see note 12), 216.

respond and conveyed the author's intention to be a mediator between the learned people in Byzantium and Muslim theologians to stir the Christian-Muslim dialogue. Paul intended to lessen the Muslim-Christian antagonism and maintain an inter-religious dialogue. The interreligious dialogue between Paul of Antioch and Ibn Taymiyya reveals the communication between Muslims and Christians to clarify theological and philosophical similarities and differences.⁸⁰ This dialogue was aimed to promote mutual understanding and cooperation between people who had different religions for living in peace without enmity.

Conclusion

Globalism did not begin only when the West started to exercise maritime power, at the start of what became Europe's centuries of colonial globalism between 1500s and 1800s.⁸¹ People in the Middle Ages – and this pertains also, of course, to other parts of the world such as in the Middle East – were exposed to different types of globalism, among which we find the types of economic, military, and cultural globalism. Paul of Antioch's *Letter to a Muslim Friend* is a dynamic force and document of cultural globalism. This letter circulated from Antioch to Egypt, Cyprus, and Syria; it brought two worlds close to their audience. It is an example of a global Christian-Muslim dialogue. The dialogue between Paul and his Muslim friend enabled Paul to express his views about Islam and Mohammad; the edited version of Paul's letter and its refutations, mainly Ibn Taymiyya's response, circulated these views.

As a Christian apologetic, Paul of Antioch intellectually defended the truth of the Christian religion as he saw it. He was passionate in his defense of something dear to his heart, of course.⁸² Paul defended the doctrine of the Trinity, the transmigration of souls, union and solutions, and other Christian beliefs. Ibn Taymiyya's refutation of Paul's letter is "the longest response to Christianity in the Islamic tradition and one of the most sophisticated as well."⁸³ The reason for writing Ibn Taymiyya's book was to respond to Paul of Antioch's letter to prove the universality of Mohammad

⁸⁰ Ina Merdjanova, "Overhauling Interreligious Dialogue for Peacebuilding," *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe* 36.1 (2016): 26–33, online at: <https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/ree/vol36/iss1/3> (last accessed on August 12, 2022).

⁸¹ Geraldine Heng, *the Global Middle Ages: An Introduction* (see note 17).

⁸² David Bundy, "The Syriac and Armenian Christian Responses to the Islamification of the Mongols," *Medieval Christian Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays*, ed. John Victor Tolan (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor and Francis Group, 1996), 33–53.

⁸³ Jon Hoover, "The Apologetic and Pastoral Intentions of Ibn Qayyim al-Jawziyya's Polemic against Jews and Christians," *The Muslim World* 100 (2010): 476–89.

and Islam. The letter and its refutation are examples of a practical case of tolerance in which the participants took practical steps to engage those who cannot endure tolerance. According to Albrecht Classen, tolerance represents the equal treatment of all faiths, convictions, and ideologies and the readiness of accepting the wrong position.⁸⁴ This example proves the existence of globalism in the medieval era. Paul concluded his letter by expressing his wish that the report would please his friend, adding that in this case God would make quarreling cease between His servants the Christians and the Muslims. Otherwise, said Paul, he would be willing as a mediator to convey his Muslim friend's objections to the learned Byzantines in expectation of a suitable reply. Ibn Taymiyya concluded saying that the religion of all prophets is one, even if their laws differ, and whoever differentiates between them or believes in some and does not believe in all is an unbeliever.

Thus, the elements of globalism in Paul of Antioch's letter and its refutation by Ibn Taymiyya created the cross-border flow of their ideas, the display of their authors' cultural milieus, and the initiation of the interreligious dialogue. The letter and its refutation contributed to the birth of interreligious dialogue by disclosing the authors' desire for coexistence, mutual religious recognition, and positive interaction. The dialogue between Muslims and Christians at this early stage of time planted the seeds for peacebuilding to promote greater understanding and cooperation towards peace. This global dialogue fostered an ethos of tolerance, non-violence, and trust. The elements of the interreligious dialogue between Paul and Ibn Taymiyya are the engagement in a peaceful discussion and critical attitude with evidence from religions. As an apologetic, Paul referred to systematic argumentative discourse, and Ibn Taymiyya as a theologian and philosopher used lengthy discussion.

The end of Paul's letter opens the door for continuing the interreligious dialogue between Muslims and Christians for a peaceful life, free from violence. This argument might pave the way for future scholars to explore additional medieval texts that reveal more about the Muslim-Christian dialogue.

⁸⁴ Albrecht Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern European Literature*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture, 8 (New York: Routledge, 2018; paperback 2021); id., *Religious Toleration in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: An Anthology of Literary, Theological, and Philosophical Texts* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020).

Abdoulaye Samaké and Amina Boukail

The Global Fable in the Middle Ages

The “Ring Dove” Tale in *Kalila wa-Dimna* at the Crossroads of Eastern and Western Cultures

Abstract: *Kalila wa-Dimna* had been composed first in India; it then moved across different countries, cultures, and continents. Even though this text resisted the different changes imposed by the several translations and rewritings staying close to its original version, it was subject to some cultural transformations through its history of reception in the Western culture. Our paper aims to investigate how *Kalila wa-Dimna* can be considered as a medieval global narrative text. By analyzing the mobility of the “Ring Dove” tale in *Kalila wa-Dimna*, we intend also to examine some aspects of medieval globalism in the fable as a global literary genre characterized by dynamic cross-cultural interactions. Therefore, the analysis will be focused on the adaptations and/or influences of the “Ring Dove” in two Eastern (Arabic and Hebrew) and three Western (Old Castilian, Early New High German, and French) literary languages.

Keywords: Ring Dove, Fable, Globalism, Translation, Reception, East, West, Cultural interactions

Introduction

From a historical perspective, Eastern and Western cultural encounters in the Middle Ages are specially characterized by the Crusades or holy wars. “Als heiliger Krieg im weitesten Sinne müßte jeder Krieg gelten, der als religiöse Handlung aufgefaßt

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oder sonst zur Religion in eine direkte Beziehung gesetzt wird”¹ (“[a] holy war, in the broadest sense of the term, is any war that is regarded as a religious act or is in some way set in a direct relation to religion”²). Many medieval historical narratives described the Eastern and Western cultural encounters during the Crusades in the Middle Ages. As Albrecht Classen has rightly observed, “[t]rue literature knows no barriers, is not limited by linguistic hurdles, and is not hampered by religious or political differences because it addresses fundamentally human concerns and the critical issues determining all.”³ In this framework, both Eastern and Western cultures also converged throughout the medieval literary (re)production. Apart from the historical texts, it is not surprising that Eastern and Western cultural encounters are also represented in Western medieval literary narratives,⁴ with the West normally being on the receiving end. Beyond the cultural encounters between the East and the West, several Eastern literary texts, topics, and motifs have been adapted in Western medieval literature. This is, for instance, the case with *Kalila wa-Dimna*, a “major piece of world literature.”⁵

The origins of this collection of fables can be traced back to the Orient (India) where it had first been written in Sanskrit under the title *Pañcatantra*. Afterward, the Indian collection had been translated into Persian which, in turn, had served as a source for Abdallah Ibn al-Muqaffa for his Arabic translation entitled *Kalila wa-Dimna*. This Arabic translation then moved across different cultures, and especially the Occident. Despite its resistance to the different changes imposed by the several translations and rewritings, *Kalila wa-Dimna* was subject to some cultural transformations through its history of reception in the Western culture.

With a view to the Eastern and Western cultures, our paper aims at investigating and discussing the questions of how *Kalila wa-Dimna* can be considered as a

1 Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzugsgedankens*. Reprint (1935; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1965), 1.

2 Carl Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade*. Translated by Marshall W. Baldwin and Walter Goffart. Foreword and additional notes by Marshall W. Baldwin (1935; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press 1977), 3.

3 Albrecht Classen, “The Fable as a Global Genre: Marie de France, Ulrich Bonerius, Don Juan Manuel, and *Kalila and Dimna*,” *Quidditas* 42 (2021): 152–88; here 154.

4 See for instance Albrecht Classen, “Encounters Between East and West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Ages: Many Untold Stories About Connections and Contacts, Understanding and Misunderstanding. Also an Introduction,” *East Meets West in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Transcultural Experiences in the Premodern World*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter 2013), 1–216; here 19–24.

5 Classen, “The Fable” (see note 4), 176.

medieval global narrative text and how it has influenced Western literature.⁶ For this purpose, the focus of our analysis will rest on the Eastern and Western reception of the fable of the “Ring Dove” in *Kalila wa-Dimna*. The first chapter of our paper will consist of retracing the mobility of *Kalila wa-Dimna* from the East to the West. We will then define in the second section the matters of the fable and summarize the “Ring Dove.” In the first part of chapter three Amina Boukail will demonstrate and highlight some translation challenges in two Eastern (Arabic and Hebrew) adaptations of the selected fable. In the second part of the third chapter, Abdoulaye Samaké will examine some aspects of medieval globalism throughout three Western (Old Castilian, Early New High German and French) adaptations characterized by dynamic cross-cultural interactions. Finally, we will discuss the most important results in the last section of this article.

The Medieval Global Fable from the East to the West: A Brief History of Reception of *Kalila wa-Dimna*

Considering the fact that the history of literature is, as Hans-Robert Jauß observed, a “Prozeß ästhetischer Rezeption und Produktion, der sich in der Aktualisierung literarischer Texte durch den aufnehmenden Leser, den reflektierenden Kritiker und den selbst wieder produzierenden Schriftsteller vollzieht”⁷ (“process of aesthetic reception and production which takes place in the realization of literary texts on the part of the receptive reader, through the reflective critic, and through the author in his continued creativity”⁸), it is obvious that translations and/or adapta-

6 For the reception in Germany and in Italy, see, for instance, Faranak Haschemi, “Komparatistische Untersuchung von *Kalila und Dimna* und Fabeln deutscher Dichter der Aufklärung,” Ph.D. diss., Islamic Azad University, Teheran 2005, 274; for a brief version, see her article “*Kalila und Dimna* als Weltliteratur: Ihre Rezeption in Iran und Deutschland,” *Pazhuhesh-e Zabanha-ye Khareji* 40, Special Issue, German (2007) [<http://ensani.ir/file/download/article/20101206173811-281.pdf>] (last accessed on Jan. 08, 2023), 133–50; Gaetano Lalomia, “La Ricezione dei racconti del *Calila e Dimna* in Italia,” *Revista poetica medieval* 29 (2015): 177–89.

7 Hans-Robert Jauß, *Literaturgeschichte als Provokation*. Fourth Edition (1970; Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1974), 172.

8 Hans-Robert Jauß, “Literary History as a Challenge to Literary History,” *New Literary History* 2, 1 (1970) [English translation of chapters V to XII of the paper “Literaturgeschichte als Provokation der Literaturwissenschaft,” originally published in German in 1970, trans. Elizabeth Benzinger], 7–37; here 10.

tions allow a literary work to overcome easily linguistic and cultural boundaries throughout its global success.⁹

As mentioned above, *Kalila wa-Dimna* can be traced back to the Indian *Pañcatantra*, a term deriving from Sanskrit and consisting of the compounds *Pañca* [numeral five] and *tantra* [booklet or chapter]; “it is more likely that *Pañcatantra* meant originally five subject-matters; as a title, a treatise dealing with five subject-matters.”¹⁰ Even though there is no specific information about the author, the exact place and date,¹¹ the original Sanskrit text must have been composed in accordance with the *communis opinio* somewhere in Kashmir between the third and fourth centuries C.E.¹²

After having taken note of the existence of the *Pañcatantra*, the Persian King Khosrow I Anushirvan (531–579 C.E.) engaged the physician Burzōe to fetch the San-

9 See the recent volume by Eloïse Brac de la Perrière, Aïda El Khiari and Annie Vernay-Nouri, *Les périple de Kalila et Dimna: Quand les fables voyagent dans la littérature et les arts du monde islamique / The Journeys of Kalila and Dimna: Fables in the Literature and Arts of the Islamic World*. Brill Studies in Middle Eastern Literatures, 42 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022).

10 A. Berriedale Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*. Reprint (1920; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 247.

11 Hertel suggests, for instance, that the text was composed/compiled in Kashmir in Sanskrit between 300 B.C.E. and 570 C.E. by an anonymous Brahman author (see Johannes Hertel, *Tantrākhyāyika: Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen. Erster und Zweiter Teil* [1909; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1970], 4, 9–10, 19–20, and 23–24). However, A. Berriedale Keith rejects Hertel’s suggestions in the context of the Saxon and Anglo-Saxon discussion (see Falk Wilhelm, review of Ruprecht Geib, *Zur Frage der Urfassung des Pañcatantra*, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 125.2 [1975]: 449–50; here 449). He argues that “the use of *ḍināra*, the Latin *denarius*, points definitely to a time after the Christian era [. . .]. Hertel’s view that the work was composed in Kashmir because neither the tiger nor the elephant plays a part in the original, while the camel is known, is inconclusive in view of the possible late origin of the work, which would render it possible for persons in a very wide area in India to know all about the camel. The places of pilgrimage mentioned are commonplace, Puskara, Gaṅgādvāra, Parayāga, and Vārānaśi, so that we must leave the place of composition open” (A. Berriedale Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature* [see note 12], 248). In contrast to Keith, Ruprecht Geib, *Zur Frage der Urfassung des Pañcatantra*. Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1969), and Harry Falk, *Quellen des Pañcatantra*. Freiburger Beiträge zur Indologie, 12 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1978), defend Hertel’s position regarding the composition of *Pañcatantra*.

12 See Horst Brinkhaus, “Das indische *Pañcatantra* als Quelle von *Kalila wa-Dimna*,” *Von listigen Schakalen und törichtchen Kamelen. Die Fabel in Orient und Okzident. Wissenschaftliches Kolloquium im Landesmuseum Natur und Mensch Oldenburg zur Vorbereitung der Ausstellung Tierisch moralisch. Die Welt der Fabel in Orient und Okzident*, ed. Mamoun Fansa and Eckard Grunewald. Schriftenreihe des Landesmuseums Natur und Mensch, 62 (Wiesbaden: Dr. Reichert Verlag, 2008), 55–66; here 56.

skrit book and to translate it into Pahlavi (Old Persian).¹³ Burzōē traveled to India; he succeeded to find the book and then to create a Pahlavi translation which subsequently served as a source for the Old Syriac translation of *Kalilag and Damnaḡ* presented in 570 C.E. by Periodeut Būd to the king. However, the Pahlavi version has been lost in the history of reception.¹⁴

Beside the Old Syriac, the Pahlavi translation was also adapted into Arabic. The most popular Arabic translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* was created by Abdallah Ibn al-Muqaffa in 750. This translation emerged in the political, cultural and religious context of the Abbasid dynasty (750–1258) which had attached great value to translation attempts of foreign texts into the Arabic language.¹⁵

Practically all of the Abbasid viziers were Persian, or, at any rate, non-Arabs; and the caliphs, for the most part, made no secret of their preference for Persians. The results of this more liberal policy towards foreigners were manifold. It was responsible for the great impetus given to the study of philosophy and science through the medium of translations into Arabic of classical and Syrian writers [. . .].¹⁶

This promotion of the literary culture by means of translations during the Abbasids period was considered a “major event in the history of civilization.”¹⁷

As Hans-Robert Jauß rightly formulated,

Der Rang einer rezeptionsästhetisch fundierten Literaturgeschichte wird davon abhängen, inwieweit sie an der fortwährenden Totalisierung des Vergangenen durch die ästhetische Erfahrung aktiv teilzunehmen vermag. Dies erfordert einerseits [. . .] eine bewußt angestrebte Kanonbildung, die andererseits [. . .] eine kritische Revision, wenn nicht Destruktion des überkommenen literarischen Kanons voraussetzt. Das Kriterium einer solchen Kanonbildung und immer wieder notwendigen Umerzählung der Literaturgeschichte ist durch die Rezeptionsästhetik klar vorgekennzeichnet. Der Weg von der Rezeptionsgeschichte des einzelnen Werks zur Geschichte der Literatur müßte dazu führen, die geschichtliche Folge der Werke so zu

13 See Johannes Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra: Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1914), 362, and also Muhammad al-Tunḡi, “*Kalila und Dimnas Reisen durch die Welt, Von listigen Schakalen und tōrichten Kamelen* (see note 12), 171–94; here 183.

14 See Hertel, *Das Pañcatantra. Seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung* (see note 13), 389.

15 For a brief analysis of medieval Arabic translation culture, see Maha Baddah, “Texts that Travel: Translation Genres and Knowledge-Making in the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement,” *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time. Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 22 (Boston and Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 95–119; here 97.

16 Alfred Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam: An Introduction to the Study of the Hadith Literature*. Khayats Oriental Reprint, 13 (1924; Beirut: Khayats, 1966), 58.

17 Scott L. Montgomery, *Science in Translation: Movements of Knowledge through Cultures and Time* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 89.

sehen und darzustellen, wie sie den für uns bedeutsamen Zusammenhang der Literatur als Vorgeschichte ihrer gegenwärtigen Erfahrung bedingt und erhellt.¹⁸

[The merit of a literary history based on an aesthetics of reception will depend upon the degree to which it can take an active part in the continual integration of past art by aesthetic experience. This demands on the one hand (. . .) a conscious attempt to establish canons, which, in turn, on the other hand, (. . .) presupposes a critical revision if not destruction of the traditional literary canon. The criterion for establishing such a canon and the ever-necessary retelling of literary history is clearly set out by the aesthetics of reception. The step from the history of the reception of the individual work to the history of literature has to lead us to see and in turn to present the historical sequence of works in the way in which they determine and clarify our present literary experience.]¹⁹

Despite its adaptation, critical revision and/or destruction in the Western aesthetics of reception, *Kalila wa-Dimna* succeeded, by becoming a global literary text, to resist the western cultural transformations imposed by the literary history. There is no wonder that *Kalila wa-Dimna* has always been ranked as a mediator between western and eastern cultures, or, indeed, as the gateway through which “das orientalische Fabelgut in das abendländische Mittelalter und damit in die europäische Literatur Eingang fand. Es erfüllte seine Pflicht als Bindeglied zwischen den [orientalischen und westlichen] Kulturen durch Übersetzungen, Anpassungen und Nachdichtungen” (the eastern fable material penetrated the western Middle Ages and European literature. It fulfilled its role as a link between [Eastern and Western] cultures throughout translations, adjustments and adaptations).²⁰

Even though it was a translation of the Pahlavi version, Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Arabic adaptation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* has served as the main source for several western translations, for instance, for Simeon Seth’s Greek adaptation in ca. 1080 (on which the Italian [1583] and Old Slavonic versions are based), Rabbi Joël’s Hebrew translation (source of John Capua’s Latin version [ca. 1270], which in turn, was the source of Antonius von Pforr’s German version), Jacob ben Elazar Hebrew adaptation (thirteenth century), the Castilian version in 1251 (the source of Raimund’s Latin version [1313]), David Sahid’s, Galland’s, and Cardonne’s French adaptations

18 Jauß, “Literaturgeschichte als Provokation” (see note 7), 170.

19 Jauß, “Literary History as a Challenge to Literary History” (see note 8), 9.

20 See Faranak Haschemi, “Die persische Rezeption von *Kalila und Dimna*,” *Von listigen Schakalen und törichtigen Kamelen* (see note 12), 195–208; here 195; eadem, “Komparatistische Untersuchung von *Kalila*” (see note 6), 275; eadem, “Die Auswirkungen des *Kalila wa Dimna* auf die Fabeldichtung der deutschen Aufklärung,” *Trans: Internet-Zeitschrift für Kulturwissenschaften* 16 (2006) [https://www.inst.at/trans/16Nr/06_1/haschemi16.htm; last accessed on Jan. 08, 2023].

[respectively 1644, 1724, and 1778] as well further adaptations.²¹ In this manner, *Kalila wa-Dimna* moved from the East to the West and underwent through this migration several cultural changes.²²

In contrast to the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*, the Arabic *Kalila wa-Dimna* consists of fifteen books and several embedded tales to guide a human being to good morals and to regulate his relationship with the other people; political and wisdom topics represent the most important ones covered in the book.²³

The “Ring Dove” Fable in *Kalila wa-Dimna*

In order to gain a better understanding of the subsequent analysis, it is indispensable to define, first of all, the term ‘fable’ prior to launching the investigation about the fable of the “Ring Dove.”

Reinhard Dithmar defines in the *Enzyklopädie des Märchens* the fable (derived from the Latin word *fabula* which means the invented story) as the “Handlungsverlauf eines epischen oder dramatischen Werkes [. . .]” (plot of an epic or dramatic work).²⁴ The fable is thus according to this definition first of all a literary genre. Apart from being a literary genre, the fable is commonly also characterized by the presence of (speaking) things, plants, legendary creatures, and, above all, animals. In other words, the fable is “deliberately allegorical.”²⁵ These allegorical figures

21 See François De Bloy, *Burzoe's Voyage to India and the Origin of Kalilah wa Dimnah* (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1990), 11; Ion G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah or the Fables of Bidpai. An English Translation of the Later Syriac Version after the Text Originally Edited by William Wright, with Critical Notes and Variant Readings Preceded by an Introduction, Being an Account of their Literary and Philological History* (Amsterdam: Philo Press, 1970), lxxxv; and George Grigore, “Kalila wa Dimna and Its Journeys to the World Literatures,” *Arab Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Studies*, ed. George Grigore and Laura Sitaru. Romana-Arabica, 13 (Bucharest: Editura Universitatii din Bucuresti, 2013), 139–50; here 144–47.

22 See Ramsay Wood, *Kalila und Dimna: vom sinnreichen Umgang mit Freunden: Ausgewählte Fabeln des Bidpai*. Aus dem Amerikanischen übersetzt von Edgar Otten (1980; Freiburg i. Br.: Herder, 1986), 16.

23 Juan Manuel Cacho Blueca y María Jesús Lacarra, *Calila e Dimna. Edición, introducción y notas*. Clásicos Castalia, 133 (Madrid: Castalia, 1984), 5.

24 Reinhard Dithmar, “Fabel,” *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, ed. Kurt Ranke et al., vol. 4 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1984), 727–45; here 727.

25 Pierre-Yves Badel, “Fable, *Fabliau*,” *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, vol. A–J. English Translation by Adrian Walford, ed. Andre Vauchez, Barie Dobson, and Michael Lapidge, vol. 1 (Cambridge: James Clarke & CO, 2000), 525; here 525.

seemingly embody different and even contradictory characteristics of humans since they are thought to stand in generally for intelligent, naïve, (im)pious, idolatrous, (un)chaste, or (im)pure like human beings. In fact, what the fable says of allegorical figures makes sense “only when applied to humans.”²⁶

In this framework, talking about animals in literature is basically a way of thinking about what it means to be a human. Speaking animals (and things) in the fable are used as symbols and metaphors for describing human behavior (positive or negative), human desires, human abilities, and disabilities. According to Ian Gordon,

In broad terms, a beast fable, or apologue as it is occasionally called (. . .), is a form of allegory. It tells a story on one level which clearly points to further meaning on another level. The animals, or inanimate things, which act or speak in the story at the narrative level, represent a different meaning when their actions, or conversations, are interpreted by the reader at a human level. It is of the essence that the classical, or Aesopian, fable should be short, vivid, and to the point. One of its principal features is that its allegorical meaning conveys some sort of moral, social, or political lesson. The author describes animals or inanimate things conversing in human speech in order to illustrate some precept, such as prudence. Such precepts are usually more effective when phrased in this way.²⁷

Considering the fact that animals, plants, things, and mystical creatures are generally represented in each culture in literary or artistic form, the fable becomes a kind of a universal literary genre. In particular, some of the represented animals can sometimes be common for several cultures (transcending in this way cultural borders). This is, for instance, the case of the dove, a global bird, present in fables and legends worldwide,²⁸ especially in *Kalila wa-Dimna* in which the famous fable of the “Ring Dove” revives the motif of the dove. The “Ring Dove” has been rewritten and adapted many times particularly in children’s literature and in Arabic cartoons.

The fable of the “Ring Dove” begins with a crow who observes a hunter laying out a net and seeds and hiding himself. Afterward, a flock of doves and their ruler lands on the net and begin to peck the seeds until they are trapped. Their leader, a female ring dove, orders them to work together so that they can fly away with the net. The hunter, who is astonished, chases the quarry; the crow follows them secretly. When the ring dove notices that they are being chased, the leader gives instructions to the other doves to fly over high mountains. The doves follow the

²⁶ Badel, “Fable, *Fabliau*” (see note 25).

²⁷ Ian Gordon, “Fable,” *The Literary Encyclopedia*. First published 28 December 2006, <https://www.litencyc.com/php/stopsis.php?rec=true&UID=37> (last accessed on Jan. 08, 2022).

²⁸ See Werner Bies, “Tauben,” *Enzyklopädie des Märchens. Handwörterbuch zur historischen und vergleichenden Erzählforschung*, ed. Rolf Wilhelm Brednich et al., vol. 13: *Suchen – Verführung* (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2010), 240–44; here 240.

instructions. In order to escape from the net, the female leader then decides to ask her friend, the rat in her den. The rat gnaws at the net and delivers all the doves which then fly away.

After having observed all the scenes, the crow finally asks the rat to become her friend. Both the crow and the rat then move to a turtle, a friend of the crow, in a place which is supposed to be safer. The turtle welcomes her friend and makes friendship with her friend's friend, the rat. The three friends live safely in this place until they are joined by a frightened gazelle trying to escape from a hunter. The rat, the crow, and the turtle welcome the gazelle and offer her their friendship which is accepted by the newcomer. The four animals live together safely having a daily meeting in a thicket.²⁹

But one day, when the gazelle does not appear, her friends are very worried; the crow flies around and sees that the gazelle has been trapped by a hunter's snare; she then informs the other friends. The rat, the crow, and even the turtle (despite her slowness) come to the gazelle's rescue. The three animals succeed to free their friend; but in turn, due to her slow character, the turtle is trapped. The other friends come one more time to rescue the turtle: the freed gazelle simulates a physical disability; the hunter leaves unattended the bag (in which the turtle had been kept) and begins to pursue the escaped gazelle. The rat succeeds to gnaw at the bag and to free the turtle. When the hunter comes back after having vainly pursued the gazelle, he finds out that the turtle has also escaped; the narrator comments his reaction as follows:

“وَقَالَ إِنَّ هَذِهِ الْأَرْضَ لِأَرْضِ جِنٍّ أَوْ سَحَرَةٍ. فَانصَرَفَ مَذْعُورًا مُؤَلِّيًا لَا يَلْتَفِتُ إِلَى شَيْءٍ، وَلَا يَلْوِي عَلَيْهِ فَاجْتَمَعَ الطَّيْرُ وَالْغُرَابُ وَالسُّلْحَفَاءُ وَالْجُرَذُ رَاجِعَاتٍ إِلَى غَرِيصَتَيْنِ أَمْنَتَيْنِ.”³⁰

[“This,” he said, “must be a land of jinn or enchanters!” and he fled in terror, not stopping or turning aside to look at anything. The gazelle, the crow, the turtle, and the rat safely returned together to their thicket].³¹

²⁹ A similar motif of friendship can be found in some fables of the renowned French fabulist Jean de La Fontaine, namely in *Les deux amis*, *Le corbeau*, *la gazelle*, *la tortue et le rat*. However, *Les deux Pigeons* can be perceived as a contrafactum to the fable in *Kalila wa-Dimna* because La Fontaine's fable deals with a loving couple: The first one intends to leave the beloved one and seek adventures for its own happiness. Once he left the other one, the adventure-seeking pigeon is captured (like the pigeons in the mentioned versions of *Kalila wa-Dimna*) by a net. It succeeds to free itself. However, it loses a lot of feathers and comes back (almost dead) to the beloved pigeon. The moral of this fable is the following: One's happiness can be found by the others. For a concise analysis of the influence of *Kalila wa-Dimna* on La Fontaine, see for instance Jürgen Grimm, “*Pilpay fait près du Gange arriver l'aventure*. La Fontaine und die orientalische Fabeltradition,” *Von listigen Schakalen und törichtchen Kamelen*, ed. Mamoun Fasa and Eckhard Grunewald (see note 12), 209–20.

³⁰ Abdallah Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalila wa Dimna: Fable of Virtue and Vice*, ed. Michael Fishbein, trans. Michael Fishbein and James E. Montgomery (New York: New York University Press 2022), 212.

³¹ Ibn al-Muqaffa, *Kalila wa Dimna* (see note 30), 213.

From Translation to Rewriting: *Kalila wa-Dimna* at the Crossroads of Eastern and Western Cultures

After having highlighted the term fable and having also summarized the story of the “Ring Dove,” the fable we intend to investigate in this contribution, we will now trace the reception of this fable in both eastern and western Cultures.

As far as the reception in the eastern literary culture is concerned, the analysis will be focused on the Arabic and Hebrew translations of respectively Abdallah Ibn al-Muqaffa and Jacob Ben Elazar. The choice of both translations is motivated by the fact that the first one, on the one hand, has served as the source of almost all further adaptations. On the other hand, the selection of Ben Elazar’s translation is due to the influence of Rabbi Joël’s Hebrew translation which is “critically of great importance”³² within the Western history of reception.³³ Jacob Ben Elazar’s translation has most of the times been overlooked by scholars for the reasons that it has been classified as “a literary product of modern Judaism, being little more than a cento of Bible verses, possessing hardly any critical value.”³⁴ By taking Ben Elazar’s Hebrew translation into account, we intend to draw particular attention to this translation.

Concerning the Western reception, attention will be paid to the Old Castilian version, Antonius von Pforr’s Early New High German translation, as well as Galland’s (1724) and Cardonne’s (1778) French adaptations.

The Reception in the Eastern Tradition

The Arabic Adaptation of Abdallah Ibn al-Muqaffa

The action of the fable “Ring Dove” in Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Arabic translation takes place in a hunting area located in a wild forest and is called Mārūzūd. There is in this forest a great tree with many branches and leaves. One can assume that

³² Ion G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah* (see note 21), lxxi. The influence of Rabbi Joël’s Hebrew translation is characterized by the fact that it has been the source of John Capua’s Latin version from which in turn the German, Danish, Dutch, Spanish, Italian, French and English translations emerged.

³³ See for instance Theodor Benfey, *Pantschatantra. Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkung*. Volume 1 (1859; Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1966), 14.

³⁴ See Keith-Falconer’s introduction to his English translation of the later Syriac version of *Kalilah and Dimnah* (see note 21), lxxiii.

the great tree, or, indeed, the forest, represents a kind of global world (in which meeting foreign world is not uncommon) characterized by the encounters of the two main species: humans/hunters and wild animals. However, the animals appear as the endangered species due to the humans' predatory behavior in this global world. It is not surprising that the hunter (spied by the crow) is qualified as "قَبِيحَ الْمَنْظَرِ سَيِّئَ الْحَالِ عَلَيْهِ أَطْمَارٌ" (p. 182, 6.2) "foul-faced, ill-tempered and shabbily dressed" (p. 183, 6.2).

Since the crow is observing the hunter from the great tree, the forest, despite its role of representing a global world, also plays the same function as the window described by Cathrin Senn in the following words:

If we see the window as a glass pane, then we focus on the window primarily as a border between inside and outside, generating two adjoining worlds [. . .]. The window may in this context illustrate contrasting as well as parallel realms or points of view, and it may underline the division between subject and object of observation.³⁵

With regard to this comment, the great tree in the "Ring Dove" can also be considered as the border between the two different worlds: the animals' world on the one side and the humans' world on the other side. In the scene mentioned above, the hunter's appearance emphasizes the existing enmity (between the hunter and wild animals) and particularly supports the interpretation of two contradictory worlds. Even though the animals are subject to be the objects of the human's desire (relation between the hunter and hunted animals), the roles are reversed at the beginning of the "Ring Dove": The great tree also underlines through the motif of observation the superordinate position of the subject (crow) and the subordinate position of the object (hunter) of observation.

Not only the hunter's physical appearance scares the crow but also the hunting equipment which comprises of a net and a stick. The crow's fear that the hunter would destroy him or another animal, becomes reasonable once the hunter begins to set up the net, to scatter grain, and to hide nearby hoping for some prey.

Afterward, a group of ring doves swoops down into the grain and lands under the net. When the doves see the hunter rushing up to them (since there have been trapped by the net), their attempts to escape are described by the narrator as follows: "واضطربت كلّ حمامة على خالها تُعالج لنفسها" (p. 184, 6.3) "Each dove fluttered about separately, straining to free herself" (p. 185, 6.3).

³⁵ Cathrin Senn, *Framed Views and Dual Worlds. The Motif of the Window as a Narrative Device and Structural Metaphor in Prose Fiction*. Europäische Hochschulschriften, Reihe 14: Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature, 375 (Bern, Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 2001), 67.

A female ring dove, which is represented as the leader of the doves and had led the whole group to the snare, orders them to work all together: “لا تتخاذلن في المعالجة ولا: (p. 183, 6.3) تكونن نفساً واحدة منكن هي أهم لها من نفس صاحبتهَا، ولكن هَلْمْ تعاون جميعاً نقتل الشبْكة” (“Stay true to one another! Don’t focus more on your own life than on your companion’s. Let’s work together and perhaps we can lift this net,” p. 184, 6.3). The doves obey and they succeed to fly away with the net.

Some points attract our attention in this scene. The first one concerns the female leader’s first action which verges on carelessness. She has directly led through her careless decision her group to the snare. However, she then proves a great deal of leadership by ordering the doves instead of being selfish to work together so that they can escape. Furthermore, she speaks to her group and warns the doves:

هذا الصياد جاء في طلبك فإن أقمته في الفضاء، لم تخفين عليه ولكن نوجهن إلى العُمران والحضر فإنه لا يلبث أن يخفى عليه مذهبك فينصرف أنسا منكن، ومع ذلك فإن قريب من الريف مكانا أنا به عارفة فيه حجر جرد وهو صديق لي فلو قد انتهينا إليه قطع عنا هذا الشبك وأفلتنا منه (p. 184, 6.4).

[The hunter, I see, is still pursuing us. If we stay up in the open, we’ll remain in his sight; let’s head for the orchards and trees. He’ll soon lose track of us and give up. I know a place by the fields where a rat has his den. He’s a friend of mine. If we can get to him, he’ll cut through the net and we’ll be free]

The female ring dove has seemingly drawn important lessons from her first imprudent action since she subsequently acts more and more strategically and more carefully as a leader. She looks back in order to ensure she and her companions are all safe. Only this careful action allows the female leader of the ring doves to see the hunter who is still following them and hoping to catch them. In a further step, the female leader informs the other doves that they are still in danger before giving them instructions to fly toward orchards and trees. In this context, the orchards and trees appear as a place of hope, safety, and retreat for the birds.³⁶ As expected by the female leader, the hunter gives up once the ring doves have followed her

³⁶ The orchards and the trees play some similar functions attributed to mountains in medieval literary narratives (see the recent contribution of Nine Miedema and Abdoulaye Samaké, “Berge in mittelalterlichen (Traum-)Erzählungen,” *Der Traum vom Berg. Bergvisionen zwischen Symbolik und Erfahrungsraum*, ed. Sophia Mehrbrey. Traum – Wissen – Erzählen, 14 (Paderborn: Fink, 2023), 3–34; here 4, 11, 13, and 27. See also Silke Winst, “Gebirge, Berg, Tal,” *Literarische Orte in deutschsprachigen Erzählungen des Mittelalters: Ein Handbuch*, ed. Tilo Renz, Monika Hanauska, and Mathias Herweg (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 179–89; Albrecht Classen, “Mountains as a Novel Staging Ground in Late-Medieval and Early Modern Literature: Felix Fabri’s *Evagatorium* (1493), Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini’s *Historia Austriaca* (after 1452), and Emperor Maximilian’s *Theuerdank* from 1517,” *Medievalia et Humanistica* NS 39 (2014): 1–23.

instructions. This forward-looking action characterizes the female leader's good leadership. Since the ring dove is aware that she and her companions are physically not capable to escape from the net, she does not hesitate to seek help from her male friend, the rat Zirak.³⁷ Once there, the female leader orders the ring doves to land, and they follow her order.

When Zirak sees the ring dove together with her companions trapped by the net, he asks her how this could have happened to her. The ring dove replies through a rhetorical question:

ألم تعلم أنه ليس شيء من الخير والشر إلا وهو مقدر عللا من يصيبه بآلامه وأوقاته وعمله وممته وقدر ما هو نصيبه في قلته وكثرته فالمقادير التي أوقعنتني حيث ترى. فقالت إني أوضحت إلى الخب وأعميت بصري عن الشبكة فلججت، فيما كما ترى أنا وصواحيبي وليس أمري وقلة امتناعي من القدر بعجب فقد لا يمتنع من القدر من هو أقوى مني وأعظم أمرا (p.124,8)

[“Don’t you know that everything, both good and evil, that befalls us is determined by destiny [. . .]? Destiny cast me into this predicament; it made me see the grain clearly and blinded me to the net. My companions and I plunged into it [. . .]. There is nothing amazing about my inability to protect myself from destiny: things stronger and greater than I can’t escape their destiny.”] (p. 185, 6.5).

The ring dove's first careless act at the beginning of the tale is justified here by the motif of destiny. The term destiny (*Qadar*) in the dove's answer is an important belief in Islam; it means that God (*Allah*) is All-Knowing and All-Powerful, and everything that has happened, happens, and will happen in the universe is not only known but commanded just by Him.³⁸ According to the Islamic conception, everything that happens in this life or afterlife (to human beings, animals, or inanimate things) depends on destiny which is regulated by God. It is in this framework very important to refer to the Night of Decree/Power which is ranked in the Islamic culture as the holiest night and better than thousand nights.³⁹

Since we know that Ibn al-Muqaffa translated *Kalila and Dimna* into Arabic, he unsurprisingly adapted it to the Islamic context by emphasizing in this scene the belief in destiny. Considering these observations related to the importance of Decree in the Islamic-(Arabic) culture, it is more than likely that the Arabic recip-

37 The rat is portrayed as clever and wise; these qualifications correspond to the name Zirak. See D. N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), 99; and Philippe Gignoux, *Noms propres sassanides en Moyen-Perse épigraphique*. Iranisches Personen-namenbuch 2, Faszikel 2 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1986), 195, and also <https://rekhtadictionary.com/meaning-of-ziirak> (last accessed on Jan. 08, 2022).

38 Alfred Guillaume, *Islam* (London: Penguin Books, 1990), 131–34.

39 For the importance of this night, see the chapters Al-Qadr, 97:1–5 (Surah Al-Qadr – 1–5 – Quran. com [last accessed on Jan. 08, 2022]) and Ad-Dukhan, 44: 3–4 (Surah Ad-Dukhan – 1–59 – Quran. com [last accessed on Jan. 08, 2022]) in the Qur'an. See also Huseyin Algul, *The Blessed Days and Nights in the Islamic Year*, trans. Jane L. Kandur (2004; Somerset, NJ: Light 2005), 55.

ients of Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation must have had a better understanding of the ring dove's first careless action and have felt empathy for the tragic fate of the female dove character and her companions. Because the ring dove clearly points out that even things stronger and greater (which include also humans) than she would not be able to escape their destiny. It is no wonder that her friend Zirak subsequently begins to cut the net and thus frees primarily the female leader.

However, the female ring dove refuses to be the first to be freed; she entreats Zirak to deliver first her companions and argues:

فإنه لم يحملني على ذلك إلا أنني تكلفت لجماعة هذا الحمام بالرئاسة وحق ذلك عليّ عظيم وقد أدين إليّ حقي في الطاعة والنصيحة والمعوّنة وبذلك نجانا الله من صاحب الشرك، وإني خفت إن أنت بدأت بقطع عقدي أن تمل وتكسل عن ما بقي من عقديهن وعرفت إن بدأت بهن وكنت أنا الأخيرة لم ترض وإن أدركك الفتور والملل أن تترك معالجة قطعي وثاقبي عني (p. 183, 3)

[“I have a great responsibility as leader of this flock. They’ve fulfilled their duty of obedience, counsel, and assistance, and by that means God has delivered us from the hunter’s snares. If you begin by cutting my bonds, I’m afraid You’ll tire and neglect some of the other’s bonds. But I know that if you start with them and leave me till last, you won’t allow yourself, no matter how tired and weary, to stop cutting away my bonds”] (p. 186).

The ring dove's action in this scene perfectly ties in with her words after the doves' vain attempts to escape when they had previously been trapped by the net: “Don’t focus more on your own life than on your companion’s” (p. 184, 6.3). The female dove leader proves one more time much leadership qualities and a sense of responsibility. She does not just limit herself to recommend to the other doves to care about each other; she also acts in accordance with her recommendation to her subordinates by refusing to be the first one to be delivered.

By applying psychoanalytical approaches to the ring dove, we may assume that the dove's action (despite religious Islamic justification through the motif of destiny) might be motivated by feelings of guilt because their shared predicament can be traced back to her first careless action. This might well be a plausible interpretation for the dove's behavior in the delivery scene. However, it should be recalled that Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation is incorporated into an Islamic-Arabic cultural context. With regard to this, it is also possible that the author tried through the discourse on leadership and obedience to revive some of the Islamic-Arabic cultural traditions in which leadership and obedience play a decisive role. To this end, Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic translation of *Kalila wa-Dimna* could have served some political ambitions of the Abbasid Caliphate. Because the

Abasids understood their subjects well enough to perceive that if they made the revival of the sunna an integral part of their policy, and in their official capacity as Imāms conformed to the national religion, no serious interference with their personal tastes would ensue [. . .]. The

Abbasids were keenly alive to the importance of the principle of the divine right of kings [. . .]. An enormous number of traditions were forged to [. . .] Abbasid interests [. . .].⁴⁰

Regarding these observations, the ring dove leader in *Kalila wa-Dimna* could embody the Abbasid caliphate whereas the obedient doves represent all other Muslim adherents. The latter should thus demonstrate obedience toward the caliphate like the doves toward their female leader in the fable.

In the ring dove's assertion, particular attention is given to the role of God in the escape scene. We may assume that the ring doves escaped from the hunter not only thanks to their leader's intelligence and good leadership as well as the obedience and assistance of the subordinate doves; instead, their intelligence, leadership, obedience, and assistance are considered means through which God has helped the doves to escape. All the merit is reserved to God because neither intelligence, leadership, obedience, nor mutual assistance could have helped the doves if their destiny had been to be captured and killed by the hunter. In other words: The ring doves have escaped thanks to destiny. The Islamic-Arabic discourse on destiny is one more time revived in the delivery scene. The female ring dove is, in accordance with her request, delivered by her friend Zirak as the last of the group. The ring doves then fly away after their liberation.

The crow that has observed everything from the beginning up to the last scene, is impressed by the good leadership on the part of the female ring dove leader and the good friendship between her and the rat Zirak. Thanks to this leadership and true friendship the crow then moves from a passive observer to an active participant; for this purpose, the crow invites the rat to become his friend too. Zirak first refuses because of the innate enmity between rats and crows. The crow insists and argues: "The mark of a true friend is that he is a friend of his friend's friend, and an enemy of his friend's enemy. Those who neither love you nor wish you [Zirak] well are not companions or friends of mine. It will be easy for me to break with those who think otherwise about you" (p. 191, 6.12).

The rat Zirak finally accepts the crow's friendship after a "Durchsetzungsdiskurs"⁴¹ (an assertive discourse). Both the crow and the rat move to a turtle before they are all joined by a gazelle. The four friends stand up for each other when a predicament befalls one of them. Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation projects, through the friendship between the crow, the rat, the turtle and the gazelle (despite all their

⁴⁰ Alfred Guillaume, *The Traditions of Islam* (see note 16), 56–57.

⁴¹ Edda Weigand, *Sprache als Dialog. Sprechakttaxonomie und kommunikative Grammatik*. Zweite, neu bearbeitete Auflage. Linguistische Arbeiten, 204 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2003), 167–68.

differences), particularly some Islamic-Arabic discourses about diversity, global friendship, wealth, and poverty.⁴²

As it can be seen, Ibn al-Muqaffa did not only translate *Kalila wa-Dimna*, he also adapted the text to the Abbasid political, social and cultural environment.⁴³ He seemingly made use of symbolic structures by the means of fables to represent the real relations between scholars and political authorities in order to escape from an eventual punishment on the part of the Caliph Al-Mansour who was considered as the most cruel caliph in the history of the Abbasid Empire. Since Ibn al-Muqaffa's translation was more than likely meant to revive and preserve the traditional systems of the Persian Empire, he must have profoundly appreciated the cultural values of the Persian civilization (from which he sprang) and endeavored to make them known to the Arabic world.⁴⁴ The characteristics of the female protagonist in the fable might also point out the important role of women in the Islamic-Arabic culture and society.

The Hebrew Adaptation of Jacob Ben Elazar

As forementioned, *Kalila wa-Dimna* had been translated into Hebrew for the first time during the twelfth century by Rabbi Joël. Even though there is no further information about his life, Rabbi Joël's Hebrew translation was the most popular within the history of Western reception of *Kalila wa-Dimna*. A second Hebrew translation was undertaken in the thirteenth century by Jacob ben Elazar, an Iberian poet and philosopher.

Since *Kalila wa-Dimna* was very popular among medieval Jews,⁴⁵ both medieval Hebrew translations are of great importance in studying the textual changes in the story in the Western history of reception. However, despite the popularity of Ben Elazar's translation (provided in rhymed prose with high level of Hebrew) among Jewish writers in both the Islamic and Christian Spain,⁴⁶ it did not receive the attention it really deserves in scholarly discussions. For this reason, we will

42 For a succinct study on these topics, see, for instance, Luis M. Girón-Negrón, "The Medieval Avatar of *Kalilah wa Dimnah*: The Disgression on Wealth and Poverty in the Ring Dove Chapter," *Revista de Estudios Espanicos* 31.1 (2004): 219–45.

43 See for instance Tarek Shamma, "Translating into the Empire. The Arabic Version of *Kalila wa Dimna*," *The Translator* 15.1 (2009): 65–86; here 72.

44 Shamma, "Translating into the Empire" (see note 43), 67.

45 Alan Verskin, "The Theology of Jacob Ben El'Azar's Hebrew Version of Ibn Al-Muqaffa's *Kalila wa Dimnah*," *Revue des etudes juives* 170.3–4 (2011): 465–75; here 468.

46 Dan Pagis, "Variety in Medieval Rhymed Narratives," *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 27 (1978): 79–98; here 80.

exclude Rabbi Joël's translation in our analysis and take instead a closer look to Ben Elazar's translation.

By choosing Ben Elazar's translation, we intend to offer and discuss heterogeneous aspects in our comparative study of the "Ring Dove" fable. Because Ben Elazar (in contrast to Rabbi Joël and the other western translators presented in this paper) did not strictly follow the Arabic source. As Alan Verskin has rightly observed, Jacob ben Elazar generally dislikes as translation style (in opposition to the other translators of *Kalila wa-Dimna*) the literal translation for the simple reason that it is "cause textual corruption and diminish the splendor of a text."⁴⁷ Ben Elazar had kept the same actions and details, the same order of actions in the story and plot (as represented in the Arabic source). However, he applied several changes and added innovations:

Ya'aqob ben El'azar realiza una recreación literaria del texto, que se manifiesta desde un principio por el estilo elegido para su redacción: la prosa rimada, estilo de narración literaria hispanohebraica. Ben El'azar hace uso, según es propio de dicho estilo, de una lengua en la que predomina el hebreo bíblico e introduce abundantes alusiones y citas bíblicas en la narración.⁴⁸

[Jacob ben Elazar realizes a literary adaptation of the text which first manifests itself through the selected style for his redaction: the rhymed prose, the Hispanic-Hebrew literary style of narration. In accordance with this style, Ben Elazar makes use of a language which predominates the Hebrew bible and introduces abundant allusions and biblical quotations into the narration]

Among the major changes applied by Ben Elazar the representation of the ring dove is the first point that deserves mentioning: While the ring dove is shortly represented as the leader of her companions in the Arabic source: (كانت سيدة حمام كثير) [a leader of many ring doves] (p. 182–183), she is portrayed by Ben Elazar as follows:

והנה יונה שמה ענוקה והיא מלכת כל היונים ועמה יונים רבות סביב הדביבה מסבות⁴⁹

[And here is a dove whose name is Ring dove and she is the queen of all doves and with her many doves around the dove from her grandmothers]

Contrary to the Arabic source, Ben Elazar uses the Hebrew term מלכת [the queen] and confers to the female ring dove a more significant role: she is not only a simple leader of the mentioned group, but also the queen of all doves. The Hebrew term used by Ben Elazar might be an allusion to the following passage in the Book of

⁴⁷ Verskin, "The Theology" (see note 45), 468.

⁴⁸ See Ángeles Navarro Peiro, "Las versiones hebreas de *Calila y Dimna*," *Revista de Filología Romanica* 14.2 (1997): 325–33; here 326.

⁴⁹ Joseph Derenbourg, *Deux versions hébraïques du livre Kalilah et Dimnah* (Paris: Vieweg, 1881), 331.

Jeremiah: “The children gather wood, the fathers light the fire, and the women knead the dough and make cakes to offer to the Queen of Heaven. They pour out drink offerings to other gods to arouse my anger” (Jeremiah, 7:18).

By using the expression מלכת [queen], Jacob ben Elazar adds the mystical and biblical connotation to the female ring dove: She is the queen and surrounded by her people. It is not surprising that she is determined to save her species from their common enemy, the hunter. The fable of the “Ring Dove” gains in this framework a Jewish religious dimension: While the doves can be interpreted as the People of Israel, the hunter is represented as the Enemy of the people of Israel, namely Christian Spain.

The ring dove is thus perceived as one of the heroes (for instance Esther) who saved the People of Israel according to the biblical tradition. The story of the “Ring Dove” embodies the Messianic dimension and implicitly refers to the idea of salvation. The same interpretation of the fable can apply to the modern global world: The hunter still represents the enemy of the people of Israel; the ring dove symbolizes all the heroes who are attempted to save the people of Israel.

The second point that attracts our attention represents the excursus about destiny. As forementioned, Ibn al-Muqaffa uses the word “destiny”, namely in the plural (مقادير). By using the plural form, the Arabic text emphasizes once again the importance of “destiny” in Islam. In opposition to Ibn al-Muqaffa, Ben Elazar deletes the term “destiny” and offers instead his own particular, although recognizably, rabbinic approach to the nature of human evil, the problems of theodicy, and the nature of divinely ordained fate.⁵⁰ The ring dove’s answer to the rat’s question is described in the following words:

“וביום איד יכשל הסוס ואמין לבבו בנבורים. . . נבראיו ופעם יכסה יי הוא הטוב ביניו יעשה” (p. 371).

[“And on a bad day, the horse will fail, and his heart is brave in the hooves . . . His creatures and once God will cover him, he will do the best among them”]

Ben Elazar obviously deletes the term “destiny” which had been revived not only by Rabbi Joël’s Hebrew translation but also by all the Western translations (that will be analyzed in the subsequent section of this paper). He replaces it through a long paragraph about an almighty divine force which regulates the world. Even though Ben Elazar deliberately avoids using the term “destiny” in the passage above, his Rabbinic approach, indeed, does not exclude the existence of destiny as represented by Ibn al-Muqaffa in the Islamic-Arabic discourse on destiny. However, Ben Elazar also points out through the ring dove’s answer to the rat’s question that both

⁵⁰ For more details, see George Foot Moore, “Fate and Free Will in the Jewish Philosophies According to Josephus,” *The Harvard Theological Review* 22.4 (1929): 371–89.

human willingness/desire and destiny generally work simultaneously. It is more than likely that the ring dove's answer is an allusion to the Book of John: "Anyone who chooses to do the will of God will find out whether my teaching comes from God or whether I speak on my own" (John 7:17).

The Reception of *Kalila wa-Dimna* in the Western Tradition

After the analysis of the eastern reception of *Kalila wa-Dimna*, the western tradition will be the focus of the following section. For a better understanding, this section will be divided into two parts: While the first one discusses the western reception of the fable of the "Ring Dove" before 1700, the second one will take a closer look at the reception after 1700.

The Western Reception Before 1700

Since a discussion of all Western adaptations of *Kalila wa-Dimna* would go beyond the scope of our contribution, the analysis will be limited to two Western translations, namely the Old Castilian and the Early New High German. Both the Castilian and German translations seemingly do not exhibit major differences with Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic adaptation. Nevertheless, we would like to draw attention to some remarkable similarities and minimal changes applied by the Old Castilian and Early New High German translators.

Within the Old Castilian context, *Kalila wa-Dimna* had been translated around 1251 and dedicated to Alfonso X the Wise (1221–1284). Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic translation had served as the source of this Old Castilian translation from which Raimund's Latin adaptation emerged in 1313. The fable of the "Ring Dove" can be found in the *Capítulo de los puros amigos* (chapter V) of the Old Castilian translation.

Under the patronage by Eberhard I, Duke of Württemberg (1445–1496), the Early New High German translation had been provided around 1480 by Antonius von Pforr. It was influenced by John de Capua's Latin translation and subsequently served as the source for the Danish (1618) and Dutch (1623) translations.⁵¹

⁵¹ Antonius von Pforr, *Das Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen nach Handschriften und Drucken*, ed. Wilhelm Ludwig Holland. Bibliothek des Literarischen Vereins, 56 (Stuttgart: Literarischer Verein, 1860).

The first changes in the Old Castilian and Early New High German adaptations concern the hunting area at the beginning of the fable. While the place remains anonymous in the German translation (see p. 82, 24–25), it is called Duzat in the Castilian adaptation and is located in the neighborhood of the city of Muzne (see p. 231, 11–12).⁵² Like in the Arabic version, there is both in the Castilian and German translations also a great tree with many branches and dense leaves. However, there is in this scene a difference between both texts with regard to the Arabic translation: The crow is an anonymous character in the Arabic and German versions, whereas it appears in the Castilian translation as Geba (see p. 231, 16). The German translator in his part deletes the hunter's negative physical appearance described in the Arabic and Castilian adaptations.

Apart from these minimal changes, the description of the subsequent scenes in both Castilian and German adaptations remain similar to the Arabic text – from the hunter's action to the crow's observation up to the doves' female leader's careless action related to the grain and the net, her leadership, and the doves' obedience.

When the doves have been trapped by the net and the hunter comes to kill and pick them up, their reaction is described as follows:

Old Castilian	Early New High German
[. . .] y comenzaron las palomas a debatirse cada una a su parte, e punaban por estorcer	Do sich nun die tuben gefangen entfunden, do flotterten sy hin und her, sych zû entledigen
English Translation	
[. . .] and the doves began to flutter, each one on his side, and trying vainly to escape/lift [the net] (p. 131, 32–33).	When the doves saw that they were now trapped, they began to flutter in order to free themselves (p. 82).

The Old Castilian text emphasizes more the individualistic action (as described in the Arabic adaption) than the German translation. It is not clear whether the doves' action is also characterized by individualism. However, the female ruler demonstrates in both translations a great deal of leadership and makes clear to the doves that their survival depends only on how good they work together and for each other. By following the order of the female ruler, the doves in turn prove their obedience that then enables them to lift the net and fly away until they reach the rat's den. In contrast to the Castilian and Arabic versions (in which he is called Zira/Zirak), Antonius von Pforr renames the rat "Sambar" (see p. 83, 32).

⁵² Antonio G. Sollalinde, *Calila y Dimna, Fabulas. Antigua version castellana. Prologo y vocabulario*. Biblioteca Calleja, secunda serie (Madrid: Calleja, 1917).

In the delivery scene, the Old Castilian translator – in contrast to Ben Elazar – also follows Ibn-al-Muquaffa by using four times (like in the Arabic version) the term *ventura* [destiny]⁵³ (see p. 133, 5–6; 7; 11; 19). In opposition to the Arabic and Castilian texts, the German translator offers a description of the Christian perception of life and destiny. Since we know that Alfonso the Wise (to whom the Old Castilian version had been dedicated) employed Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scholars at his court, the remarkable similarity between the Castilian and Arabic texts might not surprise us. Because “there is no doubt whatever that this Spanish translation is based directly on the Arabic.”⁵⁴ Moreover, it can also be explained by cultural encounters between Eastern and Western Cultures in Andalusia/Spain up to the Reconquista.

The Western Reception After 1700

The first four chapters of *Kalila wa-Dimna* had been rewritten by Antoine Galland prior to his death in 1715 and published posthumously 1724. Since this French adaptation was incomplete, it was subsequently finished by Denis Dominique Cardonne in 1778. For these reasons, both Galland and Cardonne appear in the following section as translators of the French adaptation after 1700.

The third chapter of this French translation is dedicated to the story of the “Ring Dove.” For a better understanding of the comparative analysis, the French text passages will be confronted with the corresponding Arabic passages. The fable of the “Ring Dove” begins in the French adaptation as follows:

Galland's and Cardonne's Adaptation	Ibn al-Muqaffa's Arabic Adaptation
<i>Il y avoit aux environs de Cachmir, un lieu très agréable; & comme il estoit rempli de gibier, on y voioit tous les jours des chasseurs. Un corbeau aperçut au pied d'un arbre, au haut duquel il avoit son nid, un homme qui tenoit un filet en sa main. Le Corbeau eut peur, s'imaginant que c'estoit à lui que le Chasseur en vouloit; néanmoins il cessa de craindre, lorsqu'il eut observé les mouvements du personnage, lequel, après avoir tendu son filet à terre, & répandu quelques grains pour attirer les Oiseaux, alla se cacher derrière une haye.</i>	كان بأرض سيناند قريب من مدينة مارورود مكان كثير الصيد يتصيد فيه الصيادون وكان في ذلك المكان شجرة عظيمة كثيرة الغصون مئقة الأوراق وكان فيها وكر غراب فيئما الغراب ذات يوم على الشجرة إذ بصر برجل من الصيادين قبيح المنظر سيئ الحال عليه أظمار وعلى عاتقه شرك وفي يده عصا مقبل نحو الشجرة فذعر منه الغراب وقال لقد جاء هذا الرجل إلى المكان لأمر فما أدري الحيني أم لحين غيري ولكني ثابت مكاني ناظر ما يصنع

⁵³ See also Peiro, “Las versiones hebreas” (see note 48), 327.

⁵⁴ Ion G. N. Keith-Falconer, *Kalilah and Dimnah* (see note 21), lxxx.

(continued)

English Translation

There was, in the neighborhood of Kashmir, a very pleasant place. Since it was abounded in game, many hunters came there every day. A crow saw under a tree, on which he had nested, a person holding a net in his hand. The crow became frightened because he thought that the hunter would harm him. But he [the crow] was no longer frightened when he observed the hunter's movements, who, after having set up his net and scattered some grain on the floor in order to attract the birds, hid behind the edge.

The say that in the Deccan, near the city of Mārūzūd, was a place abounding in game, where hunters would come to hunt. A crow nested there, in a great tree with many branches and dense with leaves. One day, as he sat, he became frightened as he spied a hunter approaching, foul-faced, ill-tempered, and shabbily dressed with a net on his back and a stick in his hand. "This man", he said to himself, "has come for a reason – whether it's to destroy me or someone else, I don't know, but I'll stay put and see what he does."

In contrast to the previous versions, the name of the place of the action changes from Mārūzūd to Kashmir. Although the French text remains vague about the place of the action (neighborhood of Kashmir), this location can directly be traced back to India. Beside this first change in the French text, there is also no detailed description of the tree from which the crow observes the hunter. In opposition to the French text, the tree is described in the Arabic translation as great; it possesses many branches and leaves. Moreover, the hunter's negative portrait by Ibn al-Muqaffa becomes neutral in the French adaptation. The crow is also represented in the French version by his individualistic character. He seems to care only about his own person for the reason that his fright disappears as soon as the hunter does not express a keen interest in him by setting up the net, scattering grain on the ground, and hiding nearby. Conversely, in the Arabic translation, the crow's fright is not limited to himself; it cares about other animals. Furthermore, an omission can be observed in the French adaptation: The hunter appears here only with a net; the stick in the Arabic version has been eliminated by the French translators.

Apart from these differences at the beginning of the tale both the Arabic and French texts differ from each other by further essential points during the course of action. The subsequent scene, which describes the doves' landing on the trap, will give us more information. As expected by the hunter, the grain attracts the group of doves to land on the trap:

Galland's and Cardonne's Adaptation

Il n'y fut pas plutôt, qu'un groupe de pigeons affamés vint fondre sur les grains sans écouter leur Chef qui voulut les en empêcher, en leur disant qu'il ne falloit pas si brutalement s'abandonner à ses passions.

Ibn al-Muqaffa's Adaptation

فلم يلبث إلا قليلا حتى مرّ به حمامة كان يقال لها المطوقة كانت سيدة حمام كثيرة فهن معها فلما أبصرت المطوقة الحب ولم تنظر الشرك انقضت هي وحمامها جميعا فوقعين في الشرك وأقبل الصياد مسرعا فرحا بهن واضطربت كل حمامة تعالج لنفسها

(continued)

Galland's and Cardonne's Adaptation**Ibn al-Muqaffa's Adaptation**

Ce sage Chef qui étoit un vieux Pigeon nommé Montavala, les voyant si indociles, eut envie de s'éloigner d'eux, mais le destin qui entraîne impérieusement, le contraignant de suivre la fortune des autres, il descendit à terre avec eux (p. 263–264).

English Translation

A group of **starving doves** came afterward and sprang at the grain **without listening to their chief** who **wanted to hinder** them by telling them that none should so abruptly indulge in his desires. When this **wise leader**, who was an **old dove** called **Montavala**, wanted to move away from them when he saw them so **disobedient**; but **destiny**, which imperatively leads, forced him to follow the other's fortune; he landed together with them on the floor [net].⁵⁵

Soon a ring dove flew by, a leader of many doves, who accompanied her. She saw the grain, but not the net, and, along with the other doves, swooped down and landed under the net.

With a view to both scenes, it is obvious that the French text points out the doves' hunger which then motivates their action to spring at the grain/net. It is also apparent that the leader of the group of doves has been given the name Montavala who is characterized by his wisdom as well as his old age. Moreover, the doves' leader undergoes an important gender-related change in the French text since Galland and Cardonne use masculine grammatical markers⁵⁶ (namely the demonstrative pronoun *ce* and the adjective *vieux*) in order to describe Montavala. Unlike the female dove leader in the Arabic version, there is no evidence in the French adaptation of misconduct on the part of the male, wise, and old leader Montavala.

His first action is rather careful than careless because he tries to prevent the other doves from landing on the ground for the grain despite the degree of their starvation. Only after the failure of his attempt to hinder the other doves to indulge in their desire, Montavala follows his group. Thus, Montavala proves through this decision a great deal of leadership and sense of responsibility since he is not willing

⁵⁵ Our emphasis.

⁵⁶ We have adopted the expression "masculine grammatical markers" from Michelle Szkilnik, "The Grammar of the Sexes in Medieval French Romance," *Gender Transgressions: Crossing Normative Barrier in Old French Literature*, ed. Karen J. Taylor. Garland Reference Library of the Humanities, 2064 (New York: Garland Publishing, 1998), 61–88; here 67.

to give up on the doves; the wise leader seemingly intends either to dissuade the other doves or to share their common fate despite their insubordination.

The doves' obedience presented by Ibn al-Muqaffa conducts them to follow the female ring dove blindly which then through a first careless action directly leads them to the hunter's snare. Unlike these subordinate doves, the doves in the French adaptation are motivated by hunger and their disobedience. The motif of destiny is merely mentioned because only Montavala's action is determined by destiny. Thus, the importance of destiny decreases in the French adaptation; insubordination increases instead. It would be therefore very significant for this comparative analysis to illuminate the decrease in the treatment of the motif of destiny as well as the dove's disobedience in the French adaptation.

We are tempted to assume that the changes that occur in the French text might have been influenced by the nature and context in which the translation had been provided. It should be recalled that the French translation had been published between 1724 and 1778 during the Age of Enlightenment. As defined by Immanuel Kant 1784 in his famous essay as a response to Zöller's question,

Aufklärung ist der Ausgang des Menschen aus seiner selbstverschuldeten Unmündigkeit. Unmündigkeit ist das Unvermögen, sich seines Verstandes ohne Leitung eines anderen zu bedienen. Selbstverschuldet ist diese Unmündigkeit, wenn die Ursache derselben nicht am Mangel des Verstandes, sondern der Entschließung und des Mutes liegt, sich seiner ohne Leitung eines andern zu bedienen [. . .]. Faulheit und Feigheit sind die Ursachen, warum ein so großer Teil der Menschen, nachdem sie die Natur längst von fremder Leitung freigesprochen [. . .], dennoch gerne zeitlebens unmündig bleiben; und warum es anderen so leicht ward, sich zu deren Vormündern aufzuwerfen.⁵⁷

[Enlightenment is mankind's exit from its self-incurred immaturity. Immaturity is the inability to make use of one's own understanding without the guidance of another. Self-incurred is this inability if its cause lies not in the lack of understanding but rather in the lack of the resolution and the courage to use it without guidance of another. Laziness and cowardice are the reasons why such a great part of mankind, long after nature has set them free from the guidance of others (. . .), still gladly remain immature for life and why it is so easy for others to set themselves up as guardians.]⁵⁸

Considering this definition, it is more than likely that the changes applied by Galland and Cardonne tie in, for the most part, with the philosophical ideology of the Enlight-

57 Immanuel Kant, "Beantwortung der Frage: Was ist Aufklärung," *Kant, Erhard, Hamann, Herder, Lessing, Mendelssohn, Riem, Schiller, Wieland. Was ist Aufklärung? Thesen und Definitionen*, ed. Erhard Bahr. Reclams Universal-Bibliothek, 9714 (Stuttgart: Reclam, 1974), 8–17; here 9.

58 Immanuel Kant, "An Answer to the Question: What Is Enlightenment?" Translated by James Schmidt, *What Is Enlightenment? Eighteenth-Century Answers and Twentieth-Century Questions*, ed. James Smidt. Philosophical Traditions, 7 (1784; Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 58–64; here 58.

enment. The disobedience of the doves can be explained by their willingness to make use of their own understanding and to take their own decision by being enlightened. However, their enlightenment seems to be unfulfilled since the doves, after having been trapped, are no longer able to make use of their understanding without guidance of Montavala, the ingenious leader (see p. 266, 15–16); they completely depend on their leader's understanding and wisdom and finally obey him. The narrator describes the scene in the following words:

Galland's and Cardonne's Adaptation –	Ibn al-Muqaffa's Adaptation
<i>Lorsqu'ils se virent tous sous le filet, & sur le point de tomber entre les mains du Chasseur, qui s'avançoit pour les prendre : "Hé bien ! leur dit Montavala, me croirez-vous une autre fois ? Je vois bien [. . .] que chacun de vous ne songe qu'à se sauver sans se soucier de ce que deviendra son compagnon [. . .]. Efforçons-nous donc tous ensemble de rompre le filet." Ils obéirent tous à Montavala, & firent en même-temps un si grand effort, qu'ils arrachèrent le filet & l'enlevèrent en l'air.</i>	فلم يلبث إلا قليلا حتى مرّ به حمامة كان يقال لها المطوقة كانت سيدة حمام كثيرة فبين معها فلما أبصرت المطوقة الحب ولم تنتظر الشرك انقضت هي وحمامها جميعا فوقعين في الشرك وأقبل الصياد مسرعا فرحا بهن واضطربت كل حمامة تعالج لنفسها
English Translation	
When they saw themselves under the net and were close to being caught by the hunter, who moved on in order to take them up, Montavala said to them: "Well, will you believe me the next time? I rightly see [. . .] that each of you is just thinking to save himself without caring about his companion's fate [. . .]. Let us try together to break the net." They all obeyed Montavala, and made together a great effort so that they carried the net and lifted into the air.	Each dove fluttered about separately, strain to free herself, but the ring dove said, 'Stay true to one another! Don't focus more on your own life than on your companion's. Let's work together and perhaps we can lift this net.' So they worked together, lifted the net, and carried it high into the air.

Montavala's rhetorical question seems to indicate the reason for his previous decision to follow the doves despite their insubordination. He probably did not like to give up on the doves because they should first find out the consequences of their disobedience; he intended to accompany them in order to save their life in case they got into trouble. As described in the scene above, indeed, the doves only succeed to escape from being caught by the hunter thanks to Montavala's leadership skills, his ingenious plan, and above all, his pedagogical skills. Because when he gives the doves the instruction to work together, they all obey him without any exception. One can thus assume that the doves should learn a lesson in order to be disciplined. Moreover, the doves only succeed to escape from the hunter when they follow a second time their leader's instruction to fly toward the dense forest and old castles (see p. 265, 17–18).

The doves are glad when the hunter gives up pursuing them. However, they do not know how they can deliver themselves from the net and need one more time their leader's wisdom and ingeniousness. Montavala then proposes to seek out the rat Zirac, a good friend of him, who will undoubtedly free all of them. Zirac, the rat's name by Ibn al-Muqaffa, has also been maintained in Galland's and Cardonne's French translation. However, we would like to draw the attention to some significant differences between the Arabic and French translations in the subsequent scene. In contrast to the Arabic version, once the doves reach the rat's den, it is not the doves' leader who calls Zirac. The latter comes out due to the noise provoked by the fluttering of the doves' wings (see p. 267, 5–8). Moreover, the motif of the hundred holes (presented by Ibn al-Muqaffa) has been eliminated by the French translators. When Zirac sees his friend Montavala under the net he asks him with astonishment

Galland's and Cardonne's Adaptation	Ibn al-Muqaffa's Adaptation
<i>O mon cher ami, lui dit-il, qui vous a mis en cet état ? Montavala lui ayant conté toute l'aventure, Zirac commença d'abord à ronger le filet qui tenoit Montavala [. . .].</i>	قالت أنا خليلك المطوقة فأقبل إليها سعيًا فلما رآها في الشبك قال ما أوقعك في هذه الورطة وأنت من الأكياس؟ قالت المطوقة ألم تعلم أنه ليس شيء من الخير والشر إلا وهو مقدر علًا من بصيبه بآيائه وأوقاته وعلله ومدته وقدر ما هو نصيبه في قلته وكثرته فالمقادير التي أوقعني حيث ترى. فقالت إني أوضحت إلى الحب وأعميت بصري عن الشبكة فلججت، فيما كما ترى أنا وصواحي وليس أمري وقلة امتناعي من القدر بعجب فقد لا يمتنع من القدر من هو أقوى مني وأعظم أمرًا
English Translation	
He [Zirac] said to him [Montavala]: “O, my dear friend, who put you into this situation?” After that Montavala has told him the whole adventure, Zirac began first to gnaw at the knots that entangled Montavala [. . .].	“You’re so quick-witted; how did you get into this predicament?” The ring dove said, “Don’t you know that everything, both good and evil, that befalls us is determined by destiny – the day, the season, the cause, the duration, and the magnitude? Destiny cast me into this predicament: it made me see the grain clearly and blinded me to the net. My companions and I plunged into it, as you can see. There is nothing amazing about my inability to protect myself from destiny. When it is decreed, the sun and the moon are eclipsed, fish are caught in the depths of the sea, and birds are brought down from the air. The very means that enable the weakling to reach his objective and can block the resolute man from his goal.” The rat began to gnaw at the knots that entangled the ring dove [. . .].

The particular length of the Arabic text in this scene represents the striking difference between both translations. This is due to the fact that the long Islamic-Arabic

discourse on destiny has completely been omitted by the French translators. One might think at first sight that this omission is motivated by the need of the adaptation of the text to the French religious society which was dominated by Christendom. However, it should be mentioned that the religious motif of destiny had already been revived and adapted in the previous European (especially the Old Castilian and Early New High German) translations. It is more than likely that the French translation had been adapted to the context of the philosophical-literary movement of the Enlightenment whose main objectives consisted of fighting against superstition in all its forms.

Beside the omission of the long Islamic-Arabic discourse on destiny there are also significant innovations on the part of the French translators. Among these innovations it is important to note the motif of gratitude on the part of Montavala after having been freed by Zirac (see p. 268, 14–17). Such a grateful action of the female ring dove is missing in the Arabic version. Furthermore, two new tales are embedded in the debate between the rat and the crow after the departure of the doves. Both sub-tales, “La perdrix et le faucon” (The Partridge and the Hawk) (see p. 270–76) and “L’homme et la Couleuvre” (The Man and the Grass Snake) (see p. 276–83), are told by the rat in order to explain his fear of a friendship and suspicion about the crow’s honesty in his request. Moreover, further tales are embedded in the embedded story⁵⁹ of the adventures of Zirac (when both the rat and the crow meet the turtle), namely “Le chat gourmand” (The Greedy Cat) (see p. 301–03) and “Les deux amis” (The Two Friends) (see p. 304–05).⁶⁰

59 For the embedding in an embedded story in collections of fables, see, for instance, Sabine Obermaier, *Das Fabelbuch als Rahmenerzählung: Intertextualität und Intratextualität als Wege zur Interpretation des “Buchs der alten Beispiele der alten Weisen” Antons Pforr*. Beihefte zum Euphorion 48 (Heidelberg: Winter Verlag, 2004); and eadem, “Erzählen im Erzählen als Lehren im Lehren? Zum Verhältnis von Gesamtlehre und Einzellehre in Fabelsammlung und Tierepos,” *Erzähltechnik und Erzählstrategien in der deutschen Literatur des Mittelalters. Saarbrücker Kolloquium 2002*, ed. Wolfgang Haubrichs, Eckart Conrad Lutz, and Klaus Ridder. Wolfram-Studien, 18 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt Verlag, 2004), 99–125. However, Obermaier’s studies are devoted exclusively to German medieval literature. For Old French literature, see, for instance, the contributions to *Le Texte dans le texte. L’interpolation médiévale*, ed. Annie Combes, Michelle Szkilnik and Anne-Catherine Werner. Rencontres, 49. Civilisation médiévale, 4 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2013), and *Châsses, coffres et tiroirs: le récit dans le récit*, ed. Yasmina Foehr-Janssens. Cahiers de recherches médiévales et humanistes, 29 (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2015).

60 Since the sub-tale “Les deux amis” by Galland and Cardonne has major similarities with La Fontaine’s “Les deux amis,” the translators have probably been influenced by their predecessor. Because the turtle, who tells the fable, will be interrupted by the arrival of the gazelle (see p. 305), this fable can better be understood by the recipients after a look at La Fontaine’s “Les deux amis.”

Conclusion

This contribution aimed at demonstrating and highlighting medieval globalism through some translation challenges and dynamic Eastern and Western cross-cultural interactions within the history of reception of the fable of the “Ring Dove” in *Kalila wa-Dimna*.

We have first of all pointed out in this paper that the Arabic adaptation of Ibn al-Muqaffa represents the most popular translation of the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* in both Eastern and Western literary cultures. While the investigation regarding the eastern reception of the “Ring Dove” was focused on Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Arabic and Ben Elazar’s Hebrew translations, the analysis of the western reception has been divided into two parts: Before 1700 (the Old Castilian and Antonius von Pforr’s Early New High German translations) and after 1700 (Galland’s and Cardonne’s French adaptation).

Concerning Ibn al-Muqaffa’s Arabic translation, the analysis has highlighted that the great tree at the beginning of the fable of the “Ring Dove” is represented as a global world in which animals and humans are living. At the same time, the great tree also appears as the border between animal and humans’ worlds; the hunter’s negative portrait (holding in his hand a net and a stick) emphasizes the enmity between humans and animals. A female ring dove appears as the leader of her group and proves a great deal of leadership. Her imprudent action at the beginning of the fable is later justified by the motif of destiny.

The closer examination of the relationship between the female ring dove and her group (and the entire chapter about true friendship) has shown that Ibn al-Muqaffa adapted his Arabic translation to the Abbasid political, social and cultural environment and projected not only some religious Islamic-(Arabic) discourses about diversity, global friendship, wealth, and poverty, he also intended to promote the Persian culture by integrating some Persian cultural values. Moreover, the literary translation allowed the translator at the same time to portray the relationship between scholars and political authorities as patrons and oppressive rulers.

As far as Jacob ben Elazar’s Hebrew translation is concerned, the investigation has illuminated two remarkable changes in contrast to Ibn al-Muqaffa’s adaptation. The first one concerns the promotion of the character of the female leader from being a simple leader of a group of doves to the Queen of all doves/birds (Queen of Heaven). The second significant change refers to the omission of the motif of destiny. With regard to these two major changes the paper has demonstrated that the fable of the “Ring Dove” by Ben Elazar highlighted the Messianic dimension, and in an implicit way, it also eternalized the idea of salvation which can apply to the modern global world as well: The hunter always represents the enemy of the people of Israel; the ring dove symbolizes all the heroes who attempted to save the

People of Israel from the common enemies. Like the Arabic translator, Ben Elazar also adapted his Hebrew translation to the Jewish religious and cultural context.

In contrast to Ben Elazar, the western (Old Castilian and Early New High German) translators before 1700 preferred literal translations and followed directly or indirectly the Arabic source of Ibn al-Muqaffa. There are only some minimal changes between, on the one hand, both the Old Castilian and the Early New High German translations, and the Arabic translation on the other. For instance, the Old Castilian translator emphasized more than Antonius von Pforr the individualistic action on the part of the doves (within their attempts to escape from the net).

Major changes were added only by Galland (1724) and Cardonne (1778) in their French adaptation in which the great tree, the hunter's negative image, and the motifs of the stick and of the hundred holes have disappeared. The character of the crow is closer to individualism; the doves' leader undergoes some significant changes regarding the gender (from female to male) and the name (Montavala). The male leader is described as old and wise. Unlike the female leader in the analyzed translations, Montavala does not lead through an imprudent action his group to the net; it is rather the doves' insubordination that directly leads them to the snare; the motif of destiny also decreases.

Moreover, the paper has pointed out that these changes implemented in the examined French adaptation can better be explained by the philosophical ideology of the Enlightenment. However, there also results from the investigation that the doves' enlightenment is limited since they are not capable of making use of their understanding without the guidance of the male leader, Montavala. Furthermore, it is also important to mention the creations of the motif of thanksgiving (on the part of Montavala toward the rat Zirac) after the delivery scene as well as the four embedded tales: "La perdrix et le faucon," "L'homme et la Couleuvre," "Le chat gourmand," and "Les deux amis." The latter especially emphasizes the influence of Jean de La Fontaine (who had also been influenced by *Kalila wa-Dimna*) on Galland's and Cardonne's French adaptation of the fable of the "Ring Dove" within the western reception of *Kalila wa-Dimna* after 1700. To repeat Albrecht Classen's words regarding Antonius von Pforr's translation, we can assume that the three western translations that we analyzed in this paper allow us "to identify in very concrete terms the consequences of global translation work in the context of . . . [Western] literature and to recognize [their] considerable contribution to globalization attempts"⁶¹ from the (late) Middle Ages to the eighteenth century.

⁶¹ Albrecht Classen, "India, Persia, and Arabia in the Mind of a Late Fifteenth-Century German Author: Transcultural Experiences through the Literary Discourse. Antonius von Pforr and His *Buch der Beispiele der Alten Weisen*," *Philological Quarterly* 99.2 (2020): 119–45; here 121.

It can be seen from the observations throughout this paper that *Kalila wa-Dimna* indeed succeeded despite the eastern and western cross-cultural transformations in preserving its aesthetics and cultural characteristics. The fable of the “Ring Dove” can thus be presented to and/or discussed by children, by students, and/or scholars in global classrooms and in the global scholarly world. While meeting foreign people the following didactic lessons from the “Ring Dove” might be substantial: 1) People should work together despite their cultural, religious, sexual, racial differences; 2) diversity, equality, harmony, and inclusion strengthen globalism while homogeneity, inequality, division, and exclusion can make a peaceful coexistence impossible; 3) difficult situations represent the best way to differentiate true from hypocritical friendship. In light of these observations, the fable of the “Ring Dove” can be designated in a general way as the global fable *par excellence*.

Albrecht Classen

Globalism in the Late Middle Ages: The Low German *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* as a Significant Outpost of a Paradigm Shift. The Move Away from Traditional Eurocentrism

Abstract: If we want to talk about globalism in the pre-modern world, we must identify specific personal contacts and contact zones, individual exchanges, dialogues, and concrete cases of information sharing. This study at first problematizes many of the recent attempts to project a global Middle Ages and then introduces a remarkable voice from the middle of the fourteenth century which made serious attempts to inform his European audience about the Middle East from a uniquely 'objective' point of view. The anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) offers a plethora of valuable information about the Muslim world in the Middle East, about Georgia and Armenia, about Mongolia and even India, including data on the political and military history, customs, religions, fauna and flora. His approach is determined by a sense of open dialogue, information sharing, and mutual respect, all fundamental elements making possible the pursuit of global perspectives already in the late Middle Ages.

Keywords: Globalism, *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, the Middle East from a European perspective, encyclopedic treatment of the Orient, fauna, flora

Introduction

As much as I have already discussed the current status of research of pre-modern globalism in the Introduction to this volume, I still need to offer here at first specific reflections of some of the major attempts to address this issue. This will make it possible to lay the theoretical and pragmatic foundation for the discussion of the mid-fourteenth-century *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350; Low Rhineland Report About the Orient) as one of the early global players in narrative terms to build innovative bridges between the Middle East and his audience in northwestern Germany and Holland.

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Recent years have witnessed a major paradigm shift in medieval research, opening the perspectives toward globalism and hence toward the question to what extent pre-modern writers were already prepared to move beyond their traditional Eurocentric or Asiatic perspectives and to develop more global interests.¹ There is a growing consensus that much of medieval history, literature, the arts, and also sciences and philosophy can only be properly understood if we perceive it within a more global framework determined by a continuous process of give and take across many different borders, linguistic, cultural, religious, political, and military. Of course, the inherent chronological, thematic, generic, and cultural problems with all such attempts to re-categorize world literature in the pre-modern era are almost self-evident, but we are still well advised to pursue this perspective for the purpose of gaining a better grasp of the actual conditions on the ground where many exchanges took place on a daily basis throughout the centuries.² Altogether, there is much optimism, considering the plethora of new studies exploring this phenomenon. As Sebastian Conrad emphasizes, to make sense out of globalism, we must

¹ As to the concept of the paradigm shift, see now the contributions to *Paradigm Shifts During the Global Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, 44 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019). However, the purpose there was not to explore the new notion of globalism in historical terms. Instead, the arguments there aim consistently at recognizing major aspects or forces that facilitated a paradigm shift sometime during pre-modernity in cultural, technical, economic, and literary terms.

² More optimistic than pessimistic about possibilities to achieve a breakthrough in that regard is Alexander Beecroft, "Eurafrasiachronologies: Between the Eurocentric and the Planetary" *Journal of World Literature* 1.1 (2016): 17–28; online at https://brill.com/view/journals/jwl/1/1/article-p17_3.xml?language=en&body=pdf-49903 (last accessed on March 31, 2023). See also his *An Ecology of World Literature: From Antiquity to the Present Day* (London and New York: Verso, 2015); cf. now also Albrecht Classen, "Universal Wisdom in Medieval Fable Literature," *Medieval History and Literature*, blogsite, <https://boydellandbrewer.com/blog/medieval-history-and-literature/universal-wisdom-in-medieval-fable-literature/> March 11, 2021 (last accessed on March 31, 2023); Prisca Martens and Ray Martens, "Learning About Ourselves and Others through Global Literature," *WOW Stories* IV.5 (2013): <https://wowlit.org/on-line-publications/stories/iv5/3/> (last accessed on March 31, 2023); *The Practice of Global History: European Perspectives*, ed. Matthias Middell (London, New York, et al.: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019); for literary case studies, see *D'Orient en Occident: les recueils de fables enchâssées avant les "Mille et une nuits" de Galland (Barlaam et Josaphat, Calila et Dimna, Disciplina clericalis, Roman des sept sages)*, ed. Marion Uhlig. Cultural Encounters in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014); *Reconsidering Boccaccio: Medieval Contexts and Global Intertexts*, ed. Olivia Holmes and Dana Stewart (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2018); *Europa im Geflecht der Welt: Mittelalterliche Migrationen in globalen Bezügen*, ed. Michael Borgolte, Bernd Schneidmüller, Julia Dückler, Marcel Müllerburg, and Paul Predatsch. Europa im Mittelalter, 20 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2015); cf. also the studies collected in *Other Globes: Past and Peripheral Imaginations of Globalization*, ed. Simon Ferdinand, Irene Villaescusa-Illán, and Esther Peeren. Palgrave Studies in Globalization, Culture and Society (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019).

built on top of the notions of ‘connections’ and ‘comparison’ and take further into consideration the cultural contexts, spatial notions beyond the categories of nation or state, concrete relationships between different parts of the world, the move away from (Euro-)centric concepts and their replacement with exchange, the problematic nature of the idea that history moves progressively forward – there is no absolute linearity and teleology – and the realization that simultaneity and parallels matter critically. Studying the past from a global position requires, as Conrad concludes, the acknowledgement of one’s own theoretical, cultural, and identificatory position which by default colors our perspectives.³

Of course, many scholars working in the early modern period have rejected the assumption that we could talk about globalism already in the Middle Ages, focusing primarily on the traditional narratives or artworks from that period to support their counterclaim. For many, it seems unrealistic to accept that medieval writers, travelers, artists, scholars, scientists, or diplomats might have embraced such a global view as we tend to associate it rather with post-modernity, that is, with the period since the late twentieth century. Globalism, of course, is considered a mirror of the actual travel and traffic modalities in the contemporary world, but in many respects, I would argue, even today most people are not truly global citizens, whether they speak various languages and operate in different parts of our world or not. What is at stake here, hence, is a more fundamental issue concerning human interactions across languages, religions, cultures, and economies and the exploration of dialogues among representatives of various peoples. Such dialogues, however, require

3 Sebastian Conrad, *What is Global History?* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2016), 63–67; cf. also the contributions to *A Companion to the Global Early Middle Ages*, ed. Eric Hermans (Leeds: Amsterdam University Press – Arc Humanities Press, 2020). For older, yet still valuable approaches, see the contributions to *Islamic & European Expansion: The Forging of a Global Order*, ed. Michael Adas. Critical Perspectives on the Past (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1993). For a religious aspect of globalism, see Albrecht Classen, “A Global Epistolary Network: Eighteenth-Century Jesuit Missionaries Write Home. With an Emphasis on Philipp Segesser’s Correspondence from Sonora/Mexico,” *Studia Neophilologica* 86.1 (2014): 79–94; id., “Jesuit Missionaries Building a Global Network: Eighteenth-Century Exploration of the World in the Name of God. A Story of Disjointed Memory,” *Annales Missiologici Posnanienses* 19 (2014; appeared in 2016): 91–105; see also the contributions to *Venezia nel contesto globale/Venedig im globalen Kontext*, ed. Romedio Schmitz-Esser. Centro tedesco di studi veneziani: Venetiana, 20 (Venice: Viella, 2018); *Political Communication in Chinese and European History, 800–1600*, ed. Hilde Weerdts and Franz-Julius Morche (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2021). See also my clarion call for more global Studies, “Global Literature – What Do We Know, What Should We Know, and How Can We Create an Epistemological Network to Work toward New Humanities?,” *Humanities Open Access*, online at: https://www.mdpi.com/journal/humanities/special_issues/global_literature (Feb. 24, 2021; last accessed on March 31, 2023).

extensive exchanges of information, and when a certain level of knowledge has been reached, early but definite forms of globalism can emerge.⁴

Undoubtedly, new communication technologies today have changed many aspects in our social environment globally and have indeed brought together many more people than ever before, at least at some level. However, quantity of electronic exchanges at present times does not necessarily impact the quality of contacts among people. The level of hostility in our world, for instance, has not become lowered due to email or social media – it seems to be much higher than ever before, and so also the level of misunderstandings and conflicts. Similarly, speed of communication does not simply translate into improvements of the relationship of people; on the contrary, as we often observe, the opposite might be the case, with electronic exchanges or Facebook messages overlapping with each other and often creating semantic chaos. In other words, the entire discussion of globalism both today and in the past proves to be a thorny issue both in theoretical and practical terms.⁵ It might be advisable to differentiate more carefully between

4 Nathan Ron, "Nicholas of Cusa, Francis of Assisi, and Interreligious Dialogue," *Academia Letters*, Article 1700. <https://doi.org/10.20935/AL1700> (last accessed on March 31, 2023); cf. also John V. Tolan, *Saint Francis and the Sultan: The Curious History of a Christian-Muslim Encounter* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009). See also Gerard Pieter Freeman, "Francis of Assisi and the Sultan: Deviance and Normalization," *Religion & Theology* 23 (2016): 57–75; Poul Rout, "St Francis of Assisi and Islam: A Theological Perspective on a Christian-Muslim Encounter," *Al-Masāq. Journal of the Medieval Mediterranean* 23 (2011): 205–15; Laurent Gallant, "Francis of Assisi Forerunner of Interreligious Dialogue," *Franciscan Studies* 64 (2006): 53–82; Kathleen Warren, *Daring to Cross the Threshold: Francis of Assisi Encounters Sultan Malek al-Kamil* (St Bonaventure, NY: Franciscan Institute, 2003); Jan Hoeberichts, *Francis and Islam* (Quincy, IL: Franciscan Press, 1997). See also the contributions to *Abrahams Erbe: Konkurrenz, Konflikt und Koexistenz der Religionen im europäischen Mittelalter*, ed. Klaus Oschema, Ludger Lieb, and Johannes Heil. Das Mittelalter, Beihefte, 2 (Munich and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2015); and to *Interreligious Encounters in Polemics Between Christians, Jews, and Muslims in Iberia and Beyond*, ed. Mercedes Garcia-Arenal, Gerard Wiegers, and Ryan Szpiech. *Medieval Encounters* 24.1–3 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018).

5 Malcolm Waters, *Globalization. Key Ideas* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995); Ulrich Beck, *Was ist Globalisierung? Irrtümer des Globalismus – Antworten auf Globalisierung*, (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1997); Jürgen Osterhammel and Niels Petersson, *Geschichte der Globalisierung. Dimensionen, Prozesse, Epochen* (Munich: Beck, 2003); Armand Mittelart, *Kultur und Globalisierung. Marktmacht gegen Vielfalt*, (Zürich: Rotpunkt, 2005); Martin Albrow, *Das globale Zeitalter* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2007); Ulfried Reichardt, *Globalisierung. Literaturen und Kulturen des Globalen* (Berlin: Akademie, 2010); *Globalisierung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Andreas Niederberger and Philipp Schink (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2011); Sebastian Conrad, *Globalgeschichte: Eine Einführung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013); Harry Blutstein, *The Ascent of Globalisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016); Bernadette Gonzalez, *Globalization: Economic, Political and Social Issues*. Economic Issues, Problems and Perspectives (Hauppauge, NY: Nova Science Publishers, 2016); Erdoğan Bada, *An Approach to Globalization from Different Perspectives*. Global Political

globalization and globalism, but for my purpose I do not enter into such minute definition issues.⁶

As naive as it might sound, there is actually little doubt as to the existence of globalism already in the pre-modern era, as numerous scholars have already indicated. As the discussions during our conference clearly signaled, the Middle Ages were, virtually by default, global, even if only a fairly small percentage of the population ventured outside of its comfort zone. We have available a vast body of relevant research on famous travelers such as Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, Marco Polo, Odorico da Pordenone, Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, Benedykt Polak, William of Rubruc, and the armchair traveler John Mandeville.⁷ We know currently much more about Arabic travelers such as Ibn Fadlun or Ibn Battuta, some of whom made

Studies Series (New York: Nova Science Publishers, 2018); Micah L Issitt, *Globalization*. Opinions Throughout History, 11 (Amenia, NY: Grey House Publishing, 2020); for a critique of globalization today, see John Ralston Saul, *The Collapse of Globalism: and the Reinvention of the World* (Woodstock: Overlook Press, 2005); Heiner Flassbeck and Paul Steinhardt, *Gescheiterte Globalisierung. Ungleichheit, Geld und die Renaissance des Staates* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 2018). For a very helpful synthesis of the current state of research, see now Geraldine Heng, *The Global Middle Ages: An Introduction*. Cambridge Elements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

6 Joseph Nye, "Globalism Versus Globalization: What are the Different Spheres of Globalism – And How Are They Affected by Globalization?," *The Globalist* (April 15, 2002), online at: <https://www.theglobalist.com/globalism-versus-globalization/> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). He offers these two definitions: "Globalism, at its core, seeks to describe and explain nothing more than a world which is characterized by networks of connections that span multi-continental distances"; and: "globalization refers to the increase or decline in the degree of globalism. It focuses on the forces, the dynamism or speed of these changes." See also Paul James, *Globalism, Nationalism, Tribalism: Bringing Theory Back In* (London: Sage Publications, 2006). The debate on the value, importance, and meaning of globalism today is ongoing but does not pertain to our topic specifically.

7 See the many contributions to *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia*, ed. John Block Friedman and Kristen Mossler Figg (New York and London: Garland, 2000); cf. also the volume *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of Worldly Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 22 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018); Shayne Aaron Legassie, *The Medieval Invention of Travel* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2017), who examines both western and eastern perspectives. See also Mary Baine Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988); Marina Münkler, *Erfahrung des Fremden: Die Beschreibung Ostasiens in den Augenzeugenberichten des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 2000); Kim M. Phillips, *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); Martin Jacobs, *Reorienting the East: Jewish Travelers to the Medieval Muslim World*. Jewish Culture and Contexts (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014). Remarkably, particularly the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* seems to have eluded the attention of most scholars up to this date.

their way even north and west into the European continent, and we can be certain that both traders and diplomats reached many parts of the then-known world both in East and West, here not excluding the African continent. Jewish merchants and Franciscan missionaries were in the forefront of those efforts,⁸ but we should also keep in mind the countless military operations by the various Germanic tribes, then the Huns, Saracens (Arabs), Magyars, Vikings, Mongols, and others which, although hostile on the face of it, nevertheless still made contacts and allowed at least some forms of cultural exchange to happen across cultures and continents.⁹

But we have also realized that many poets throughout the Middle Ages projected global contacts, that is, meetings of people from different cultures, languages, and religions in a rather peaceful manner; whether we think of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205), Gottfried von Straßburg's *Tristan* (ca. 1210), *The King of Tars* (ca. 1330), Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale" in his *Canterbury Tales* (ca. 1400), or the various versions of the *Melusine* novel (Jean d'Arras, 1393; Couldrette, ca. 1400; Thüring von Ringoltingen, 1456).

However, one of the most intense literary globetrotter, to use an anachronistic term, prior to 1800 or so, was the protagonist in the anonymous German novel *Fortunatus* (printed in 1509), who starts out from his home country of Cyprus in the service of some noblemen and merchants, gets to Flanders and England, and then would have almost been executed as an innocent victim. After his escape, he experiences the enormous chance of encountering a fairy who offers him several magical gifts (strength, health, a long life, wisdom, etc.), but he chooses money. With the help of the mysterious money purse, he can then traverse all of Europe from north to south and back again, until he finally settles in Cyprus and establishes a dynasty there, without ever worrying about finances. After some years, however, his curiosity inspires him again, and this time he travels first to Egypt, then through the Holy Land, all the way to India, returning more or less the same route.

8 See, for instance, S. D. Goitein, *Letters of Medieval Jewish Traders* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974); Moshe Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries in the Middle Ages*. Études sur le Judaïsme Médiéval, 28 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004); *Praktiken des Handels: Geschäfte und soziale Beziehungen europäischer Kaufleute in Mittelalter und früher Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Häberlein and Christof Jeggli. Irseer Schriften, NF, 6 (Constance: UVK Verl.-Ges., 2010).

9 Albrecht Classen, "Globalism in Medieval Literature? Pre-Modern Perspectives in Poetic Projections: Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, Konrad Fleck's *Flore und Blancheflor*, and *Reinfried von Braunschweig*," *Athens Journal of Philology* 7 (2020): 1–29; <https://www.athensjournals.gr/humanities/2021-8-1-1-Classen.pdf>; id., "Globalism before Globalism: The Alexander Legend in Medieval Literature (Priest Lambrecht's Account as a Pathway to Early Global Perspectives)," *Esboços: histories in global contexts Florianópolis* 28/49 (Aug./Sept. 2021): 813–833, <https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-7976.2021.e79311>.

The narrator emphasizes, however, that there would not be many other people who would dare to or could cross all the distance between both continents. The Europeans would either lack the necessary money or would not be able to face all the dangerous challenges. The East Indians (as we would call them today), above all, would not even want to travel to Europe where they would only encounter inclement weather, bad food, and hostility. As the narrator emphasizes, thereby pointing out the challenges and difficulties of global contacts at his time: “machen och die rechnung / sy wurden für toren geschaetz / das sy auß guoten landen in boese zugen / vnd guot vmb boeß gaebe[n]” (they also calculate that they would be considered as fools to move from good countries to bad ones, and would give good items [money?] for bad ones).¹⁰ Nevertheless, here we face intriguing textual evidence confirming the awareness of potential globalism already then, and we can be sure that awareness about India and China grew considerably even a bit earlier already in the thirteenth century.¹¹ With the European discovery of the New World, we encounter, of course, a significant expansion of this new world view both in literature and in sciences, both in travelogues and geographic treatises.¹²

In order to identify examples of pre-modern globalism, we might, though only with difficulties, draw from the rich corpus of pilgrimage accounts, but in most cases, those travel authors were normally completely limited by their strong religious orientation and cared little, if at all in the first place, about the local cultures, languages,

¹⁰ Quoted from *Romane des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, nach den Erstdrucken mit sämtlichen Holzschnitten herausgegeben von Jan-Dirk Müller. Bibliothek der Frühen Neuzeit, 1 (Frankfurt a. M.: Deutscher Klassiker Verlag, 1990), 385–585; here 491; cf. now the close reading by Christian Kiening, *Fortunatus: Eine dichte Beschreibung*. Mit Beiträgen von Pia Selmayr. Mediävistische Perspektiven, 13 (Zürich: Chronos, 2021); see also Hannes Kästner, *Fortunatus – Peregrinator mundi: Welterfahrung und Selbsterkenntnis im ersten deutschen Prosaroman der Neuzeit*. Rombach Wissenschaft. Reihe Litterae (Freiburg i. Br.: Rombach, 1990), 48–106.

¹¹ Katharina Christa Schüppel, *Fasten, Lehren, Heilen: Die Indienreise des Apostels Thomas in mittelalterlichen Manuskripten und Karten* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 2021).

¹² See, for instance, Anthony Grafton, with April Shelford and Nancy Siraisi, *New Worlds, Ancient Texts: The Power of Tradition and the Shock of Discovery* (Cambridge, MA, and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1992); Philip P. Boucher, *Cannibal Encounters: European and Island Caribs, 1492–1763*. Johns Hopkins Studies in Atlantic History and Culture (Baltimore, MD, and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992); Albrecht Classen, “The Perception of America in Early Modern German Literature: From Sebastian Brant to Lohenstein,” *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* XCV.3 (1994): 337–52; Stephanie Leitich, *Mapping Ethnography in Early Modern Germany: New Worlds in Print Culture*. History of Text Technologies (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Adrienne Delmas and Nigel Penn, *Written Culture in a Colonial Context: Africa and the Americas, 1500–1900* (Cape Town, South Africa: UCT Press; Berlin: Knowledge Unlatched, 2013). See now also Ottmar Ette, *TransArea: A Literary History of Globalization* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016), who develops subcategories of globalization in the pre-modern world.

religions, customs, and hence people.¹³ It is one thing to conceive of global literature or global history from a theoretical perspective, which normally means incorporating all of the world in the study of those subjects, at least in parallel terms,¹⁴ and it is a very different thing to identify actual global contacts, exchanges, meetings, and encounters. This proves to be the critical component differentiating the narratives by Polo or Odorico in contrast to Mandeville's *Travel*, for instance.¹⁵

We face thus the critical dilemma of either investigating a huge picture with many non-corresponding or correlated puzzle pieces, or to remain stuck in our hermeneutic silos of Eurocentrism or Asiacentrism. After all, globalization or globalism imply considerably more than inviting countless new voices from the various continents to the same discussion forum without those having shared the same language, or at least one language both sides could understand. Fundamentally, hence, the issue pertains to the potential existence of dialogues already in the pre-modern world. Travelogue authors are not necessarily the best witnesses for this endeavor, especially if they relied primarily on secondary sources.

13 *Encyclopedia of Medieval Pilgrimage*, ed. Larissa J. Taylor and Leigh Ann Craig, et al. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010); cf. also Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187–1291. Crusade Texts in Translation* (Farnham and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012); see also the extensive bibliographical studies, *Europäische Reiseberichte des späten Mittelalters: Eine analytische Bibliographie*, ed. Werner Paravicini. Kieler Werkstücke, 5, 12, 14 (Frankfurt a. M., Berlin, et al.: Peter Lang, 1994–2001). See also Stefan Schröder, *Zwischen Christentum und Islam: Kulturelle Grenzen in den spätmittelalterlichen Pilgerberichten des Felix Fabri*. *Orbis mediaevalia: Vorstellungswelten des Mittelalters*, 11 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2009). See also the contributions to *On the Road in the Name of Religion: Pilgrimage as a Means of Coping with Contingency and Fixing the Future in the World's Major Religions*, ed. Klaus Herbers and Hans Christian Lehner. *Beiträge zur Hagiographie*, 15 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014); *On the Road in the Name of Religion II: Ways and Destination in Comparative Perspective – Medieval Europe and Asia*. *Beiträge zur Hagiographie*, 17 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016).

14 *A Companion to World Literature*, ed. Ken Seigneurie. 6 vols. (Holboken, NJ, and Chichester, West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons, 2020); *The Greenwood Encyclopedia of Global Medieval Life and Culture*, ed. Joyce E. Salisbury. 3 vols (Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood, 2009); *The Norton Anthology of World Literature*, ed. Sarah Lawall. Sec. ed. 3 vols. (1956; New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2002); *The Cambridge Companion to World Literature*, ed. Ben Etherington and Jarad Zimble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); Peter N. Stearns, *World Past to World Present: A Sketch of Global History* (New York and London: Routledge, 2022). He emphasizes that we need to study world history because it “provides opportunities to grapple with the reasons the contemporary world is as it is. . . . Simply put, world history offers the direct antecedents and causes of the global issues and opportunities that shape life today” (3).

15 Albrecht Classen, “Marco Polo and John Mandeville: The Traveler as Authority Figure, the Real and the Imaginary,” *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society*, ed. Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Aionen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 12 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 239–48.

Critically important, by contrast, seems to be the question to what extent individuals embarked on an open discourse through which they acknowledged their own cultural constructiveness and the value of other worlds on their own. Modern scholarship often does not do us a real favor in that regard by confronting the readers with an infinitude of voices from the global stage when those had very little to say to each other or never even met in the first place.¹⁶

It is fully understandable and laudable that contemporary medievalists are deeply committed to breaking open the traditional Eurocentric perspective and to turn to the many other contemporary voices in Asia, the Middle East, Africa, or even the Americas, and this for academic-political reasons.¹⁷ But hermeneutically, there is the danger that we then simply place apples next to oranges and do not gain deeper insights in actual contacts or mutual learning processes. If 'global' is to make real sense from a research point of view, we must consider more thoroughly individual cases that confirm true efforts to reach out to other cultures, to exchange with their members, and to establish some forms of communication. The linguistic hurdles were mostly not insurmountable, but cultural differences created enormous difficulties, such as in the case of Ibn Fadlan's reports about the Bulgars (922 C.E.), whose hygienic practices were incomprehensible to him. We also would have to consider the great efforts at various cultural centers, such as Toledo (Castile), Salerno (Italy, near Naples), and Baghdad to establish entire schools of translations which brought about enormous cultural synthesis and created philological and philosophical foundations for intellectual globalism.¹⁸

16 There have been many debates about these issues; see, for instance, Joachim Küpper, *Approaches to World Literature* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2013); David Damrosch, *Comparing the Literatures: Literary Studies in a Global Age* (Princeton, NJ, and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2020). See also the textbook by Kimberly Klimek, Pamela L. Troyer, et al., *Global Medieval Contexts 500–1500: Connections and Comparisons* (New York and London: Routledge, 2021), which is frustratingly more a promise of what globalism might have been than a solid presentation of what true global contacts might have looked like.

17 *The Practice of Global History: European Perspectives*, ed. Matthias Middell (London, New York, et al.: Bloomsbury Academic, 2019); Philippe Beaujard, *From the Seventh Century to the Fifteenth Century CE*, trans. ed. Tamara Loring, Frances Meadows, and Andromeda Tait. *Mondes de l'océan Indien*, 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019); Roland Wenzlhuemer, *Doing Global History: An Introduction in Six Concepts* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2020).

18 Sally Abed, "Water Rituals and the Preservation of Identity in Ibn Fadlan's *Risala*," *Travel, Time, and Space*, ed. Albrecht Classen (see note 7), 165–87. Studying the different perceptions and evaluations of bodily hygiene in very opposite cultures, she insightfully concludes that "[t]he tool of complementarity predicated on knowing other tribes and peoples made Ibn Fadlan note the differences in customs and traditions among the various groups and himself too. Complimentarity allowed him to humanize the other, to explain its customs and traditions whenever possible, and to incorporate short dialogues on various matters throughout his *rihla* . . ." (186–87). As to Bagh-

However, drawing from various literary examples, such as Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205), Rudolf von Ems's *Der guote Gêrhart* (ca. 1215/1220), and Boccaccio's *Decameron* (ca. 1350; particularly I/2, I/3, and X/9), we can fairly easily recognize a certain attempt to establish a discourse determined by open-mindedness toward representatives of other cultures, races, and religions already in the late Middle Ages.¹⁹ This would not necessarily constitute a form of globalism, but certainly establish a precondition for later developments in that regard. Scholars such as Geraldine Heng have identified the effort to identify pre-modern globalism as an essential tool to fight against modern-day Eurocentrism and racism,²⁰ but it seems a bit extreme to combine this interpretive approach with heavy-handed theoretical concerns of today. To combat the danger of anachronism, we need to investigate primary sources obviously reflecting global perspectives long before twenty-first century globalism emerged as a topic of scholarly debate and can thereby hope to identify valuable sources that had promoted globalism before globalism.

A Fourteenth-Century Travelogue Speaking from a Global Perspective

For the purpose of this paper, I want to examine a late fourteenth-century travelogue which promises to shed important light on the entire notion of medieval globalism, the anonymous *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350, or slightly earlier; the Low Rhenish Report About the Orient).²¹ Unfortunately, the text has survived in

dad as a center of translation, see Maha Baddar, "Text that Travel: Translation Genres and Knowledge-Making in the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement," *Travel, Time, and Space* (see note 7), 95–119. In the long introduction to my new volume, *Communication, Translation, and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: New Cultural-Historical and Literary Perspectives*, ed. Albrecht Classen. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 26 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2022), 1–94, I engage intensively also with translation in the Middle Ages and beyond in practical and metaphorical terms.

¹⁹ Albrecht Classen, *Tolerance and Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern European Literature*. *Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture*, 8 (New York and London: Routledge, 2018; paperback, 2021); id., *Religious Toleration in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: An Anthology of Literary, Theological, and Philosophical Texts* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020).

²⁰ Geraldine Heng, "Reinventing Race, Colonization, and Globalisms across Deep Time: Lessons from the Longue Durée," *PMLA* 130.2 (2015): 358–66; eadem, "Early Globalities, and Its Questions, Objectives, and Methods: An Inquiry into the State of Theory and Critique," *Exemplaria* 26.2–3 (2014): 232–51; eadem, *The Global Middle Ages* (see note 5).

²¹ I would like to acknowledge my former graduate student Carolin Radtke who had intended to write her Ph.D. thesis on this text. Unfortunately, this never became reality because early on during her research, she found a job at another university in Europe and regretfully left our graduate program. She had really alerted me to this important treatise, and I am rather sad that she could not continue carrying this important 'baton' forward because of other interests and professional requirements for her.

only two manuscripts, Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, Best. 7010 (W) 261a, and Cologne, Historisches Archiv der Stadt, Best. 7020 (W*) 3,²² which suggests that it enjoyed relatively little popularity, perhaps because of its rather unusual perspective mirroring an astounding non-Eurocentric attitude. Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner had published an edition as early as in 1887,²³ which has now been superseded by the edition prepared by Anja Micklin (2020). Helmut Brall-Tuchel presented an edition based on (W*) 3 and a modern German translation,²⁴ whereas an English translation remains a desideratum. A handful of German scholars has already discussed the narrative account at large, but it remains to be examined to what extent we might find here, as I want to claim, an explicit representative of pre-modern globalism.²⁵

In specific terms, we can recognize here, in clear contrast to many other contemporary travel narratives, an innovative approach to religion, local customs, fashions, and the natural environment, shedding light on parts of Eastern Europe and the Middle East which the ordinary reader/listener at that time would not have been familiar with.²⁶ My approach here is rather modest since the emphasis will

22 <https://handschriftencensus.de/werke/2380> (last accessed on March 3, 2022). Both links included there are clickable and open up a detailed description of the respective manuscript and its content. The relevant bibliography can also be found there.

23 Reinhold Röhricht and Heinrich Meisner, "Ein niederrheinischer Bericht über den Orient," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 19 (1887): 1–86; online at https://www.digihum.de/digiberichte/PDF/Roehricht_1887_Anonymus.pdf (last accessed on March 3, 2022).

24 Anja Micklin, *Der "Niederrheinische Orientbericht": Edition und sprachliche Untersuchung*. Rheinisches Archiv, 163 (Vienna, Cologne, and Weimar: Böhlau, 2021); see now my review in *Mediaevistik* 35 (forthcoming). As valuable as this edition is from a historical-linguistic perspective, it does not engage with the literary-historical context and background; cf. also *Von Christen, Juden und von Heiden: Der Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, ed., trans., and commentary by Helmut Brall-Tuchel (Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2019), where the introduction is more content-focused. For a list of the relevant research literature, see <https://www.geschichtsquellen.de/werk/4169> (last accessed on March 3, 2022). I have created an English translation of this text in the meantime, which will probably be published by Boydell & Brewer (status: Jan. 2023).

25 For good critical summaries, see Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Niederrheinische Orientbericht," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters*, 2nd completely rev. ed. by Kurt Ruh et al. Vol. 6 (1987), 998–1000; slightly updated, Bruno Jahn, "Niederrheinische Orientbericht," *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon: Das Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfgang Achnitz. Vol. 3: *Reiseberichte und Geschichtsdichtung* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 370–71.

26 For a recent comparative analysis, see Albrecht Classen, "Unexpected Exposures to Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages: A Global Perspective by Travelogue Authors: *Der Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, Georgius of Hungary, and Johann Schiltberger," *International Journal of Culture and History* 9.1 (2022); online at: <https://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/ijch/article/view/19078> (last accessed on March 31, 2023); id., "Global History in the Middle Ages: A Medieval and an Early Modern Perspective. The *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) and Adam Olearius's *Vermehrte*

not rest so much on the ‘global,’ and more on the open-mindedness and curiosity of the author who wanted to share as much information about the eastern world that he seems to have witnessed first-hand. But indirectly I would claim, after all, that this author had much to say about global connections and demonstrated himself being a global citizen, as far as that might have been possible at his time.

This is, at least, Helmut Brall-Tuchel’s assumption, who goes so far as to talk about an “*authentisches Bild*” (16; authentic image) conveyed by the anonymous author, and about the narrator as a “*teilnehmender Beobachter*” (23; sympathizing, or participatory observer). Of course, both here and in many other cases, we must assume that the writer drew from a number of sources, both oral and written. We could refer to the reports by the more or less contemporary Ludolf von Sudheim (travel to the Orient from 1336 to 1341; Latin report) and Johannes von Hildesheim (ca. 1310/1320–1375), but it is also possible that all three relied on yet older sources shared by them all. But what travel author would not have relied on some sources? Even if there might be some overlap with previous reports, nothing can change the overarching impression of an author who relied heavily on his own personal account and pursued his own agenda in reflecting on what he might be able to share with his European audience about the Middle East without falling into the trap of fabulation as in the case of John Mandeville.

Considering the innovative perspective of relating much information about the Kingdom of Armenia, which most European audiences might not have known much about then (or also today!), we can immediately draw new conclusions as to the author’s personal interests, attitude, and also about his targeted audiences.

As Helmut Brall-Tuchel emphasizes regarding this extraordinary narrative,

Aufgrund seiner besonderen Stellung zwischen dem gelehrten Wissen über den Orient und dem in Laienkreisen erwachenden Interesse an der bewunderten, fremdartigen aber gleichwohl in vielen Hinsichten faszinierenden Welt des Ostens, vermittelt der *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* ein authentisches Bild von dem seit der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts in den Rheinlanden und darüber hinaus kursierenden Ensemble an Vorstellungen vom Leben und Treiben in den Ländern “über See”.²⁷

[Because of its particular position between learned knowledge about the Orient and the growing interest by laypeople in the admired, foreign, and yet highly fascinating world of the Orient, the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* conveys an authentic image of the current ensemble of concepts about the life and activities in the countries beyond the sea as they circulated in the Rhineland since the middle of the fourteenth century.]

New Beschreibung der Muscowitischen vnd Persischen Reyse (1647; 1656),” *Philological Quarterly* 100.2 (2021): 101–34.

27 Brall-Tuchel, “Einleitung,” *Von Christen, Juden und von Heiden* (see note 24), 16.

Other contemporary sources adding further information about the Orient were the travelogues by Wilhelm von Boldensele and, as already noted, Ludolf von Sudheim, and the legendary account of the Three Magi by Johannes von Hildesheim. But shared data here and there does not necessarily indicate that we would have to identify all of those texts as purely fictional or imaginary. Virtually every author of travelogue literature has relied on older sources, as much as empirical insights might have played a major role. Our challenge hence consists primarily of examining the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* as to its value for the further exploration of global perspectives as they developed in the late Middle Ages.

To be more specific now, as previous scholars have already indicated, all four authors might have drawn from one crucial source about the Middle East, the chronicle by the Armenian prince Hayton of Corycus (ca. 1240– ca. 1310/1320), *La Flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient* (Flower of the Histories of the East, in Latin: *Flos historiarum terre Orientis*), which he had dictated at the request of Pope Clement V in 1307 during his stay at Poitiers, reflecting, above all, on Muslim conquests and Mongol invasions. Clement had selected Poitiers as his main residence, and Hayton had joined the Premonstratensian abbey there and served as a prior. Hayton had been forced into exile in 1294 because of his public protests against his younger cousin, King Hethum II.²⁸ To draw, however, direct parallels between Hayton's account of the Oriental world and the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, would be rather difficult, especially because the Low German author apparently added extensively from his

28 "Hayton dictated his text to one Nicolas Faulcon using the French language. Faulcon then prepared a Latin translation of his French text. The work was completed and presented to Pope Clement V in 1307. Faulcon's text is preserved in numerous manuscripts, a total of 18 of the French text and 32 of the Latin text (two of which are not independent witnesses but notebooks or indices of variants). Some of these manuscripts still date to the first half of the 14th century. For the French text: Turin University library IV.30, Paris BNF nouv. acq. fr. 886, Vienna national library no. 2620; for the Latin text: Paris BNF lat. 5515 and lat. 14693. There is another French text, translated from Faulcon's Latin text by one Jean le Long in 1351 (preserved in 3 manuscripts). In addition, there is one Aragonese translation made for Juan Fernández de Heredia, grand master of the Hospitallers, besides a former Catalan translation having maybe the same origin, and one English language manuscript of the 16th century, presumably made for Henry VIII. The *Editio princeps* was prepared in Paris in 1510, based on Faulcon's French text. Faulcon's Latin text appeared in Hagenau (1529), Basel (1532) and Helmstedt 1585, Jean le Long's French version in Paris (1529)." Quoted from the certainly respectable article online, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hayton_of_Corycus (last accessed on March 7, 2022). For the text edition, see "La flor des estoires de la terre d'Orient," ed. Charles Kohler, in *Recueil des historiens des croisades: Documents arméniens*, 2 (Paris: Impr. Royale, 1869). For recent studies, see now Karen Matevosyan, *Het'um Patmich' Korikosts'in ev nra Zhamanaka-grut'yunē = Historian Hayton of Corycus and his Chronicle* (Erevan: "Mughni" hratarakch'ut'yun, 2011); Marco Bais, "Armenia and Armenians in Het'um's *Flos Historiarum Terre Orientis*," *Medieval Encounters* 21.2/3 (2015): 214–31.

own experiences, or at least pretended to speak quite convincingly from a personal point of view.²⁹

What makes this narrative so intriguing especially in light of our central question regarding the existence of globalism in the pre-modern world proves to be the observation that the author appears to have lived in the Middle East between 136/37 and ca. 1350, and seems to have learned much about the history and culture of the entire region, that is, well beyond the Holy Land, which was commonly the only focal point for all similar travelogues. Instead, here we encounter a surprisingly accurate account, almost like an encyclopedia, or at least a learned treatise covering both the Holy Land and the neighboring countries. The anonymous expresses his interest in the respective rulers, clerics, and the ordinary people, and wants to reflect on the various types of faiths, commonly resorting to a well-known formula: “van krysten ioden und van heiden” (30; of Christians, Jews, and heathens).

Very different from most other travelogues or geographical treatises, here the author takes a very global perspective and informs us that he wants to instruct his audience about the many different kingdoms to the north and east of the Holy Land. His emphasis rests on the question of whether the various people can be counted among Christians and how they differ from the others. In a way, he is creating a narrative world map, identifying the various names of countries far beyond the European domain. The only help we receive to understand better where those kingdoms are located more specifically, comes when the author refers to two of the Three Magi, Melchior and Balthasar (30), hence vaguely familiar figures from the New Testament,³⁰ and he also comments on the Byzantine empire (land of the Greeks, 32), on Armenia, and Georgia. Everywhere, perhaps surprisingly, Christians are living there, though not all follow, as he argues, the right rituals and ceremonies, and so do not enjoy the same respect by the western Church (32). Unfortunately, as he also notes, this means that none of those Christians agrees with anyone else, so they do not even accept each other's churches as valid places of worship – a remarkable realization of the strong diversification among eastern Christians.

When he turns to the local population, he describes, above all, the East Indians, but only those whom he groups as Christians following the teachings of St. Thomas

29 Helmut Tervooren, *Van der Masen to op den Rijn: Ein Handbuch zur Geschichte der mittelalterlichen volkssprachlichen Literatur im Raum vom Rhein und Maas* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2006); Jürgen Wolf, “Arthurian Literature of the Rhineland,” *The Arthur of the Low Countries: The Arthurian Legend in Dutch and Flemish Literature*, ed. Bart Besamusca and Frank Brandsma. Arthurian Literature in the Middle Ages, X (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2021), 194–203.

30 The trope of the Three Holy Magi, with specific names, did not emerge until the eighth century; see now the contributions to *Balthazar: A Black African King in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. Kristen Collins and Bryan C. Keene (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2023)

the Apostle. He pays particular attention to women's fashion and their perfume (34), but he finds the entire gender to be unattractive, maybe because of their darker skin color (34) – a common European racist notion which we find reflected many times, though often in a rather complex manner, if we think of Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival* (ca. 1205) or the anonymous *chantefable*, "Aucassin et Nicolette" (ca. 1250).³¹

From the start, the anonymous author indicates his significant interest in anthropological aspects, religion, material culture (clothing, jewels, weapons, etc.), while he refrains from making religious comments, either praising or deprecating the various peoples, though in the course of his narrative we still notice his Eurocentric and Christocentric perspective. The *Orientbericht* is divided into two major parts, the first dealing with the various peoples, religions, and rulers in the Orient, the second with the local fauna, flora, climate, the people's fashions and physical appearance, and customs. Although we easily discover the continuous presence of traditional myths about the Orient, especially those associated with Prester John, overall, this author demonstrates a significant cultural-historical, political, historical, and biological interest.

Irrespective of his own European background, apparently having been a citizen of Cologne to which he refers repeatedly, the anonymous pays considerable respect to the Asian nobility:

Vort de riddere in Indien haldent sich zo mail reinlich in allen dingen und iagent ind beissent ind dragent alze costliche cleyder und costliche gurdele und costliche bogen cogher und pyle war sy hene rident off gaent und en wyssent van geyme ungemache dan aller wallust. (34)

[Further, the Indian knights display a noble demeanor in all matters; they go hunting in various manners and are always dressed in precious clothing, have put on golden belts, carry valuable bows, arrows, and quiver, and wherever they ride or walk in the open fields, they do it only out of pleasure.]

31 *History of Aesthetics*, Vol. 2.2: *Medieval Aesthetics*, ed. C. Barrett and Władysław Tatarkiewicz. Trans. by Adam and Ann Czerniawski (The Hague: Mouton, 1970); Umberto Eco, *Arte e bellezza nell'estetica medievale*. Strumenti Bompiani (Milan: Bompiani, 1987); Oleg V. Bychkov, *A Propos of Medieval Aesthetics: A Historical Study of Terminology, Sources, and Textual Traditions of Commenting on Beauty in the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1999); see also the contributions to *Das fremde Schöne: Dimensionen des Ästhetischen in der Literatur des Mittelalters*, ed. Manuel Braun and Christopher John Young. Trends in Medieval Philology, 12 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2007). We have to keep in mind, however, that both the earliest Christian martyr, St. Maurice, an Egyptian general in Roman services (third century), and one of the Three Magi, Balthazar, were depicted as Blacks. The famous *Libro de axedrez, dados e tablas* by King Alfonso X el Sabio (ca. 1283) contains also illustrations depicting in an impressively dignifying manner black nobles playing chess, *Libros del ajedrez, dados y tablas* (Madrid: Patrimonio Nacional; Coeditan Vicent García Editores, Valencia y Ediciones Poniente, Madrid, 1987), fol. 22r.

According to his assessment, people in India are much smaller than others, and use a child-like language. Since they live in a subtropical climate, as we would say today, the Indians are not used to cold climates and are thus forced to put on very thick fur coats to protect themselves from the low temperatures at other locations. As the author can see it, the Indian merchants are all clever people, even though they cannot speak and must use a sign language for communication (36). It remains unclear what specific territory the anonymous has in mind when he offers further comments about the tiny people there. To avoid being nailed down by specifics, he quickly switches from the description of one group of people, such as the merchants and the knights, to other people populating individual islands where they display typically monstrous features (38). As much as he pays respect to their mercantile skills, he negatively qualifies their faith, calling them “snode krysten” (38; bad Christians) who have no principles and simply accept the faith embraced by their lords.

Most remarkably, the author seems to recognize himself the extent to which he is resorting to mythical concepts and acknowledges the Indians’ ‘otherness’ as a cultural constant, always determined by differentiation and ‘othering.’ Hence, he has no hesitation to recognize: “Und diese lude dunckent dat wir also seltzen sin als sy uns” (38; And those people think that we are just as strange as we consider them to be). Rarely do we ever hear from any other pre-modern source that the perception of cultural difference would be mutual, so this remark appears to be an amazing effort to relativize the traditional European focus and to allow the Indian notion about the Europeans to enter the picture.

Despite the observation that many comments cannot be trusted scientifically since they lack in historical, geographic, and ethnic accuracy, the author nevertheless still demonstrates a surprising open-mindedness, so when he remarks upon the country of Tharsis which once had been ruled by King Caspar, one of the three Holy Magi (40). According to his understanding, the people there are black-skinned and speak their own language. Due to their skin color, the Christians there portray Christ and all the saints in black color, whereas the devil is painted in white (40), which signals that these color codes were really only relative and the result of cultural agreements. Whiteness, in other words, does not receive absolute priority, which undermines many modern concepts of medieval racism.³²

³² Jeffrey Jerome Cohen, *Hybridity, Identity and Monstrosity in Medieval Britain: On Difficult Middle Ages*. The New Middle Ages (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Cord J. Whitaker, *Black Metaphors: How Modern Racism Emerged from Medieval Race-Thinking*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019); Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018); M. Lindsay Kaplan, *Figuring Racism in Medieval Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2019); Tyler Stovall, *White*

Of course, even this writer cannot afford to place those black Christians on quite the same level as the white European Christians, but he does not hesitate to associate them with Caspar, giving them more credit than we would have expected, and this, apparently, because he describes an Oriental world without relying significantly on traditional, or rather modern, western stereotypes. He obviously disrespects deviant Christian groups, such as the Nestorians (42), but this is only a disrespect in degrees concerning the adherence to the fundamentals of the western Christian Church, and not an outright condemnation of ‘the others’ beyond the European framework. This is not to ignore the fact that the author nevertheless still operates with various prejudices against other religious groups in India, whether the Jacobites, the Copts, or the Maronites (42–44), and yet he does not neglect to acknowledge a certain minimum of Christian faith and rituals, such as among the Nicholites: “en is egein so arm sy en gevent mallich dry almussen broitz des dages in de ere gotz ind der heilger dryer coninge” (46; there is no one so poor that he would not give three alms of bread per day in the honor of God and the three Holy Magi).

When the author turns his attention to the kingdom of Georgia, he slightly changes his tone of voice and praises those Christians as strong in arms, speaking their own language and operating just as the Frisians do in Germany. Since they worship St. George, whose image is always displayed on their flags and banners, they are called accordingly, Georgians. He praises them for their strong sense of freedom and for their military might, which makes them admirable for the Muslims who are their neighbors (48). While this statement appears rather confusing, the conclusion of this chapter illuminates more clearly how much the author has great respect for them because they are courageous and strong people proudly defending their freedom (50). In this context, the anonymous also uses the opportunity to comment briefly on the Muslims who demonstrate great intelligence and pursue a peaceful attitude toward their neighbors: “myt alze groisser list und myt gemache” (50; with such great cunning and with relaxation).

Very curious proves to be the fact that the author also takes a close look at the Greek empire, that is, Byzantium, which would have been rather of secondary importance for most other writers of such a report. It appears as if the anonymous is looking west and north, at least from his position, pursuing, as before, an anthropological perspective, focusing on the political structure, but then on the clergy, common eating habits, the legal and penal system, clothing styles, the Greek-Orthodox churches, the liturgy, concluding with remarks on their bells and the men’s footwear, which consists not of shoes, but a sort of socks, as he calls them, out of leather (56).

Next comes Armenia, which he discusses mostly from a political and military point of view, but here he also offers an important clue as to his own origin since he compares the city of Tarsis with Cologne, concluding that the former is much bigger, although war has laid waste to it (58). In face of the utter destruction, the author breaks out in lamentation: “da ist iamer aff zo sprechen” (58). Subsequently, he discusses other peoples and their customs, living conditions, personal relationships, marriage laws, language, music, and nomadic lifestyle (64).

A major topic for the author was the world of Muslims and their culture. He offers numerous detailed comments about the ruler of Egypt, the commonly practiced hygiene, prayer rituals, the standard fashion of men and women, and, most significantly, the degree to which the Muslims embraced a certain form of toleration of Christians. Both here and throughout, of course, it remains rather tricky to distinguish clearly between learned information and empirical data, but we can be certain that the author must have witnessed quite a lot of everyday life during his time in the Middle East so that he could flesh out many details which he wanted to present so extensively. Subsequently, his thematic interest roams from the Egyptian Muslims to the Mongols and other peoples in-between, each time combining political with cultural aspects, and always referring to the specific religion practiced here and there.

For him, globalism is a fact of life, at least in those eastern countries, such as at the Sultan's court where he once had observed a gathering of people from all over the world of many different statuses, accompanied by exotic animals and birds, not to speak of merchandise which had originated from many different countries: “manicher hande riche seltzen komenschaff van allen landen in der werelt” (92; all kinds of luxurious goods come together from many different countries in the world). All those present made great efforts to demonstrate their respect for the Sultan and sang songs in their own languages in his honor (92). The author relies on the common formula including Christians, Muslims, and Jews, but he apparently had many other peoples in mind who performed there musically: “van allen zungen de in der werelt sint” (92; in all languages spoken in the world). He repeatedly emphasizes this spectacle because it heightened the Sultan's global fame. It did not matter to the author that he thus gave accolades to a mighty Muslim ruler because his description thus gained in splendor and exoticism. Even East Indians appeared there and presented their music and their songs, wearing their unique clothing, which amazed the author even further (95). Moreover, the anonymous describes the Sultan's harem, his wedding with one of the women, and the court entertainment, especially the hunt with falcons, which re-introduces a certain

degree of familiarity for the German audience since this form of entertainment was of course very popular at European courts as well.³³

Next, the author briefly turns to the Turks and their country, noting that in areas that border the world of Christians, many marriages take place across the religious divide. However, when children are born, the sons follow the father's faith, and the daughters follow the mother's faith (120). From here he moves to the Mongols, whom he calls, as was common at his time, 'Tartars' (126). Although he characterizes them as "dolle heiden" (126; crazy heathens), he acknowledges their open attitude toward Christianity and all other religions, as expressed by their willingness to let anyone preach his/her own religion in the public spaces. However, argumentative objections are also allowed, which led to the fact that the Jews were contradicted immediately on the basis of their own scriptures (128).

Most interesting, however, proves to be the comment about the Mongols' use of paper money for all of their purchases, whereas gold and silver are used for ornaments only (130). Marco Polo in his *Travels* had remarked on that phenomenon as well, as there are actually numerous parallels between both texts.³⁴ Apart from the extensive comments about the Mongols' military power, that is, the Great Khan's, we learn also about the ruler's personal handling of his various subjects, his interest in the Christian religion, entertainment, hunting, and fascination with miracle accounts (142). Not surprisingly, these remarks are then enriched with references to the mythical Amazon women, which confirms, of course, that the author drew, despite the many empirical elements, also from the rich tradition of monster lore and fantasy about the distant Orient. Remarkably, here we also face an early reference to Buddhism as reflected by the local belief in the rebirth of one's soul in an animal or any other being after one's death (146).³⁵ Consequently, as he notes,

³³ As to the international trade with falcons, see Thierry Buquet, "The Gyr Falcon in the Middle Ages, an Exotic Bird of Prey (Western Europe and Near East)," *Falconry in the Mediterranean Context During the Pre-Modern Era*, ed. Charles Burnett and Baudouin Van den Abeele (Geneva: Droz, 2021), 79–98. As to the history of harems and modern misconceptions in the West, see the contribution to this volume by Amany El-Sawy, though she addresses its history in the early modern age only.

³⁴ *The Travels of Marco Polo*, trans. and with an intro. by Ronald Latham (London: Penguin, 1958), 192. For an extensive discussion of the reception history of Polo's work, see Christine Gadrat-Querfelli, *Lire Marco Polo au Moyen Age: Traduction, diffusion et reception du Devisement du monde*. Terrarvm Orbis, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015). There is, of course, no mentioning of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* here.

³⁵ Romedio Schmitz-Esser, "The Buddha and the Medieval West: Changing Perspectives on Cultural Exchange between Asia and Europe in the Middle Ages," *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (see note 7), 311–30; Albrecht Classen, "Early Encounters with Buddhism: Some Medieval European Travelogue Authors Offer First Insights into a Foreign Religion.

people there treat all animals with greatest kindness because they believe that they could be the vessels of their deceased loved ones.

Although the author then also comments on Persia (148), the information is extremely brief, limited to the one remark that it is situated west of India and that all Christian merchants or monks would have to travel in larger groups if they wanted to reach India due to the Persians' hostility. Otherwise, however, the anonymous voices no negative opinion about the various peoples in the East; instead, he tends to praise them for their high level of hygiene, their extraordinary splendor in celebrating public festivals (154), their astounding hospitality and generosity (155), and their radical abstinence from drinking alcohol, which they substitute with good water (155). He notes with great respect that all lords, knights, and merchants in those countries, all the way up to India, speak French, whereas the rural population expresses itself only in their own mother tongue (155).

With astonishment, the author observes that the knights in the Sultan's empire do not practice any tournaments, although they greatly enjoy hunting with birds of prey (157). He also underscores the maintenance of strict laws that do not differentiate between the wealthy and the poor. Altogether, however, he also acknowledges that he would not be able to reflect on all the various customs and habits in those countries "want da so manicher hande lude wonnent so en kan dat mallich neit begriffen" (160; since there live so many different people that no one can comprehend it all). Nevertheless, he particularly underscores that there are fundamental similarities among the various peoples, whether Christians, Jews, or Muslims, when it comes to the mourning of a deceased person. He even uses the term "gmeyn sede" (162; shared custom), referring to the old women's screaming and tearing their hair to express their grief during a funeral.

Switching to an economic perspective, the anonymous emphasizes how much trade between East and West takes place connecting both worlds, with silk, jewels, pearls, and other luxury items being exported to the West, and brocade, furs, iron, lead, tall Spanish horses, great Venetian and German bells traded in the East (162). Other products imported from Europe to the Middle East are resin glue and falcons (162).

In the following section, the anonymous treats a wide gamut of typical animals to be found in the Orient, but then he also turns to hunting dogs, which allows him to include yet another element shared by people in both parts of the world since those are "van eyne gescheft als he" (178; of the same properties as those here). He also refers to greyhounds used for hunting, and indicates that some of those

Explorations of an Uncharted Territory," to appear in *The East Asian Journal of Philosophy*, special issue, *Dynamic Encounters between Buddhism and the West*, ed. Laura Langone .

were imported from Europe (180). As to major birds, he lists those that are rather common in the East but rare in the West, such as pelicans, flamingos, parrots, and the phoenix (180). There is some doubt in his mind about their actual existence, but since kings and princes own some of their feathers, he does not question the reality behind them further, though he insists that they exist only in Arabia (184). Chicken, doves, and other domestic birds are described in very similar terms as those in the West, though they are said to be much bigger (186). Swallows arrive in the East during the month of March, just as they do in the West (186).

Turning to plants and fruit, the author again relies on a comparison and emphasizes those that are rare in Europe and common in the Middle East, such as the cedar tree, the cypress, pistachio, figs, peppers, cotton, incense, palm trees, and the like (188). Altogether, he presents himself in this second half as a learned writer and an attentive observer who rarely seems to fantasize and made serious efforts to convey a trustworthy, realistic image of the fauna and flora of the Orient, regularly offering comparisons with the situation in the West so as to help his audience in the basic comprehension of the natural conditions in the Middle East. Of course, he resorts to many generalizations and does not distinguish clearly between the various countries and cultures. Nevertheless, the amount of data provided about peoples, their cultures and customs, the political and military events, and the animals, birds, and plants to be found in that part of the world confirms that this author had extensive knowledge about that world and tried hard to be as detailed as possible.

Conclusion

If we are willing to call him a 'global citizen,' then for the particular reasons that he pursued an open approach to different religions and cultures, paying considerable respect to the Muslim world, above all. Naturally, the anonymous embraced Christianity as the only true religion, and used it, though only in a loose manner, as a benchmark to compare it with Islam, above all. He seems to have heard a little about Buddhism, but nothing about Hinduism, not to speak of other religions in the Middle East. He commonly disqualifies certain Christian groups as not living up to the standards of the Catholic Church in the West, but this never leads him to specific prejudice or a sense of cultural superiority. Instead, he tends to present the various ethnic groups from an etic perspective embracing an intriguing objective attitude, as far as that was even possible in the late Middle Ages. Even when he specifies Christianity as the only true religion, he does not hesitate to highlight positive aspects pertaining to the Egyptian Muslims or the Mongols. The author does not harbor particularly religious concepts and pursues rather anthropological and

scientific interests. His treatise consists of critical comments about the many different cultures he had witnessed during his stay in the Middle East, and about the local fauna and flora. There is a clear indication that he was fully aware of his limitations in discussing the many different aspects, but he makes sure to be complex in his discussions and to avoid as much as possible cultural biases.

Undoubtedly, the author combined a variety of discourses to create his treatise, such as traditional monster lore, mythical accounts of Prester John in India, reports about the Mongols, historiographical and political comments about countries such as Georgia and Armenia, vague narratives about Paradise and the Nile river flowing out of it, and so forth.

All that might actually place the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* fairly close to John Mandeville's *Travels*, if there were not numerous other concrete elements that confirm, by contrast, his status as an eye-witness who has much to share about the high standards of Muslim culture, about the extremely complex composition of the local population in the various regions, the presence of many deviant Christian groups everywhere, the existence of international trade between East and West, the shared interest in falconry and in hunting with greyhounds, the great emphasis on personal hygiene, the extraordinary beauty of local fashions, the political structure at the Sultan's court, and the eastern flora and fauna. However, Mandeville presented a much more fanciful account, whereas our author was much down to earth and demonstrated extensive personal experiences.

Brall-Tuchel has already confirmed the astounding level of immediacy, the personal involvement, and the concrete observations of all those specific aspects mentioned above.³⁶ Here we encounter an author who appears to have direct knowledge about many parts of the Middle East which he had observed first-hand, although we cannot ignore the dimension of literary, almost fictional adaptation.

In short, in the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* we face a late medieval narrative where the vast world of the Middle East, India, and even the Mongolian empire dominates the author's viewpoint. The level of respect for the foreign cultures is unprecedented, and the European audience is invited, maybe more than ever before, at least in the German context, to embrace a more global perspective. Even though the writer does not engage in actual dialogues with the people discussed in his account, they are commonly presented as worthy fellow citizens who differ maybe in their religion, living habits, and fashions, not to speak of languages, but who are certainly recognized as respectable individuals who all make up the huge diversity of humanity. The audience is strongly encouraged to acknowledge the presence of many different peoples, cultures, countries, and kingdoms and to enjoy the variety

36 Brall-Tuchel, "Einleitung" (see note 24), 23–25.

of the natural environment under more exotic climatic conditions. Despite a certain degree of fictionality, as we encounter it in all late medieval travelogues, here we are confronted with a major step forward toward a global perception.

To put the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* into a wider context, we could compare it with the pilgrimage account by Arnold von Harff (1471–1505), who had also originated from the Cologne region, and with the reports about their slavery by Johann Schiltberger (ca. 1380–ca.1440), and Georgius of Hungary (ca. 1422–1502). In all four cases, the traditional Eurocentric perspective is remarkably reduced and replaced by innovative local viewpoints. To compare the work by this Low German writer from the Rhineland with Marco Polo's travels, or any others by contemporary Franciscans who made their way to the Mongol empire, would not be quite appropriate since those authors pursued very different interests, either primarily mercantile or primarily religious (missionization and conversion).³⁷ The anonymous, by contrast, demonstrated mostly a central concern to collect practical information about the various peoples and societies in the Middle East and to share as many details as possible without noteworthy subjective biases. He certainly expresses his negative opinions about Jews or Greek-Orthodox Christians, but he seems not to have any particular concern with Muslims or Buddhists, not to speak of the Mongols and their unspecified faith(s). This author was certainly not a touristic writer, not a Christian pilgrim, not a merchant seeking out new markets, and not a diplomat bent on collecting data for his lords back home. We can also not compare him with the armchair traveler Mandeville, or identify him as a Jewish trader.³⁸ The fact itself that the author never reveals his name suggests that he was

37 Albrecht Classen, "Travel Space as Constructed Space: Arnold von Harff Observes the Arabic Space," *German Studies Review* 33.2 (2010): 375–88; id., "Traveler, Linguist, Pilgrim, Observer, and Scientist: Arnold von Harff Explores the Near East and Finds Himself Among Fascinating Foreigners," *Ain güet geboren edel man: A Festschrift for Winder McConnell on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Gary C. Shockey with Gail E. Finney and Clifford A. Bernd. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 757 (Göppingen: Kümmerle, 2011), 195–248; id., "Life Writing as a Slave in Turkish Hands: Georgius of Hungary's Reflections About His Existence in the Turkish World," *Neohelicon* 39.1 (2012): 55–72; online: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11059-012-0125-1>; id., "Global Travel in the Late Middle Ages: The Eyewitness Account of Johann Schiltberger," *Medieval History Journal* 23.1 (2020): 1–28; <https://doi.org/10.1177/0971945819895896>; <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0971945819895896> (both last accessed on March 31, 2023); Folker Reichert, *Erfahrung der Welt: Reisen und Kulturbegegnung im späten Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, Berlin, and Cologne: Kohlhammer, 2001); see also the excellent anthology, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Reisens im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Folker Reichert (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2017).

38 Brall-Tuchel, "Einleitung" (see note 24), 19. His suggestions that it might have been a Jew cannot be supported because the author voices subtle but unmistakably negative views of Jews (cf. 84; 116; and especially 128).

perhaps afraid of being attacked for his unorthodox views and that he knew that he would not fully fit into the social system back home with his global perspectives.

One final passage deserves to be cited at length to indicate unmistakably the extent to which we encounter here a rather unusual observer who originated from western Europe (Aachen or Cologne), who addressed a Christian audience, and who nevertheless conveyed rather positive aspects especially among Muslim society. Drinking of alcohol is not allowed to Muslims, so the public taverns offered water, and those taverns that could produce the best quality of water were most frequented:

Vort sint da altze reynliche tavernen da man goit wasser vercouft als hie guden wyn. Ind we dan dat beste wasser hat dar koment de lude alre meist und in den tavernen steint silveren standen vol wassers da loufft dat wasser uss cleynnen silveren piffen. Und de standen sint gehangen und de tavernen bestreuwet myt manicher hande cruyt und da ligen dan die heiden und singent und sint alze vrolichen und da sint dan alze vil erberen und < . . . > winters ind somers veile und al ir sanck is van springenden burnen als hie van der mynnen und dan laissent sy hoelen alze heirlichen spysse. (84)

[Then there are very clean taverns where they serve good water as they serve good wine here (in Germany). And to him who has the best water, the most people go. In the taverns, there are vessels out of silver filled with water, which flows out of small spigots. Those vessels are suspended from the ceiling. The floor is covered with many different kinds of herbs upon which the heathens are lying and singing. They are very happy. Strawberries are constantly offered < . . . > both in winter and in summer. In their songs they treat flowing wells whereas here back home they sing of courtly love. Then they order delicious food to be delivered.]

He also has only praise for the Muslims' splendid and flowing clothing, and he shows great respect for the citizens whom he identifies all as wise and wealthy merchants (86), who regularly give alms to poor Christians and heathens. Finally, which deserves our particular attention, he remarks: "Vort de krysten ind de heiden de in den steden wonnent de verdragentwale ind mallich en beweirt sich neit myt dem anderen myt syme gelouven want dat gerichte is da alze hart und strenge" (86; Further, the Christians and the Muslims who live in the cities tolerate each other and do not get into a fight over their faiths because the legal courts are very harsh and rigid).³⁹ In other words, law and order are, as he observes, closely guarded, and religions are treated as matters of personal choice, a most modern attitude which also confirms an incipient growth of globalism supported by early forms of toleration. We might argue that

³⁹ Albrecht Classen, *Toleration and Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern European Literature*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture, 8 (New York and London: Routledge, 2018; paperback, 2021); id., *Religious Toleration in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: An Anthology of Literary, Theological, and Philosophical Texts* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2020). I was not yet aware of this important statement in the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* when I wrote my two books.

both aspects are closely interlinked; the more globally one thinks, the more tolerant one becomes. Paying so much respect to the foreign cultures in the Middle East, the anonymous opened significant epistemological doors to the foreign world beyond the Holy Land.

We could ultimately claim that what Marco Polo accomplished for his Italian audience, the author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* realized for his Low German audience in the northern Rhineland. Moreover, his work can now be identified, at least indirectly, as a major stepping stone for subsequent narrative descriptions of the Middle East, such as the famous account by the Baroque travelogue author Adam Olearius, his *Vermehrte New Beschreibung der Muscowitischen vnd Persischen Reyse* (1647; 1656; Expanded New Description of the Journey to Moscow and Persia).⁴⁰ Granted, it is highly unlikely that Olearius was familiar with the fourteenth-century Low German report by this anonymous, but both authors demonstrate remarkable parallels in their more or less objective assessment of the non-European cultures, peoples, customs, and the fauna and flora in the Middle East, which allows us to identify them as major contributors to the emergence of pre-modern globalism, and this, perhaps a little surprising considering the major focus of the late medieval and early modern trade and military outreach in England, Spain, Italy, and France, within the German-speaking context.

We could also embark on a comparison between Marco Polo's *Travels* and the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, as both narratives are strongly determined by the desire to offer factual descriptions and as much concrete information about the eastern cultures as possible. But suffices it here to point out this critical aspect and to limit ourselves to the discussion of the Low German text, which has remained virtually unknown among non-German scholarship.⁴¹ If we can trust the textual evidence, and little speaks against it, both writers stand out for us even today because they predicated their effort especially on personal outreaches to the local population, on studying their local customs and habits, and this without a particularly noteworthy Eurocentric prejudice. Of course, both *mappaemundi* and an extensive number of pertinent travelogues had also raised a considerable awareness about

⁴⁰ Albrecht Classen, "Global History in the Middle Ages: A Medieval and an Early Modern Perspective. The *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) and Adam Olearius's *Vermehrte New Beschreibung der Muscowitischen vnd Persischen Reyse* (1647; 1656)," *Philological Quarterly* 100.2 (2021): 101–34; id., "Unexpected Exposures to Multilingualism in the Late Middle Ages: A Global Perspective by Travelogue Authors: *Der Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, Georgius of Hungary, and Johann Schiltberger," *International Journal of Culture and History* 9.1 (2022); online at: <https://www.macrothink.org/journal/index.php/ijch/article/view/19078> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

⁴¹ There is, for instance, no reference to our work in *Trade, Travel, and Exploration in the Middle Ages: An Encyclopedia* (see note 7).

the Orient among the western audiences, but only when authors such as Marco Polo and the anonymous of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* turned their full attention to the actual conditions on the ground in many different parts of the Middle East and the world of the Mongolian empire, did a specific sense of globalism emerged. They fundamentally, even if not intentionally, maybe, challenged the principles of a division between a core world and the periphery, as Immanuel Wallerstein had described it for the modern world in its exploration of global connections.⁴²

In the wake of growing empiricism, as we also observe clearly in this Middle Low German treatise, the global world increasingly dawned upon the horizon of western intellectuals.⁴³

⁴² Immanuel Wallerstein, *World-Systems Analysis: An Introduction*. A John Hope Franklin Center Book (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 17; see also Heng, *The Global Middle Ages* (see note 5), 40–53. Cf. now my most recent article, “Globalism *avant la lettre* from a Late Medieval and Early Modern German Perspective: The *Niederrheinische Orientbericht*, Adam Olearius, and Jesuit Missionaries Across the Globe,” *New Literaria: An International Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Humanities* 4.1 (2023): 17–31; online at: <https://newliteraria.com/articles/v04i1/v04i1-03.pdf> (last accessed on Feb. 13, 2023).

⁴³ See also the contributions to this volume by David Tomíček (Bohemian sources), Thomas Willard (early modern English documents), and Reinhold Münster (Eberhard Happel, Hamburg; the first ‘journalist’ and global reporter).

Chiara Benati and Marialuisa Caparrini

The Germanic Translations of Lanfranc's Surgical Works as Example of Global Circulation of Knowledge

Abstract: Lanfranc of Milan is considered one of the most influential surgeons of the late Middle Ages and his Latin works – the *Chirurgia parva* and the *Chirurgia magna* – have informed surgical practices until the beginning of modern surgery in the sixteenth century. The importance of Lanfranc's works is documented by the large number of vernacular translations which were produced in the years following their compilation and which made the scholarship of Lanfranc and his sources available throughout Europe also to those who did not read Latin. Among these sources, we find the twelfth-century Latin translation of Albucasis's *Surgery* by Gerard of Cremona, a book which circulated widely in Italy, but was difficult to find in other parts of Europe, such as present-day France, Germany, England and the Netherlands. Lanfranc himself is thought to have brought a copy of the Latin Albucasis with him when he moved to France. Therefore, the vernacular translations of Lanfranc's works contributed significantly to the circulation of the surgical part of Albucasis's *Kitab al-Tasrif (The Method of Medicine)*. In this study, two groups of Germanic (English and German) translations of Lanfranc's works will be taken into consideration with respect to their vernacular rendering of the passages which are more strongly indebted to the Islamic tradition, in order to highlight how knowledge spread from one culture to another and from one language to another.

Keywords: Medieval surgery, circulation of knowledge, Lanfranc of Milan, Albucasis

Note: Chiara Benati is the author of the introductory paragraph, as well as of those on Albucasis and his *Surgery*, Lanfranc of Milan and his surgical works, and on Albucasis's influence in the German translations of Lanfranc's work, whereas the parts on Albucasis's influence on Lanfranc and on Albucasis in the Middle English Lanfranc translations have been written by Marialuisa Caparrini. The conclusions are the result of the collaboration and discussion between the two authors.

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Introduction

Few fields of pre-modern knowledge are as global as medicine and surgery. After the fall of the Roman Empire (476 C.E.), the achievements of Greek-Roman medicine and surgery would have been completely nullified if it had not been for the Arabic physicians who took care of this legacy, translated the works of Greek and Roman authors, and integrated them into their own texts.¹ During the Middle Ages, especially the twelfth century, these texts were rediscovered and circulated in Europe thanks to their translation from Arabic into Latin and, eventually, also into the various vernaculars.²

In this study we will discuss a significant example of this form of global circulation of knowledge showing how one of the most influential European surgeons – Lanfranc of Milan – had learned from the most famous professor of the medical school in Córdoba – Albucasis – who, in turn, had based his production mainly on Hippocrates (460–370 B.C.E.) and Paul of Aegina (625–690 C.E.), and to which extent the vernacular translations of Lanfranc’s Latin works contributed to the dissemination of (Arabic) surgical knowledge in the Germanic-speaking parts of Europe. After presenting the two main protagonists of this story and an examination of their surgical works and the influence of Albucasis on Lanfranc, we will outline the reception of Lanfranc’s works in two Germanic languages (English and German). And, finally, we will focus on the rendering of the passages which are more indebted to the Islamic tradition in the English and German translations in order to ascertain whether they have contributed to the circulation of Albucasis’s teaching in the areas of Europe, where the Latin version of his *Surgery* by Gerald of Cremona was, as shown by Monica Green,³ more difficult to find. In this, we will not deal with the Dutch traditions of Lanfranc’s surgical works because the fragment of Middle Dutch translation of Albucasis’s *Surgery* discovered by Brigitte Kusche in Hamburg, Staats-

1 On the medieval Arabic Translation Movement, see Maha Baddar, “Text that Travel: Translation Genres and Knowledge-Making in the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement,” *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time: Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 22 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 95–119; on medical texts, 99–103.

2 On this, see also Harold Ellis and Sala Abdalla, *A History of Surgery* (Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2019), 23.

3 Monica H. Green, “Moving from Philology to Social History: The Circulation and Uses of Albucasis’s Latin *Surgery* in the Middle Ages,” *Between Text and Patient: The Medical Enterprise in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Florence Eliza Glaze and Brian Nance. Micrologus’ Library, 30 (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2011), 331–72; here 337–38.

und Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. Med. 798 (the middle of the fifteenth century)⁴ is already indicative of the circulation of Albucasis's text in the Netherlands and, in particular, in the Flanders.

In this respect, Lanfranc's surgical works and their vernacular translations can be considered as products and, at the same time, vehicles of a medieval form of globalism. On the one hand, in fact, Lanfranc's surgical works are the result of "an opening of perspectives toward distant parts of the world."⁵ This allowed not only a repeated and multidirectional circulation (from West to East, and again from East to West) of medical knowledge among cultures, irrespective of linguistic barriers, but also the unbiased evaluation of surgical procedures (e.g., cauterization) as such, regardless of the cultural and religious context in which they were developed. On the other hand, both Lanfranc's Latin originals and their vernacular versions contributed to perpetuating the spread of this knowledge. The vernacular translations of the two texts, in particular, made this long-traveled scholarship available to a different social group of practitioners who were not able to read Latin.

Albucasis and His Surgery

Abū'l Qāsim Ḥalāf ibn 'Abbās al-Zahrāwī, known in Latin Europe as Albucasis, was born of Spanish parents at El-Zahra, near Córdoba in Spain. We do not know much about his biography, apart from that he lived at the court of Abd-al-Rahman III (912–961) and was the personal physician of the caliph. On the basis of late antique authors such as Paul of Aegina, Albucasis (ca. 936–1013)⁶ compiled an encyclope-

4 Brigitte Kusche, "Laat-Middelnederlands fragmenten uit de *Chirurgie* van Albucasis (Met tekeningen van de instrumenten)," *Verslagen en mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde*, nieuwe reeks, (1980): 370–420.

5 Albrecht Classen, "Globalism in Medieval Literature? Pre-Modern Perspectives in Poetic Projections: Wolfram von Eschenbach's *Parzival*, Konrad Fleck's *Flore und Blancheflor*, and *Reinfried von Braunschweig*," *Athens Journal of Humanities & Arts* 8.1 (2021): 15–44; here 15.

6 The dates given for Albucasis's birth and death vary significantly from one source to the other. Ludwig Choulant, *Handbuch der Bücherkunde für die ältere Medizin zur Kenntnis der griechischen, lateinischen und arabischen Schriften im ärztlichen Fache und zu bibliographischen Unterscheidungen ihrer verschiedenen Ausgaben, Uebersetzungen und Erläuterungen* (Munich: Verlag der Münchner Drucke, 1926), 372, places his death in 1106, a datation which is explicitly rejected by Donald Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and its Influence on the Middle Ages*. Vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1926), 85. See also Christoph Weißer, *Chirurgenlexikon. 2000 Persönlichkeiten aus der Geschichte der Chirurgie* (Berlin: Springer, 2019), 1; E. Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie und ihrer Ausübung. Volkschirurgie – Alterthum – Mittelalter – Renaissance*. Vol. 1 (Berlin: Verlag von August Hirschwald, 1898), 620.

dia of medicine and surgery entitled *Kitab al-Tasrif* (The Method of Medicine) and divided in thirty sections.

The final of these sections is dedicated to surgery and was published separately, thus constituting “the first independent illustrated work on the subject.”⁷ The *Surgery* includes, in fact, the oldest series of illustrations representing surgical instruments that has come down to us. The work consists of an introduction and three books. In the introduction, the author laments the state of surgery at his time which – in his eyes – has disappeared and survives exclusively in the corrupted tradition of the writings of the old masters. Particularly deplorable is in this respect the lack of anatomical knowledge characterizing his contemporaries, whose shortcomings could cause irreparable harm and kill the patients.⁸ The first book is the longest and deals with cauterization, a technique which was extensively used in Arabian medicine, as it has been recommended by Mahomet himself, and which Albucasis considered an *ultima ratio* when other remedies had proven ineffective. The second book constitutes a systematic exposition of surgical pathology and is for the largest part a transcription from Paul of Aegina combined with a series of indications based on the practice of Arabic surgeons, as well as on his own experience. The third book, which is dedicated to fractures and luxations, is also strongly indebted to the Byzantine physician.⁹

Along with the work of other Arabic authors, Albucasis's *Surgery* became particularly popular in Christian Europe¹⁰ thanks to the Latin translations produced

7 Campbell, *Arabian Medicine* (see note 6), 86; Usamah Demeisi, *Zur Geschichte der Erforschung von Leben und Werk des Abū'l Qāsim az-Zahrāwī (um 936 – um 1013) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Zahnheilkunde* (Berlin: Mensch & Buch Verlag, 1999), 1–29.

8 Albucasis, *On Surgery and Instruments: A Definitive Edition of the Arabic Text with English Translation and Commentary*, ed. M. S. Spink and G. L. Lewis. Publications of the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, New Series, 12 (London: The Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, 1973), 2–7. See also Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 6), 622.

9 See also Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 6), 623–49 and Campbell, *Arabian Medicine* (see note 6), 86.

10 Though traditionally downplayed by critics and historians of surgery such as Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 6), 621, Albucasis's work exerted significant influence on Eastern medicine as well. Particularly indebted to him is, for example, the work of the medieval Ottoman surgeon and physician Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu (1385–1468), his *Cerrahiyyet'u 'l-Haniye* (Imperial Surgery), which can be described as a compilation and modification of medical techniques from Albucasis. On this, see Osman Tarsel Darçın and Mehmet Halit Andaç, “Surgery on Varicose Veins in the Early Ottoman Period Performed by Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu,” *Annals of Vascular Surgery* 17.4 (2003): 468–72; here 471; Omur Elcioglu, Himi Ozden, Gul Guven, and Sahin Kabay, “Urinary Bladder Stone Extraction and Instruments Compared in Textbooks of Abul-Qasim Khalaf Ibn Abbas Alzahravi (Albucasis) (930–1013) and Şerefeddin Sabuncuoğlu (1385–1470),” *Journal of Endourology* 24.9 (2010): 1463–68; here 1464.

in the twelfth century in Toledo, where a society of translators – mainly converted Jews – had been founded around 1130 by the archbishop Raymond.¹¹ In 1170, Gerard of Cremona (1114–1187) arrived in Toledo to translate the *Canon* of Avicenna according to some sources,¹² or Ptolemy's astronomical treatise *Almagest* according to other sources.¹³ Whatever his original interest was, Gerard is remembered for having translated some seventy Arabic scientific and, for the largest part, medical works. Among these, he also translated Albucasis's *Surgery*.¹⁴

The 'Latin Albucasis' is transmitted in thirty-three manuscripts dating from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century, three-quarters of which coming from the period between ca.1250 and ca.1350.¹⁵ As Monica Green has shown, the geographical distribution of these extant copies of the Latin Albucasis reveal an interesting pattern of circulation: twenty-seven of known thirty-three manuscripts have been localized, on the basis of paleographical analysis, to (northern) Italy.¹⁶ Medieval library catalogs and inventories also confirm a mainly northern Italian circulation of the text.¹⁷ Here Albucasis's *Surgery* was accessible to the thirteenth-century authors who, between 1240 and 1320, founded a new genre of medical writing in Western Europe: Latin general surgery. During this span of time, in fact, five authors – four of whom connected to Northern Italy – produced a series of texts that shared the vision of surgery as a rational enterprise. These "rational surgeons," as McVaugh calls them, were Teodorico Borgognoni (ca. 1205–1298), Bruno Longobucco (ca. 1200–1286), Guglielmo da Saliceto (1210–1277), Lanfranc of Milan (ca.1250–1310) and Henri de Mondeville (ca. 1260–1320).¹⁸

11 On this, see also Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and its Influence* (see note 6), 137–50.

12 Campbell, *Arabian Medicine and its Influence* (see note 6), 144.

13 Danielle Jacquart, "Les traductions médicales de Gérard de Crémone," *Gerardo da Cremona*, ed. Pierluigi Pizzamiglio. Annali della biblioteca statale e libreria civica di Cremona, 41 (Cremona: Libreria del Convegno, 1992), 57–70; here 57.

14 Short afterwards, Gerard's Latin translation of Albucasis was translated into French and Occitan. See also David Trotter, "Les manuscrits latins de la *Chirurgia* d'Albucasis et la lexicographie du latin médiéval," *Archivum latinitatis medii aevi (Bulletin du Cange)* 59 (2001): 181–202. The Old French version was edited by David Trotter, *Albucasis: Traité de Chirurgie. Édition de la traduction en ancien français de la Chirurgie d'Abū'l Qāsim Ḥalāf Ibn 'Abbās al-Zahrāwī du manuscrit BNF, français 1318*. Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 325 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2005).

15 Green, "Moving from Philology" (see note 3), 336.

16 Only one or, possibly three, copies seem to have been produced in southern Italy.

17 Green, "Moving from Philology" (see note 3), 336–37.

18 Michael McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery of the Middle Ages*. Micrologus' Library, 15 (Florence: SISMEL/Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006).

Lanfranc of Milan and His Surgical Works

After his surgical training in Bologna with Guglielmo da Saliceto, about 1270 Lanfranc settled down in Milan, the city where he had been born some twenty years before, and started practicing surgery. A series of references in his *Chirurgia magna* suggest that he was quite successful there until, about 1290, he was banned from the city for political reasons by Matteo Visconti.¹⁹ He then moved to France: first to Lyon, where he completed his *Chirurgia parva*, a brief introduction to surgery, and later, about 1295, to Paris. When he arrived in Paris, he was confronted with

a huge city possessed of an aggressive university and faculty of medicine that in the early 1270s had tried to legislate the authority of theoretical medicine over operational surgery. Moreover, it was a city growing more and more convinced that despite the faculty's action, its surgical practitioners continued to present a grave social problem: it was apparently in the 1280s that the provost of Paris issued an edict intended to bring these practitioners under further control by requiring them to be examined.²⁰

In this particular context, Lanfranc had the fortune to obtain the support of Jean de Passavant, dean of the faculty of medicine at the University of Paris,²¹ who possibly asked him to give a course in rational surgery.²² In 1295 he became part of the *Confrérie de Saint-Côme et de Saint-Damien*, the first professional association of surgeons in France, where he taught his fellows in both theory and practice.²³ In Paris,

19 See also Weißer, *Chirurgenlexikon* (see note 6), 183; Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 6), 765–91; Roman Sosnowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva di Lanfranco da Milano nel manoscritto Ital. quart. 67 della collezione berlinese, conservato nella Biblioteca Jagellonica di Cracovia*. Collectio Fibulae, 8 (Kraków: Faculty of Philology, Jagellonian University of Kraków, 2014), 9–11.

20 McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 38.

21 See also Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 6), 765 and Ernest Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au Moyen Âge*. Hautes études médiévales et modernes, 34 (Geneva: Librairie Droz, 1979), 460.

22 Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna*, in *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cavliaci medici celeberrimi lucubrationes chirurgicae, ab inifinitis prope mendis emendatae: ac instrumentorum chirurgicorum formis, quae in alijs impressionibus desiderabantur, exornata*. Bruni preterea, Theodorici, Rolandi, Lanfranci, et Bertapalae, chirurgiae, maxima nunc diligentia recognitae (Venice: Apvd Iuntas, 1546), fol. 261rb: “Ibique rogatus a quibusdam dominis et magistris, et specialiter a viro venerando domino magistro Ioanne de Passauanto magistrorum medicinae, necnon a quibusdam valentibus bachalarijs omni dignis honore: que ea quæde rationibus chirurgiæ legendo dicebam” (Here I was asked by some masters and in particular by the venerable Jean de Passavant, master of the masters of medicine, as well as by some bachelors, who were all honorable, to teach rational surgery). See also McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 38.

23 See also Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 6), 765.

Lanfranc also completed his major work, the *Chirurgia magna*, in 1296, which is dedicated to Philip the Fair, king of France between 1285 and 1314.

Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* is a synthetic introduction to the surgical art traditionally divided into sixteen chapters, even though, as Keil and Röhl have demonstrated, this division of the text is not original.²⁴ The treatise enjoyed great popularity and belongs to the most influential surgical works of the Middle Ages.²⁵ The medieval fortune of the text is demonstrated by the large number of manuscripts transmitting it.²⁶ Moreover, from the fourteenth century onward, the *Chirurgia parva* was translated into vernacular languages. One or more vernacular versions of Lanfranc's work are, in fact, preserved in French,²⁷ Catalan,²⁸ Italian (Venetian and Tuscan),²⁹ Hebrew,³⁰ English, German and Dutch.

The oldest-known Germanic translation of the *Chirurgia parva* is a – now lost – Middle Low Franconian version, which was produced in the Flanders in the first part of the fourteenth century at latest and which was, later in the same century,

24 Heinz-Ulrich Röhl and Gundolf Keil, "Tradition und Intention. Gliederungsprobleme bei der 'Kleinen Chirurgie' Lanfranks," *Acta congressus internationalis XXIV historiae artis medicinae: 25–31 Augusti 1974, Budapestini II*, ed. József Antall, Géza Buzinkay, and Ferenc Némethy (Budapest: Museum, Bibliotheca er Archivum Historiae Artis Medicinae de I. Ph. Semmelweis Nominata, 1976), 1373–92.

25 On the popularity of Lanfranc's works, see Gundolf Keil and Rolf Müller, "Deutsche Lanfrank-Übersetzungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts: Zur Wertung der Lanfrank-Zitate in Brunswigs 'Chirurgie'," *Medizingeschichte in unserer Zeit: Festgabe für Edith Heischkel-Artelt und Walter Artelt zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Hans-Heinz Eulne, Gunter Mann, Gert Preiser, Rolf Winau, and Otto Winkelmann (Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1971), 90–110.

26 No critical edition of the Latin text exists. Heinz-Ulrich Röhl, "Textkritische Vorstudien zur 'Chirurgia parva' Lanfranks," Ph.D. diss., University of Bonn, 1976, a preliminary study to the edition of the text, which has become almost impossible to find, lists thirty-eight manuscripts and indicates Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1165, fol. 131va–137vb (fourteenth century) as a possible copy text (German *Leithandschrift*) of a future edition, which eventually never came into being. See also Röhl and Keil, "Tradition und Intention" (see note 24), 1387–88, where thirty-one Latin witnesses are listed.

27 On this, see Claude De Tovar, "Les versions françaises de la *Chirurgia Parva* de Lanfranc de Milan. Étude de la tradition manuscrite," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 12–13 (1982–1983): 195–262.

28 On this, see Guadalupe Albi Romero, *Lanfranco de Milán en España. Estudio y edición de la Magna Chirurgia en traducción castellana medieval*. Acta historico-medica vallisoletana, 25 (Valladolid: Secretariado de Publicaciones, Universidad de Valladolid, 1988), 73.

29 On this, see Sownowski, *Volgarizzamento della Chirurgia parva* (see note 19), and Francesco Crifò, "Per la bona noticia de la sciencia e longa praticita," *Capitoli di storia linguistica della medicina*, ed. Rosa Piro and Raffaella Scarpa (Milan and Udine: Mimesis, 2019), 165–80.

30 On the Hebrew version of the *Chirurgia parva*, known as *Alafranquina*, see George Sarton, *Introduction to the History of Science: From Rabbi Ezra to Roger Bacon, II* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1931), 1081.

revised in the Southern Netherlands. On the whole, three different Dutch versions deriving from the Middle Low Franconian archetype have come down to us: two in manuscript copies (London, British Library, Ms. Harley 1684, fol. 105r–140r and Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Ms. 8216, fol. 59ra–73vb) and one in print by Konrad Braem (Leuven, 1481).³¹ A further Dutch translation – whose relationship to the other witnesses has never been investigated³² – was printed in Antwerp in 1529.

If the *Chirurgia parva* was a short and handy booklet thought as a quick reference, the *Chirurgia magna* is the work, in which Lanfranc fully displays his idea of surgery as a rational and causal science, which has to be practiced by learned individuals and not by incompetent practitioners. The text is divided into five books dealing, respectively, with anatomy – which is placed at the beginning because it constitutes an intellectual prerequisite for the surgeon³³ – wounds in general, the anatomy and the wounds of specific members, surgically treatable diseases, fractures and dislocations, and medicines (*antidotarium*).³⁴ As the *Chirurgia parva*, the *Chirurgia magna* was repeatedly translated, even though these vernacular versions have been almost always disregarded by scholars and, with the exception of the Castilian,³⁵ English, and, partly, Dutch branches of the tradition, all the texts are still unedited.

Though no complete edition of the Dutch versions of the *Chirurgia magna* exists, a partial parallel edition of the three vernacular translations of the *Chirurgia magna* that have come down to us has been provided by Huizenga and Reynaert, who have also clarified the relationships between the various manuscripts and fragments.³⁶ The oldest Dutch translation is transmitted in a series of fourteenth-century fragments (Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek, Ms. 2201 (Appendix); Cologne, His-

31 These Dutch versions are edited in Stefan Scholle, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’ in mittelniederfränkischer Übertragung. Altdeutsche Lanfrank-Übersetzungen, II 1,” Ph.D. diss., University of Würzburg, 1978.

32 Scholle’s edition does not take into consideration this print, as it falls outside the medieval period. Scholle, “Lanfranks ‘Chirurgia parva’” (see note 31), 9.

33 On this, see also McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 40–41.

34 For a more detailed description of the text’s contents, see Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 6), 766–90.

35 See also Albi Romero, *Lanfranco de Milán en España* (see note 28), 71–75, where the author attempts to provide a survey of the European reception of Lanfranc’s surgical works.

36 Edwin Huizenga and Joris Reynaert, “De Middelnederlandse vertaling van de *Chirurgia magna* van Lanfranc van Milaan. Een vergelijkende editie van de preliminaire hoofdstukken,” *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 2 (2002): 229–369.

torisches Archiv der Stadt, Best. 7050 A 57; Cologne, Universitäts- und Stadtbibliothek, without shelfmark) and in the manuscript Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Ms. 1272, fol. 1r–134v (fifteenth century); while the other two – both from the northern part of the Netherlands – are preserved in one fifteenth-century manuscript each, Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Cod. II F 39 and Uppsala Universitets bibliotek, Ms. Waller 132.³⁷

Albucasis's Influence on Lanfranc

Both the *Chirurgia parva* and the *Chirurgia magna* are based on Lanfranc's own experience as physician and surgeon, on the one hand, and on traditional medical and surgical authorities, on the other; i.e., on Greek and Arabic writers such as Galen, Avicenna, Rhazes, Johannes Damascenus,³⁸ who are often mentioned within the texts. The name of Albucasis, on the other hand, only appears once, in chapter III.1.6 of the *Chirurgia magna*, where the author points out how the new rational surgery is indebted to the Latin tradition as well as to Greek and Arabic sources:

Nos habemos medicinam a duobus fontibus traditam magistrorum: Fonte, Salernii, ut a Constantino, Cuffone, Plateario, Ioanne de Sancto Paulo, Mauro et pluribus aliis; et auctoribus primis, ut Hippocrate et Galieno et ab auctoribus sequentibus, ut Serapione, Isaac, Ioanne, Albucasis, Avicenna, Halyabbate, Ioanne de Sancto Paulo: et aliis auctoribus pluribus [. . .].³⁹

[We have drawn our medicine from two schools of masters: the Salernitan school, from Constantine, Copho, Platearius, John of St. Paul, Maurus and from many others; and from the authors, who came first, like Hippocrates and Galen and from the authors who followed, like Serapion, Isaac, Johannes, Albucasis, Avicenna, Haly Abbas and many other authors].

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that Albucasis's work had a pronounced effect on Lanfranc's surgical practice and that it was used “for information and guidance on

³⁷ See also Joris Reynaert, “Over medische kennis in de late Middeleeuwen. De Middelnederlandse vertaling van Lanfrancs *Chirurgia magna*,” *Millennium: tijdschrift voor middeleeuwse studies* 13 (1999): 21–30; Edwin Huizenga, “Unintended Signatures: Middle Dutch Translators of Surgical Works,” *Science Translated: Latin and Vernacular Translations of Scientific Treatises in Medieval Europe*, ed. Michèle Goyens, Pieter De Leemans, and An Smets (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2008), 415–48. On the Uppsala manuscript, see Jan Frederiksen and Gundolf Keil, “Lanfrancs ‘Chirurgia magna’ in sächsischer Umschrift des Spätmittelalters,” *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 93 (1971): 390–98.

³⁸ See McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 38 and 58.

³⁹ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.1.6, fol. 227ra–b.

‘new’ surgical diseases.”⁴⁰ Lanfranc never quotes his source *verbatim*, but includes in his work a series of prescriptions, procedures, and tools that clearly depend on Albucasis’s *Surgery*.

An example of this influence is the use of a specific remedy for wound treatment. As Michael McVaugh has pointed out, wound treatment became an independent topic specific to surgery during the thirteenth century. According to the surgical writers of that period, who based both their theoretical knowledge and their practical approach on Galen’s *De ingenio sanitatis* III, wounds could be divided into two different types, that is, on simple and compound wounds.⁴¹ The latter could involve the loss of flesh and/or of skin, suppuration, and pain,⁴² while simple wounds, i.e., flesh wounds simply affecting the surface, were easy to heal. Surgeons had just to close up them by bringing together the edges of the wound and by keeping them well closed with a bandage. Lanfranc describes his own approach both in the *Chirurgia parva* and in the *Chirurgia magna* and explains that after closing the wound, one will have to sprinkle a powder over it – and not in it.

Lanfranc’s *Chirurgia parva* includes two different recipes for this wound dressing:

super suturam pone pulverem factum de parte .i. thuris et .ij. sanguinis draconis et .iij. calcis vivae et aliquando sola calx facit opus super pulverem ponatur peciola panni intincta in albume ovi⁴³

[apply over the suture a powder made of one part of *tus* (i.e., frankincense)⁴⁴ and two parts of dragon’s blood⁴⁵ and three parts of quicklime and sometimes quicklime alone does the work. Put over the powder a cloth [i.e., bandage] moistened with egg white],

⁴⁰ Green, “Moving from Philology” (see note 3), 359.

⁴¹ On this, see McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 92 and 94.

⁴² On this, see for example the description in Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.2, fol. 211va.

⁴³ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia parva*, in *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cavliaci medici celeberrimi lucubrationes chirurgicae, ab inifinitis prope mendis emendatae: ac instrumentorum chirurgicorum formis, quae in alijs impressionibus desiderabantur, exornata. Bruni preterea, Theodorici, Rolandi, Lanfranci, et Bertapalici, chirurgiae, maxima nunc diligentia recognita* (Venice: Apvd Ivntas, 1546), cap. II, fol. 201va.

⁴⁴ An aromatic gum-resin, generally known as frankincense or olibanum, obtained from the bark of trees (genus *Boswellia*, e.g., *Boswellia thurifera*). The same word *thuris* is included in a list of ingredients for incense recipes transmitted in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 878, fol. 334. On this, see Claire Burridge, “Incense in Medicine: An Early Medieval Perspective,” *Early Medieval Europe* 28/2 (2020): 219–55, here 231.

⁴⁵ A red gum-resin obtained from plants of genus *Calamus*.

while the *Chirurgia magna* only includes the first one:

[. . .] *et pone supra de pulvere facto de duabus partibus thuris, et parte una sanguinis draconis et partibus tribus calcis vive, ita tamen que pulvis non intret vulnus sed supra, quia in vulnere nihil debet intrare* [. . .]⁴⁶

[and put over it a dust made of two parts of *tus*, and one part of dragon's blood and three parts of quicklime, so that the powder does not enter the wound, but [it has to be applied] over it, since nothing should enter the wound].

Both prescriptions are almost identical, as they only differ in the quantities of ingredients, nevertheless, they clearly show Albucasis's influence, especially the version included in Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* which completely corresponds to that described in Albucasis's *Surgery*, even in specifying that quicklime can also be used alone:

Description of the powder: let one part of olibanum and two parts of dragon's blood be taken, and three parts of quick or slaked lime, all beaten up together and passed through the sieve [. . .] Lime alone can do this if you have no olibanum and dragon's blood at hand.⁴⁷

Apart from this wound dressing further evidence for Lanfranc's awareness of Albucasis's work can be found in the description of specific, surgical procedures concerning the healing or the operating of conditions such as cataract, inguinal hernia, bladder stones, dropsy, as well as in the chapter on the surgery of female genitalia. Yet, all these descriptions are only included in the *Chirurgia magna*, but not in the first Lanfranc's work, as this was just a brief introduction to surgery.

As for the cataract, it was not until the mid-thirteenth century – when translated Arabic medical and surgical works began to circulate in the West – that it was recognized as a pathological illness.⁴⁸ Arabic authorities considered it as a humoral, liquid excess in the eye deriving from the brain.⁴⁹ For this reason, in the West, cataract was interpreted both as a humoral problem of coagulation, which could be treated medically by physicians by reducing the excess of water and the coagula-

⁴⁶ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), I.3.2, fol. 211rb.

⁴⁷ Albucasis, *On Surgery and Instruments* (see note 8), II.84, 528 and 530.

⁴⁸ On this, see Michael McVaugh, "Cataracts and Hernias: Aspects of Surgical Practice in the Fourteenth Century," *Medical History* 45 (2001): 319–40; here 326–27.

⁴⁹ Arabic authors named it *al-mā' an-nāzil fī'l-ain*, which was translated into Latin as "water descending into the eye" and thus simply referred to as "water"; it was then Constantine the first who translated the Arabic expression with the Greek word *cataracta* "falling down." On this, see McVaugh, "Cataracts and Hernias" (see note 48), 328 and McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 161–62.

tion of humours in the eye, and as a mechanical problem, that had to be treated only surgically with a needle.⁵⁰

Lanfranc is quite sceptical about surgical treatment, so that we can assume that he had probably operated very seldom.⁵¹ Nevertheless, he knows Albucasis's procedure and, in the *Chirurgia magna*, he follows it rather closely. His couching the cataract consists in the use of a silver, rather thick needle, which has to be introduced into the eye, inside the white near the pupil, and after having reached an empty space, it has to be moved and pressed down in order to move the water (i.e., the lens) out;⁵² this procedure corresponds to that described in Albucasis's *Surgery*:

Then take the couching needle [. . .]. Then put the tip of the needle near the corona, about the thickness of a probe away, onto the white of the eye itself, at the same time rotating it with your hand, until it penetrates the white of the eye, and you feel that the needle has reached something empty. [. . .] Then put the needle up to the place containing the humour; then press the point downwards time after time [. . .].⁵³

As for inguinal hernia, thirteenth-century surgeons with a good knowledge of anatomy, understood that this was a “mechanical problem of blocking an opening”⁵⁴ which could not be simply solved medically, but only surgically, even though they were aware of the risk of a surgical intervention, which could be as fatal as the hernia itself. Lanfranc himself is not enthusiastic about this kind of operation and thinks, it would be better to treat hernia in a conservative way, for example by using a truss or bandages.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, when he has to operate, in order both to oppose competitors such as empiric practitioners and to meet the needs of those patients who were willing to risk and to lose their testicle, his procedure consists in the use of the cautery. This can be used in three different ways, one of which aims at destroying the *didymus* (i.e., “the tube uniting the peritoneal cavity and the cavity of the *tunica vaginalis* that surrounds the testicle”⁵⁶) with a semi-circular, thin, broad blade which has to be heated and then put over the pubic bone:

50 On this, see McVaugh, “Cataracts and Hernias” (see note 48), 330, and McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 162.

51 On this, see McVaugh, “Cataracts and Hernias” (see note 48), 333, and McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 163.

52 See Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.1, fol. 238ra. On this, see also McVaugh, “Cataracts and Hernias” (see note 48), 333–34, and McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 164.

53 Albucasis, *On Surgery and Instruments* (see note 8), II.23, 252.

54 McVaugh, “Cataracts and Hernias” (see note 48), 324.

55 On this, see McVaugh, “Cataracts and Hernias” (see note 48), 324–25.

56 McVaugh, “Cataracts and Hernias” (see note 48), 322.

Deinde habeas instrumentum ferreum ad modum semicirculi factum, ita quod igneas donec albescat *et* projiciat scintillas, in loco supra pectinis os ab intestinis omnibus absoluto, iube ministro manum firmiter tenere in loco ubi solebant descendere intestina, *et* tu comprimas cauterium supra pectinis os firmiter, donec pectinis os cum ferro calido consequaris⁵⁷

[Then take an iron, semi-circular tool, so that when it is white and emits sparks, put it in the place that is free of all the intestines over the pubic bone, order an assistant to put his hand over the place where intestines used to go down, and press the cautery over the pubic bone until you meet with the hot iron tool the pubic bone].

Even this approach completely corresponds to Albucasis's method:

Then, below the hernia over the pubic bone, mark a semi-circle whose extremities point upward. Then heat a cautery of this type. When it is white hot and emits sparks then return the intestine or omentum into his abdominal cavity, and have an assistant put his hand over the place to prevent the exit of the intestine.⁵⁸

The other two examples of procedures which are strongly indebted to the Arabic tradition and to Albucasis's work concern the treatment of bladder stones and dropsy (ascites), a swelling of the abdomen due to an excess of water or fluid. Like hernia and cataract, these two further conditions could be treated both medically and surgically, even if surgical interventions could be dangerous and not without fatal effects.⁵⁹ Lanfranc is cautious to treat, for instance, dropsy surgically,⁶⁰ that is, performing a paracentesis, i.e., perforating the belly by introducing a needle in order to drain all the liquid in excess. In any case, Albucasis's influence is evident in the surgical treatment of both bladder stones and dropsy adopted by Lanfranc, and it is reflected in the type and way of cutting.

In cutting bladder stones the surgeon has to make the incision not on the midline, but on its right side, i.e., on patient's left side:⁶¹

tunc vero cum manu dextra et ratorium inter filum qui de ano procedit, *et* testiculo, *et* ad coxam sinistram recte supra lapidem, ita *que* lapidem recte comprehendas inter digitum qui est in ano⁶²

[and with the right hand take a knife and cut between the thread [i.e., line], which goes from the anus to the testicle, on the side of the left thigh, over the stone, so that you can keep the stone with your finger in the anus]

57 Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.7, fol. 242rb.

58 Albucasis, *On Surgery and Instruments* (see note 8), I.45, 134.

59 On this, see McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 156.

60 On this, see McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 158.

61 On this, see McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 179.

62 Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.8, fol. 245rb.

in this exactly following Albucasis's method:

Then do you take a lancet like this and make your incision in the space between the anus and the testicles, not in the mid-line but on the side of the left buttock; and cut down upon the calculus itself, keeping your finger in the anus and pressing it outwards.⁶³

As for the treatment of dropsy, Lanfranc's approach consists in taking with the left hand the skin of the abdomen, then cutting with a thin scalpel the abdominal wall lengthways and inserting a cannula to draw off all the liquid in excess,⁶⁴ in this corresponding to Albucasis's description:⁶⁵

Then take a pointed scalpel of this shape, sharp along both sides, long, and very sharp at the end like a scalpel, but slightly stubby so that in operating you do not reach the intestines and damage them. [. . .] Then pierce the skin with the instrument, introduce the instrument into that incision, and bring the scalpel up between the skin and the membrane, as if excoriating, over an area about the size of a fingernail. Then pierce through the membrane till the scalpel reaches a cavity, which will be where the water is; then withdraw the scalpel and put into the opening the instrument shaped like this [. . .] When the instrument reaches the fluid, the fluid will at once pass down into it.⁶⁶

But Albucasis's influence on Lanfranc's surgical texts is even more significant when we take into account the chapter of the *Chirurgia magna* on the surgery of female genitalia. As Monica H. Green has pointed out, Latin surgical works had always offered limited information on this specific kind of surgery and Albucasis was the only available authority until the circulation of Paul of Aegina's work in the fifteenth century.⁶⁷ Albucasis dedicates many a chapter on gynaecological and obstetrical topics, addressing subjects such as hermaphroditism (II.70), cutting the clitoris and fleshy growths in the female genitalia (II.71), the treatment of closed female pudenda (II.72), haemorrhoids and pustules in the female pudenda (II.73), the perforation of eruptions in the uterus (II.74), the treatment of the living foetus when not brought forth in natural manner (II.75), the extraction of a dead foetus (II.76), surgical instruments for extracting the foetus (II.77), the extracting of afterbirth (II.78), and the imperforate anus (II.79). Lanfranc of Milan does not dedicate separate chapters to female anatomy or to female surgery, but he includes a description of the uterus and of wounds occurring in it in the chapter on anatomy (II.9),

⁶³ Albucasis, *On Surgery Instruments* (see note 8), II.60, 412.

⁶⁴ See Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.10, fol. 247ra.

⁶⁵ On this, see Gurlt, *Geschichte der Chirurgie* (see note 6), 784.

⁶⁶ Albucasis, *On Surgery and Instruments* (see note 8), II.54, 382, 384 and 386.

⁶⁷ Green, "Moving from Philology" (see note 3), 357. On medieval and pre-modern gynecology and female surgery, see also Monica H. Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine. The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

and he considers specific aspects, such as the surgical correction of hermaphroditism, the removal of fleshy growths or the excess skin and/or flesh that 'close', i.e., obstruct the vagina in just one chapter of his therapeutic section (*Chirurgia magna*, III.3.9). Thus, Lanfranc incorporates in his work information clearly derived from the Arabic surgical tradition, and, especially, from Avicenna and Albucasis, even though he never credits his sources and "seems to be describing procedures and tools that he has employed himself."⁶⁸

Albucasis in the Middle English Lanfranc's Translations

Both the *Chirurgia parva* and the *Chirurgia magna* were translated into Middle English.⁶⁹ As for the first Lanfranc's work, five witnesses of the *Chirurgia parva*, or of a part of it, have come down to us. A first, Middle English rendering is transmitted, together with a Latin version (fol. 87–109v), in Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. 913 [R.14.41], fol. 143–166 (fifteenth century) under the title *The lasse boke of Maister Lamfranke of Meleyne in surgery*. The same manuscript includes a Middle English translation of the antidotary of the *Chirurgia magna* (*pe more tretice*), fol. 166v–187v.⁷⁰ Another manuscript is London, British Library, Royal Ms. 17 C XV, fol. 117v–138v (fifteenth century); Other two witnesses are London, British Library, Additional Ms. 10440, fol. 18r–49r (*The litel tretys of the worschipful doctor maister Lamfrank, of Mylane, of Cyrurgie*) (fifteenth century)⁷¹ and London, Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, Ms. 397 (*olim P*), fol. 16r–49v (mid of the fifteenth century), which also transmits the translation of the section on anatomy from the *Chirurgia magna* (fol. 1–15r). The part concerning surgery (fol. 16r–34v, with the exception of fol. 17r, 17v (26 lines), 18r and 18v) of this last manuscript was edited by Annika Asplund (1970),⁷² who compared it with the Cambridge manuscript for

⁶⁸ On this, see Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (see note 67), 100.

⁶⁹ For a list of Middle English translations of Lanfranc's works see also Rossell Hope Robbins, "Medical Manuscripts in Middle English," *Speculum*, XLV.3 (1970): 393–415; here 406, note 36.

⁷⁰ On this, see <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/Manuscript/R.14.41> (last accessed on April 21, 2022).

⁷¹ On this, see [https://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS032-002108236&indx=1&recIds=IAMS032-002108236&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&&dscnt=0&scps=scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&mode=Basic&vid=IAMS_VU2&srt=rank&tab=local&vl\(freeText0\)=additional%2010440&dum=true&dsmtp=1649085145603](https://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS032-002108236&indx=1&recIds=IAMS032-002108236&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&frbg=&&dscnt=0&scps=scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&mode=Basic&vid=IAMS_VU2&srt=rank&tab=local&vl(freeText0)=additional%2010440&dum=true&dsmtp=1649085145603) (last accessed on April 16, 2022).

⁷² Annika Asplund, *The Middle English Version of Lanfranc's Chirurgia Parva: The Surgical Part*. Stockholm Theses in English, 2 (Stockholm: Stockholm University, 1970).

unclear or difficult passages. The fifth witness is Copenhagen, Royal Library, NKS 314 4to (*Lanfranci Milanensis parva Chirurgia in Anglicum translata; præmittitur tractatus argumenti medici, etiam Anglice*) (fifteenth century). A later translation by John Halle appeared in print in 1565 under the title *A Most Excellent and Learned Woorke of Chirurgie called Chirurgia*.⁷³

As for the Middle English rendering of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna*, apart from the above-mentioned Cambridge, Manuscript 913 [R.14.41] and London, Wellcome Ms. 397, which also transmit the *Chirurgia parva*, there are four other witnesses. A first, Middle English manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole Ms. 1396 (dated 1380), fol. 1–272b.⁷⁴ Another one is London, British Library (*olim* British Museum), Additional Ms. 12056, (about 1420), fol. 31r–86v, that unfortunately is incomplete and breaks off in the middle of the fourth chapter of the second treatise. Nevertheless, since the opening table of contents is complete, we can infer the whole text was originally present.⁷⁵ The text transmitted in Oxford, Ashmole Ms. 1396 and London, Additional Ms. 12056 was edited by Robert von Fleischhacker (1894),⁷⁶ without taking into account all the other witnesses.⁷⁷ Particularly popular seems to have been Lanfranc's antidotary which, beside the Cambridge manuscript 913 [R.14.41], is preserved in London, British Library, Mss. Harley 2381, fol. 40–47 (mid of the fifteenth century)⁷⁸ and Sloane 2507, fol. 21–31v (sixteenth century).⁷⁹

73 On this, see http://hviewer.bl.uk/IamsHViewer/Default.aspx?mdark=ark:/81055/vdc_100000000338.0x0001f2 (last accessed on April 21, 2022).

74 On this, see <https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/images/ms/aeh/aeh0550.gif> and https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_241 (last accessed on April 16, 2022).

75 On this, see Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza, "*Chirurgia magna* di Lanfranco da Milano nell'Inghilterra tardo medievale," *teoria e pratica della traduzione nel medioevo germanico*, ed. Maria Vittoria Molinari, Marcello Meli, Fulvio Ferrari, and Paola Mura (Padua: UNIPRESS, 1994), 107–38; here 107, note 1.

76 Robert von Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's "Science of Cirurgia." Edited from the Bodleian Ashmole MS. 1396 (ab. 1380 A.D.) and the British Museum Additional MS. 12,056 (ab. 1420 A.D.)*. Early English Text Society. Original Series, 102 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1894). The text was translated into modern English by Leonard D. Rosenman, *The Surgery of Lanfranchi of Milan. A Modern English Translation. From "Lanfranks Science of Surgery" A Treatise Written in 1295 A.D: and Translated from Latin in Two Middle-English Manuscripts of 1380 and soon after*. Collated and ed. by Robert von Fleischhacker. Early English Text Society. Original Series 102, London 1894 (Philadelphia, PA: XLibris Corporation, 2003).

77 On this, see Dolcetti Corazza, "*Chirurgia magna* di Lanfranco da Milano" (see note 75), 107.

78 "This translation differs from that found in Sloane 2507 (ff. 21–31v) and the end of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1396, and of Add. 12056 collated and published [by] R. v. Fleischhacker"; on this, see http://hviewer.bl.uk/IamsHViewer/Default.aspx?mdark=ark:/81055/vdc_100000000709.0x000379 (last accessed on April 16, 2022).

79 On this, see http://hviewer.bl.uk/IamsHViewer/Default.aspx?mdark=ark:/81055/vdc_100000000653.0x0000bc (last accessed on April 16, 2022).

With respect to the English tradition of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna*, it is worth mentioning the *Chirurgia* transmitted in London, Wellcome Museum of the History of Medicine, Ms. 564. The work was written by an unknown surgeon in 1392 and includes a section on anatomy based on Mondeville's and Lanfranc's surgeries with passages which "repeat the language of the Middle English translation finished by 1380"⁸⁰ of the Oxford manuscript.⁸¹

Both the Middle English versions of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna* and *Chirurgia parva* are not always complete and *verbatim*. Both translations are abridged and contain omissions, misunderstandings/misreadings, faulty translations, and – more rarely – additions.⁸² As for the omissions in the *Chirurgia Magna*, the Oxford manuscript Ashmole 1396, which transmits Lanfranc's complete work, does not contain the preface and the whole chapters IV.1.1 and IV.2.1,⁸³ nor, unfortunately, some of the above-mentioned parts which clearly reflect Albucasis's influence on Lanfranc's surgical works. Among these, the description of the treatment of inguinal hernia consisting in the use of a semi-circular cautery, and surprisingly the whole chapter III.3.9 on gynecological surgery, even though this is mentioned in the opening table of contents of the London manuscript Additional 12056, fol. 32b:⁸⁴

Cap. ix of hermofrodite, þat is to seye, þat hath þe schappe of Man & womman, & opere of wommen þat haþ scyne withynne here schape / þat sche ne may nouzt conseywe þe seed of man⁸⁵

[Chap. ix on the hermaphrodite, i.e., who has the genitalia of both man and woman, and other on women, who have skin in their genitalia so that she [they] cannot conceive man's seed].

This 'gap' could be due to an omission by the manuscript's scribe or could depend on a loss of folios, but the first editor, Robert von Fleischhacker, does not give any further information and just states that "the translator has omitted one chapter"⁸⁶ on hermaphroditism, fleshy growths and vagina's obstruction ("De clauso hermaphrodite et additione panniculi mulieris").⁸⁷

⁸⁰ McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 253.

⁸¹ On Wellcome 564, see <https://wellcomecollection.org/works/jscd8js6> (last accessed on April 16, 2022) and McVaugh, *The Rational Surgery* (see note 18), 252–54.

⁸² On this, see Asplund, *The Middle English Version* (see note 72), 6, and Dolcetti Corazza, "*Chirurgia magna* di Lanfranco" (see note 75), 114–16.

⁸³ On this, see Dolcetti Corazza, "*Chirurgia magna* di Lanfranco" (see note 75), 115.

⁸⁴ The table of content of Oxford, Ashmole Ms. 1396 breaks off with chapter 10 of the second treatise.

⁸⁵ See Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's "Science of Chirurgie"* (see note 76), 5.

⁸⁶ Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's "Science of Chirurgie"* (see note 76), 281, note 8.

⁸⁷ See Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.9, fol. 245va–b.

Even the name of Albucasis is not present in the Middle English translation of the *Chirurgia magna*, where it has been substituted with that of Iohannes Mesue,⁸⁸ whose identity is not clear at all. The name could, in fact, refer to Jahja (Jūhanna) ibn Māsawaih (777–857), an Arabic surgeon at the medical school in Baghdad also known as Mesue the Elder who wrote texts on anatomy, dietetics, ophthalmology, and whose name in Latin texts often appears as Janus Damascenus.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the Middle English version also mentions Iohannes Damascenus,⁹⁰ which makes it highly unlikely that Mesue the Elder is intended here, since there would be two different names to indicate the same authority within the same text. Leonard D. Rosenman suggests that this mention could refer to Mesue the Younger,⁹¹ a surgeon, who died in Cairo in 1015 and wrote a book on purgatives (*De medicinis laxativis*) and a complete pharmacopeia called *Antidotarium sive Grabadin medicamentorum compositorum*. Mesue (the Younger) became then famous in the West as *pharmacopoerum evangelista*,⁹² but it is likely that this name was a pseudonym used by an eleventh-/twelfth-century Latin writer who tried to disseminate his medical works, rather than a real surgeon's name.⁹³ In any case, we do not know if this omission is intentional, if it depends on the antigraph, or on a scribal error.

With regard to the above-mentioned wound dressing, both the Middle English *Chirurgia parva* and *Chirurgia magna* include this medical remedy. The first text exactly follows the Latin original:

Aboue the sowyng lay A powdre one part made of encence and ij parties of sandra and iij parteis of quike lym and othir whilll quik lyme dothe nede and so ley of þe powdre in a clowte wet in the whit of an Aye⁹⁴

⁸⁸ See Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's "Science of Cirurgie"* (see note 76), III.i.6, 193 (Ashmole 1396, fol. 117r): "Now we han medycyns drawnen of .ij. wellis & of manie maistris, þat is to wite: of Salerne, & of Constantyn, & Platearij, & of Iohannes de sancto Paulo & of opere manie auctouris, as of Ipocras, Galien, & Serapion, & Isaac, & Iohannes Mesue, Auicen / Haly þe abbot, & Rasis, & of opere manie auctouris" [Now we have medicines drawn from two schools and from many authorities, that is good to know: from the Salernitans and from Constantine, and Platearis, and from John of St Paul and from many other authors, like Hippocrates, Galen, and Serapion, and Isaac and John Mesue, Avicenna, Haly Abbas and Rhazes and from many other authors].

⁸⁹ See Max Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin*, vol. 2.1 (Stuttgart: Verlag von Ferdinand Enke, 1911), 204.

⁹⁰ See, for example, Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's "Science of Cirurgie"* (see note 76), I.i.2, 15, which corresponds to Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), I.1.2, fol. 209ra.

⁹¹ See Rosenman, *The Surgery of Lanfranchi of Milan* (see note 76), 121, note 123.

⁹² On this, see Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin* (see note 89), 226–27.

⁹³ On this, see Neuburger, *Geschichte der Medizin* (see note 89), 183–84; 227. Max Neuburger also mentions a third Mesue, author of a book on surgery under the title *Cyrurgia Johannis Mesuē, quam magister Ferrarius Judaeus cyrurgicus transtulit in Neapoli de Arabico in Latinum* (thirteenth century).

⁹⁴ Asplund, *The Middle English Version of Lanfranc's Chirurgia parva* (see note 72), 69.

[On the suture apply a powder made of one part of incense and two parts of dragon's blood and three parts of quicklime and other [think] quicklime [alone] will do what is needed, and apply on the powder a cloth [i.e., bandage] moistened in egg white].

Interesting is the mention of incense (*encence*) instead of frankincense. This could be due to many causes: e.g., a translator's misunderstanding of Latin *tus* which was then rendered as incense, or a scribal error, i.e., omission in copying 'frankincense', since in other Middle English Lanfranc's manuscripts, namely those transmitting his *Chirurgia magna*, the word appears as a unique compound word (*frankencense*, Ashmole 1396, fol. 17r; and fol. 23v) as well as a compound made of two juxtaposed words (*ffranke-Ensence*, Additional 12056, fol. 45r, *franke ensence*, Additional 12056, fol. 49r); if this the case, the scribe could have omitted the first part of the compound (*franke*) and thus simply have written the second part (*encence*) of it.

Nevertheless, we can also imagine that the mention of incense was intentional and that the Middle English version really involved incense instead of frankincense which, despite its name, is a dried gum-resin listed in many medieval recipes as ingredient for the preparation of incense.⁹⁵ As Claire BurrIDGE has pointed out, since many incense ingredients were often used as medical remedies (or part of it), it seems plausible that even incense itself may have been used as ingredient in healing recipes, as in the wound dressing in English Lanfranc's *parva*.⁹⁶

The Middle English witnesses of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna* present a rendering of the passage describing this wound dressing which is quite close to the one of the Latin source, though the doses differ from those of the Latin *Chirurgia magna*, listing one part of frankincense instead of two, and two parts of dragon's blood instead of one, in this surprisingly corresponding not only to the *Chirurgia parva*, but even to Albucasis's prescription:

& leie above þe wounde a poundir maad oon partie of frankencense, & of two parties of sandragoun, & of þre parties of quyke lym, & lete nouȝt þe poudre entre bitwene in þe wounde but above, for þer schal no þing entre in þe wounde⁹⁷

[and apply over the wound a powder made of one part of frankincense, and two parts of dragon's blood, and three parts of quicklime, and do not let the powder enter the wound, but [it has to be applied] over, since nothing should enter the wound].

95 On this, see BurrIDGE, "Incense in Medicine" (see note 44), 234.

96 On this, see BurrIDGE, "Incense in Medicine" (see note 44), 233 and 238.

97 Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's "Science of Cirurgie"* (see note 76), III.i.6, 34–35 (Ashmole 1396, fol. 16v–17r). In the Londoner manuscript Additional 12056, fol. 45r the passage is rendered the same: "& leye above þe wounde a poudere y-mad of on partye of ffranke-Ensence, & of two parties of sancdragoun & of þre parties of quyke-lyme, & lete noȝt þe poudre entre wiþynne þe wounde but above, for þere schal noþynge entre withynne þe wounde [. . .]."

Even in this case, the difference between the Latin original source and Lanfranc's vernacular versions could depend on the antigraph or on a scribal correction, maybe due to a comparison with the text of the *Chirurgia parva*.

As we have seen, the Middle English translation of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna* is an abridged version and does not witness all the surgical sections indebted to Albucasis's *Surgery*. In particular, the passage on the treatment of inguinal hernia by using a semi-circular cautery and the whole chapter on female surgery are missing. On the other hand, the passages on cataract, bladder stones, and dropsy are preserved.

As for couching cataracts, a surgical intervention which is recommended only when medicines or diet do not work, the procedure described in Ashmole 1396, fol. 171 corresponds to the one of the Latin original source:

First þou schalt make þe pacient sitte vpon a stool tofore þee, & þou schalt sitte a litil hizer þan he, & his ize þat is hool þou schalt bynde faste þat he ne mowe no þing se þerwiþ, & þan þou schalt haue in þi mouþ a fewe braunchis of fenel, & þou schalt breke hem a litil with þi teep, & þan þou schalt blowe in his ize .ij. siþis or .iiij. þat þe fume of þe fenel mowe entre into his ize / þan þou schalt haue an instrument of siluir, schape in the maner of a nedle, and it schal sitte in a greet hafte þat þou mai þe bettir hold it wiþ þin hand, & þan þou schalt bigynne aforzens þe lasse corner of þe ize, & þou schalt putte in þin instrument anoon to þe corn þat is in þe ize, & whanne þou seest þe point of þe instrument vndir þe corn, þan lete þe point of þin instrument goon anoon to þe water þat is gaderid tofore þe ize / And whanne þou hast broken þe place þat þe water was ynne, þan presse it adounward, & drawe out al þe watir þerof clene, & if þer come more watir þerto, þan þou must reherse þis werk aȝen. & if þer come no more watir þerto, þan þou schalt leie vpon his ize a plastre maad of þe zelke of an eij wiþ þe white, & bole leid vpon lynnyn cloþ & binde vpon his ize, & lete þe patient be in a derk place, & he schal heere no greet noise, & he schal not traueile wiþinne .viij. daies, & he mote be kept so þat he cowȝe & fro wrappe /.⁹⁸

[First let the patient sit on a stool opposite to you; and you should sit a little higher than he; and you have to bind his healthy eye, so that he cannot move, nor he can see anything therewith; and then you should have some twigs of fennel in your mouth and bite them with your teeth and then blow two or three times in his eye, so that the fennel vapour goes into his eye. Then take a silver instrument, like a needle, and this should have a large handle, so that you can hold it better with your hand; and insert it into the smallest eye corner and insert the instrument to the cornea and when you see the point of it under the cornea [i.e., when you see that is penetrated], push it into the water [i.e., aqueous humour] in the fore-part of the eye. And when you have broken the place where the water is, then manipulate it up and down and let the water escape, and if there is more water, then you should repeat the manoeuvre. And if no more water flows, then apply on his eye a plaster of egg yolk and egg white and Armenian bole on a linen cloth and bind the eye. Keep the patient in a dark place, and he should stay there eight days without any noise; and he must avoid cough and anger].

98 Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's "Science of Cirurgie"* (see note 76), III.iii.1, 251–52.

The surgical treatment of bladder stones is also included in Ashmole 1396, fol. 196r–v:

& þanne þou schalt anoynte þi longist fyngir of þi lift hond & þi þombe wiþ oile, & þou schalt putte hem in þe pacientis ers, saue first þou schalt auoide him wiþ a clisterie mollificatif, & þou schalt sette þi riȝt hond vpon his ers, and grope softli, where þe stoon be, & putte him to þe hedis of þi fyngiris. & whanne þou myȝt take þe stoon wiþ þi .ij. fyngiris, þan þou schalt putte him to þe necke of þe bladdre toward þe ballokis as myche as þou myȝt. & þan þou schalt fele þe hardnes of þe stoon bitwixe his ers, & þe ballokis þat is in þe necke of þe bladdre. þan þou schalt wiþ þi riȝt hond take a rasour, & kutte faste by þe breed þat goiþ bitwixe þe ers & þe ballokis endelongis, saue þou schalt take þe stoon wiþ þi .ij. fyngiris þat þe stoon mowe come out. & þanne ioyne wel þe lippis of þe wounde togidere, þan þou schalt sewe [not] oonly þe skyn aboue, but þou schalt sewe al þe depnes of þe wounde togidere, & þan þou schalt springe þeron poudre þat is aforseid to woundis. & þan þou schalt binde it with boondis & lynt til þe wounde be perfitli hool /.⁹⁹

[And then you should lubricate the longest finger and the thumb of your left hand with oil, and insert it into the anus of the patient (but first you should purge him with an emollient enema) and you should lay your right hand upon the anus, and palpate softly, where the stone is, and move it toward your fingertips. And when you can take the stone with your two fingers, then you can move it toward the neck of the bladder against the testicle as close as you can. And then you should feel the hardness of the stone between the anus and the testicle, [i.e., in the bladder-neck]. Then take a razor-knife with your right hand and cut it along the thread [i.e., line] that goes from the anus to the testicle until you can take the stone with your two fingers so that the stone moves and comes out. And then close well the edges of the wound; sew not only the skin above [i.e., outside], but also inside and then sprinkle it with the above-mentioned powder; then bind it with bandages and lint until the wound perfectly heals].

The Middle English version follows the Latin original almost *verbatim*, even though some details of the original text do not exactly correspond or are completely omitted. Thus, for example, the Latin text mentions the ‘longest finger’ and the index (*indicem*), while the Middle English version has the thumb instead of the latter, or it explains that the surgeon should lay his right hand on the pubic bone,¹⁰⁰ while the vernacular translation, probably as a consequence of an error or of a misreading of the antigraph, renders it with anus. Moreover, the version transmitted in Ashmole 1396 does not specify that the place between the anus and the testicle is called *perineon*¹⁰¹ “perineum,” and that one has to cut on the side of the left thigh. Finally, the indication

⁹⁹ Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's “Science of Chirurgie”* (see note 76), III.iii.8, 279–80.

¹⁰⁰ See Lanfranc, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.8, fol. 245rb: “manum autem dextram super pecten pone” [lay the right hand on the pubic bone].

¹⁰¹ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.8, fol. 245rb.

to use a hook from the outside when the manoeuvre does not work and the stone does not come out,¹⁰² is also completely omitted.

Closer to the Latin original is the section on dropsy (ascites) and includes both Lanfranc's advice to caution – according to which a surgical intervention is recommended only if conservative or traditional remedies do not solve the problem and only on young and strong people – and his description of paracentesis. These passages are rendered in Ashmole 1396, fol. 202v–203v as follows:

þe cure þat is wiþ iren falliþ oonli in aschite, þat manie men doon hardili, & takiþ no kepe of þe particuleris þerof, for þei knowen not þe science, for þei doon al oon maner to zonge & to olde, to stronge & to feble; þei kuttiþ þe skyn vnder þe navel, & alle men þat þei kutten ouþer þe mooste weren perischid¹⁰³ / Saue þou schalt take kepe of kunnynges, & worche bi resoun / for þow schalt take kepe wher he be strong or no; & if he be not strong, þou schalt do no cure to him. [. . .] If it so be þat he be zong & strong, þan þow schalt haue good trust for to helpe him. [. . .] Whanne þou knowist in what place þou schalt kutte þe pacient, þan þou schalt opene þe place of þe pacient, & þou schalt presse his wombe adounward as miche as þou miȝt, & make him ete a litil of breed tostid vpon coolis, & wet in wijn; & þan lete him sitte tofore þee bitwene a strong mannes armys, þat mai holde him faste, þat he mowe not meue in þe tyme whanne þou wolt worche. And þan þou schalt take þe skyn þat is clepid mirac, wiþ þi lifthond in þe place þere þou wolt make þi kuttynge, & þat skyn þou schalt peerse endelongis wiþ an instrument þat is competent þerfore / And be wel war þat þou touche not siphac in no maner; and whanne þou hast kutt þe skyn aboue & mirac, þan opene þe place þat þou mowe se siphac. & þan þou schalt peerse a litil hole in siphac & sette þerto a canel, & drawe out þerof as miche watir as þou seest good for to saue his vertu / [. . .].¹⁰⁴

[The surgical treatment is only indicated for ascites, and many men [i.e., practitioners] perform it without paying attention to details, because they do not know anything of science, for they perform it on the young and the old, on the strong and the weak all in the same way, cutting the skin under the navel. And most of the men operated by them die. Consider every case and be rational because you should pay attention whether [the patient] is strong or not; and if he is not strong, you should avoid operating him [. . .] Yet, if he is young and strong, you may be able to operate him [. . .] When you know where you can cut the patient, open that place and then press his abdomen downward as strong as you can. And let him eat toasted bread soaked in wine. Then let him sit opposite you, embraced by a strong man, so that the patient cannot move while you are working. And then take the skin, which is called *mirac*, with your left hand in the place where you want to cut, and incise the skin longitudinally with the right instrument. And pay attention not to touch the *siphac* [i.e., parietal peritoneum] in any way. And after having cut the skin above [i.e., outside] and the *mirac*, open the place where you can see the *siphac* and make a little hole in the *siphac* and insert a tube and drain off so much water as you consider good in order to support the patient's vitality].

¹⁰² See Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.8, fol. 245rb: “Si sic non exiret, cum uncino deforis te iuva” [If it does not come out, help yourself from outside with a hook].

¹⁰³ On this, see Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), III.3.10, fol. 246vb.

¹⁰⁴ Fleischhacker, *Lanfrank's “Science of Chirurgie”* (see note 76), III.iii.10, 286–87.

This brief survey on the Middle English tradition of both Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* and *Chirurgia magna* confirms that Lanfranc's surgical methods circulated in England from the fourteenth century onward. Unfortunately, though our comparison between the Middle English *Chirurgia magna* and the Latin Lanfranc has pointed out the closeness of the vernacular translation to its source, the only one manuscript transmitting the Middle English *Chirurgia Magna* does not preserve all the passages which best show Albucasis's influence.

Currently, we do not know the reason of such omissions, that is to say, if they can be considered as the result of errors occurring in the antigraph, for instance, errors in the rendering of some passages from Latin into vernacular, or of scribal, non-intentional omissions due, for instance, to a misreading while copying the text. Nevertheless, the analysis of all the passages clearly indebted to the Arabic surgical experience as well as their comparison with the corresponding ones in Lanfranc's original works confirm the dissemination of Albucasis's surgical procedures in the English language area, even though his name is never mentioned in the witnesses which have come down to us.

Albucasis's Influence in the German Translations of Lanfranc's Works

Both Lanfranc's surgical works were translated into High German. Particularly popular seems to have been his *Cirurgia parva* which is transmitted in three different late Middle High German versions. A first, East Middle German, translation is the one in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1117, fol. 226r–240r (fifteenth century, about 1446);¹⁰⁵ another German version is transmitted, together with the *Chirurgia magna*, in two late-fifteenth-century manuscripts: Kalocsa, Cathedral Library, Ms. 376, fol. 209v–234v, and Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. B 32, fol. 193vb–251vb.¹⁰⁶ A third – completely independent from the previous ones – translation of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia parva* was produced by Otto Brunfels and appeared, in print, in 1528 in Straßburg under the title *Kleine Wundarzney des hochberuempten Lanfranci*. This booklet, which is preserved in two versions, became extremely

¹⁰⁵ This version is edited in Detlef Scholz, "Lanfranks 'Chirurgia parva' in einer Prager Überlieferung des Spätmittelalters. Altdeutsche Lanfrank Übersetzungen IV," Ph.D. diss., University of Würzburg, 1977.

¹⁰⁶ This version is edited in Armin Berg, "Lanfranks 'Chirurgia parva' in der Abschrift Konrad Schrecks von Anschaffenburg. Altdeutsche Lanfrank-Übersetzungen, III," Ph.D. diss., University of Würzburg, 1975.

popular, as witnessed by the many editions which followed the first one.¹⁰⁷ Moreover, a fragment of a Low German translation of Brunfels's version has been discovered in Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4^{to}, on fol. 63v–73v.¹⁰⁸

As for the *Chirurgia magna*, besides the above-mentioned Upper German version transmitted together with the *Chirurgia parva* in the Kalocsa and Erlangen manuscripts, an incomplete version interpolated with an epitome of surgery in form of questions and answers based on Lanfranc's work can be found in London, Wellcome Collection, MS 398, fol. 15r–17r and 212r–480r (end of the fifteenth century).¹⁰⁹ Moreover, some authors mention a translation of the *Chirurgia magna* by Otto Brunfels, which cannot be located anywhere and is most likely the result of the misinterpretation of the title of one of the editions of Brunfels's translation of the *Chirurgia parva*.¹¹⁰ Unlikely the German versions of the *Chirurgia parva*, none of these vernacularizations of Lanfranc's flagship work has ever been edited or studied in depth. The analysis of

107 On this, see also Keil and Müller, "Deutsche Lanfrank-Übersetzungen" (see note 25), 98–99; Gundolf Keil, "Lanfrank von Mailand," *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 5: Kochberger, Johannes – >Marien-ABC<, ed. Kurt Ruh et al. (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1985), 560–72 and Jörg Riecke, "Brunfels, Otto," *Frühe Neuzeit in Deutschland 1520–1620. Literaturwissenschaftliches Verfasserlexikon*. Vol. 7: Nachträge, Corrigenda und Register, ed. Wilhelm Kühlmann et al. (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 95–105; here 98.

108 This Low German translation is edited in Chiara Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung des Feldtbuchs der Wundarzney in Kopenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4^o: Edition und Kommentar*. Göppinger Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 787 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2017). On this, see also Chiara Benati, "Preventing Miscommunication: Early Modern German Surgeons as Specialized Translators," *Communication, Translation and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: New Cultural-Historical and Literary Perspectives*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 26 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2022), 393–413.

109 On this, see also Samuel A. J. Moorat, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts on Medicine and Science in the Wellcome Historical Medical Library*. Vol. 1: Mss. Written Before 1650 A.D. Publications of the Wellcome Institute of the History of Medicine, 1 (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1962), 268–69, and Volker Zapf, "Lanfrank von Mailand," *Deutsches Literatur-Lexikon. Das Mittelalter*, ed. Wolfgang Achtnitz. Vol. 6: *Das wissensvermittelnde Schrifttum bis zum Ausgang des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2014), 704–12.

110 Keil and Müller, "Deutsche Lanfranks-Übersetzungen" (see note 25), 99, consider this translation to be more or less contemporary of that of the *Chirurgia parva*, while Albi Romero, *Lanfranco de Milán en España* (see note 28), 74, locates this print in Magdeburg in 1499. In the database *Index-Cat* (*Index-Catalogue of the Library of the Surgeon General's Office*), the following indication can be found: Lanfrancus, *New Wundartzney von allerhand Wunden, Brüchen, Schaden und Gebrechen, in und ausserhalb des Leibs vom Heupt bis auff die Füßs, wie die gründlichen zu Curriren und zu heilen sein Anfenglichen in Latein beschrieben Nachmals aber gemeinen nutzen zu gutem ins Teutsche gebracht. Zusamt einem Ausszug vieler bewerter Recepten, heylsamer Salben und Arzneyen Ottonis Brunfelsii* (Magdeburg: J. Franken, [1499]). Once we checked the text, however, we noticed that it does not contain a new German version of Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna*, but the well-known translation of the *Chirurgia parva* by Otto Brunfels.

Albucasis's influence on Lanfranc's *Chirurgia magna* will, therefore, be conducted on the basis of the manuscript B 32, which was kindly put to our disposal by the University Library of Erlangen-Nürnberg.¹¹¹

As we have seen, despite the role played by the 'Latin Albucasis' in Lanfranc's formation, the Arabic surgeon is only mentioned once in his works, in the chapter on morphea and impetigo (III.1.6) of the *Chirurgia magna*, where the author explains that these conditions have been treated and described by many medical authorities who, however, do not agree on how to call them. This passage and the list of Salernitan and Arabic authorities are present in the Erlangen manuscript, but Albucasis is not among them (Fig. 1).¹¹² We do not know if this omission is the result of a scribal error, of the misreading of the antigraph, or if it is intentional.

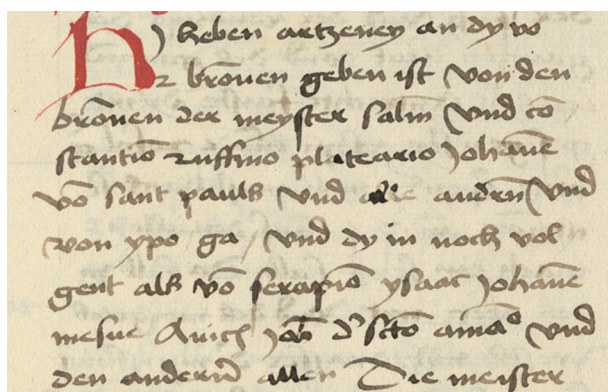


Fig. 1: Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. B 32, fol. 67ra.

Though not attributed to Albucasis, his recipe for the preparation of a dressing for wounds made of incense, dragon's blood and quicklime is included in both Lanfranc's surgical works. In the *Chirurgia parva*, as already indicated by Albucasis, Lanfranc underlines that quicklime can also be used alone:

¹¹¹ We would like to thank in particular Ms. Tamara Lust for her help and prompt response to all our requests, which she sometimes even anticipated.

¹¹² Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. B 32, fol. 67ra: "Hi heben artzeney an dy von 2 bronnen geben ist von den bronnen der meyster salernitani vnd constantino ruffino plateario johanne von sant paulß vnd die anderen vnd von ypocrate, galieno, vnd dy im noch volgent alß von serapione ysaac johanne mesue Avicenna joanne de sancto ama vnd den anderen allen."

super suturam pone puluerem factum de parte .i. thuris: et .ij. sanguinis draconis et .iij. calcis viuae: et aliquando sola calx facit opus: super puluerem ponatur peciola panni intincta in albume oui: postea ligetur cum binda et plumaceolis: et consolidetur vsque ad finem.¹¹³

[On the suture apply a powder made of one part of incense, two parts of dragon's blood and three parts of quicklime. Sometimes quicklime alone does the work. On the powder place a linen cloth moistened with egg white. Then bind with bandages and pads and leave this dressing on until the end.]

In the German translations, this passage has been rendered differently. In the first, East High Middle German version of the text, no mention is made that the quicklime alone could be used if necessary, or that the powder must be covered by a cloth moistened with egg white, but simply says that a not-better-specified poultice (*plasterle*) should be applied under the bandage:

vnd / auf das gnatte du puluer, das gemacht / ist von eim teil weigeraug vnde von ij / teil sandara vnd von iij teil vnglestern / kalgeß, vnd pinde das mit ener punde // vnd vnder dy pinde mache ein plasterle / durch der genaten bundenn willenn.¹¹⁴

[On the suture apply a powder made of one part of incense, two parts of dragon's blood and three parts of quicklime. Then bind with bandages and apply a poultice under the bandage for the sake of the suture.]

Closer to the Latin original is, on the other hand, the late fifteenth-century version transmitted in the Kalocsa and Erlangen manuscripts, where both the possibility of using quicklime alone and the cloth moistened with egg white of the Latin original have been maintained and the indication to leave this dressing on for four days, unless there is pain or swelling, which is present in the *Chirurgia magna*, has been added:

vnd auff die leg das puluer; / gemacht von eim theil weyrauch vnd ij theil sanguis / draconis vnd drey theil calcis viue; etwan thut es der / calck allein; auff das puluer thü ein tuchlein gedunckt / in eyer clar; darnach bint es mit einer bintten vnd / plumaceolis, das die behalten werd, vnd laß es also 4 tag, / er hab den zuuil smertzenn oder es apostemirt werd: / so laß es auff vnd thu das puluer darauff; vnd conso / lidir es bus zu endt aiß.¹¹⁵

[Apply a powder made of one part of incense, two parts of dragon's blood and three parts of quicklime. Sometimes quicklime alone does the work. On the powder place a linen cloth moistened with egg white. Then bind with bandages and pads and leave this dressing four days unless the patient is in excessive pain or there is an abscess. Leave it and apply the powder onto it and consolidate it until the end.]

¹¹³ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia parva* (see note 43), fol. 201va.

¹¹⁴ Scholz, "Lanfranks 'Chirurgia parva' in einer Prager Überlieferung" (see note 105), 27–28.

¹¹⁵ Berg, "Lanfranks 'Chirurgia parva' in der Abschrift" (see note 106), 34.

An unabridged version of this prescription appears also in the 1528 High German translation by Otto Brunfels:

Wann die wund also gehefft / spreng dise nachgeschribne puluer drauff.
 Nim ein theyl weirauch / ij. theyl sanguis draconis / iij. theyl calcis viue / meng solichs durch
 einander / Etliche nemen den kalck allein / darnach leg ein tüchlin in eyer klar genetzt drüber
 / vnnd verbinds / damit der hafft bleib / vnd consoliders.¹¹⁶

[Once the wound has been sutured, spread the onto it the above-described powder. Take one part of incense, two parts of dragon's blood, three parts of quicklime, mix them together. Some take quicklime alone. Then place a linen cloth moistened with egg white onto it, so that it stays close, and consolidate.]

In this case, the indication that quicklime could also be used alone is attributed to "some" (*etliche*) (surgeons), without any comment on the efficacy of this variant. It is also interesting to notice that Brunfels alternates the Latin term *calx viva* with the adapted loanword *kalck*.

This prescription is also included in the fragment of Low German translation of Brunfels's *Kleine Wundartzney des hochberuempten Lanfranci* transmitted in Copenhagen, GKS 1663 4^{to}:

wen du de wunde hecht iß. So spreng Duse na gescreuene puluer day vp, Nym ein deil
 wirok: vnde two del draken blot, vnde dat drudden deil leuendigen kalck, menge duse vnder
 malck ander: Etlike nemen den kalck allene, dar na enen dock genettet in eyer klar. vnd dar
 ouer gelecht, vnd vor byndt, dar mede de hechte belegge. vnd beuestige de.¹¹⁷

[Once the wound has been sutured, spread the onto it the above-described powder. Take one part of incense, two parts of dragon's blood, and the third part of quicklime, mix them together. Some take quicklime alone. Then place a linen cloth moistened with egg white onto it, and bind so that the suture stays close, and consolidate.]

In the *Chirurgia magna*, this remedy appears in the chapter on the treatment of flesh-wounds (I,3,2), where the doses of incense and dragon's blood are inverted in comparison to those indicated in the *Chirurgia parva* (and in Albucasis), and the operative instructions for its use are more detailed. In particular, details on the triangular form of the two pads which have to be applied on the two sides of the wounds, as well as on the time between two dressings are provided. Moreover, the linen cloth, which has to be placed between the powder and the pads, is

¹¹⁶ Lanfranc of Milan, *Kleyne Wundartzney des hoch berümpften Lanfranci / auß fürbit des wol erfahren M. Gregorij Flüguß / Chyrurgen vnd Wundartzzt zů Straßburg / durch Othonem Brunfels ver- teuscht* (Straßburg: Christian Egenolph, 1528), fol. Aiiijr.

¹¹⁷ Benati, *Die niederdeutsche Fassung* (see note 108), 109.

moistened not only in egg white, but in a mixture of two parts of egg white and one of rose oil:

Et tunc conducas partes vulneris adinuicem, et pone supra de puluere facto de duabus partibus thuris, et parte vna sanguis draconis et partibus tribus calcis uiue: ita tamen *que* puluis non intret uulnus sed supra: quia in vulnere nihil debet intrare: et conserua partes conductas: ponendo unum plumaceolum de stuppa factum in formam trianguli sic. ex *utraque* parte uulneris: ita *que* illi duo plumaceoli teneant uulnus sic clausum: et coniunctum. supra illos plumaceolos ponatur binda *que* reuoluatur supra uulnus ex transuerso secundum literam X Infra uero plumaceolos supra puluerem: qui positus est supra uulnus conductum ad conseruationem pulueris: ponatur pannus lineus intinctus in partibus duæbus albumini oui, et partem .i. olei rosati, simul agitatorum. Et non mutetur nisi doleat nimis uel apostemetur usque ad quatuor dies: quia erit consolidatum: et tunc soluatur, et super spargatur de prædicto puluere: et prædicto modo cum plumaceolo, et binda ligetur.¹¹⁸

[. . . bring the edges together and apply a powder made of one part of incense, two parts of dragon's blood and three parts of quicklime so that the powder does not enter the wound, since nothing should enter the wound. Keep the edges together laying a triangular pad of tow on each side of the wound, in this way, so that these pads keep the wound close and the edges together. Then put a bandage onto them in the form of an X over the wound. Between the pads and the powder, which is on the closed wound, place a linen cloth moistened in two parts of egg white and one part of rose oil mixed together to protect the powder. Do not change the dressing for four days, unless there is pain or swelling, so that the wound can heal. Then loose the bandage, spread the above-mentioned powder onto it, place the pads as mentioned before and bind it.]

In the Erlangen manuscript, this passage is rendered as follows:

so du sy zamen vnd leg dar vber das bulffer gemacht von 3 tailn vngeleschten kalig vnd 2 tail weirach vnd ainer sanguinis draconis doch also das dz puluer nit dar in gang wen eß also nictes in die wunden gein vnd leg eß dar vber besunder behalt dy tail zamen vnd leg ain plumaceolum von werck das treyecket sey an paiden orten also also das dye 2 plumaceoli haltent die wonnden zwo vnd dar vber am pinten die wunten creutz weiß vnd vnden vber die plannaceolos auf das puluer gelett ist dar vber leg Ain leine tuch das gedunckt sey in eie clar vnd rosen oli zusamen gemischt vnd ruant es nit sey dan das er zu vil schmercz vnd aposten biß an den 4 dag so wirct eß hail so bint eß den auf vnd stray des verschen puluers dar auf vnd bint eß alß vor mit dem plumaceolis vnd mit bintten[.]¹¹⁹

[. . . bring the edges together and apply a powder made of three parts of quicklime, two parts of incense and one of dragon's blood so that the powder does not enter the wound, since nothing should enter the wound. And place onto it. Keep the edges together laying a triangular pad of tow on each side of the wound, in this way, so that these pads keep the wound close and the edges together. Then put a bandage onto them in the form of a cross over the wound.

¹¹⁸ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), fol. 211rb.

¹¹⁹ Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 11va–b.

Between the pads and the powder place a linen cloth moistened in egg white and rose oil mixed together. Do not change the dressing for four days, unless there is pain or swelling, so that the wound can heal. Then loose the bandage, spread the above-mentioned powder onto it, place the pads as mentioned before and bind it.]

The doses of the ingredients for the preparation of the powder correspond to those of the Latin source, even though they are listed in a different order. The other difference with the Latin text is that the German translation does not provide the proportions for the mixture of egg white and rose oil.

Moreover, it is worth noting that in all the (High and Low) German versions of this recipe Latin *thus* or “frankincense” is rendered as *weira(u)ch/wirok*, a term used in German to indicate all the different ritual kinds of incense produced in the Middle East and, therefore, also frankincense from the bark of *Boswellia* trees.¹²⁰

The use of this remedy in the treatment of wounds is well-attested also in later surgical texts. A passage from the *Antidotarium* of Hieronymus Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirurgia* (1497) clearly illustrates the diffusion and evolution of this preparation in the works of various authors:

Ein rott puluer dz man nützen sol vff die hefft der wunden das sie blibent vnd die lefftzen der wunden by ein ander behabent vnd verstelt da mit dz plût vnd heilt sie alß albucasis setzet vnd dz gehilt vnd nachfolgt im lanckfrancus / aber für den lebendigen kalck so nympt Guido also vil bolus armeni vnd halliabbas also vil sandel vnd also vil eier schalen kalck der geweschen sy vnd wider gedrunckent
Nym wirouch .ij. lott
Sanguis draconis ein lott.
Lebendigen kalk .j. lott nach gwido. bolus armeni .j. lott nach haliabbas sandali ein lott nach miner ler eier schalen kalck ein lott.¹²¹

[A red powder that should be used on the suture of wounds so that the edges stay close one to another and that staunches blood and heals, as Albucasis uses it. Lanfranc agrees and follows him. Guy de Chauliac takes Armenian bole instead of quicklime in the same quantity and Haly Abbas the same quantity of sandalwood and lime from an eggshell which has been washed and pressed again. Take two parts of incense; one part of dragon's blood; one part of quicklime (according to Guy one part of Armenian bole, according to Haly Abbas one part of sandalwood, according to my experience one part of lime from eggshell.)

¹²⁰ On this, see also Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Vol. 14.1.1: *Weh – Wendunmut* (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1955), col. 735.

¹²¹ *Das Buch der Cirurgia des Hieronymus Brunschwig*, ed. Gustav Klein (Munich: Kuhn, 1911), 241. The same passage is present in the Low German edition of the text printed in Rostock in 1518, see Chiara Benati, *Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye und der niederdeutsche chirurgische Fachwortschatz*. Göppingen Arbeiten zur Germanistik, 771 (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2012), 191.

The German version of the *Chirurgia magna* transmitted in the Erlangen manuscript also witnesses all the above-mentioned cases of the influence exerted by Albucasis's *Surgery* on Lanfranc's surgical practice. The description of the procedure to couch a cataract, when conservative remedies have proved ineffective, almost perfectly corresponds to the one described in the Latin source:

vnd also heiß den siechen fur dich vff den rücken layn vnd bind jm das gesunt aug daß er nichtz gesehen mug vnd sitz du ein wenig hoher vnd hab jn dem mund fenchel den kew dar nach hab ein silberß instrument daß sey alß en nadel vnd blaß tzwei oder dreymal in daß aug das der dunst von dem fenchel dar ein gee Das instrument sol haben ein grob hand haben daß man es in der hant haben müg vnd hefft die in die *coniunctiva* pey dem *nederen* winckel deß augen vnd treib daß instrument pys zu der *cornea* wen so sichstu eß den so du num daß instrument slichst vntter der *cornea* So treib eß biß zudem wasser daß pey dem aügapffel ist vnd begreyff daß wasser mit dem instrument vnd ker eß vmb vnd thu daß wasser danne so ab der siech sicht daß man jm sine hebt so tzeuch daß wasser hin ab gegen dem *vnteren* augglid vnd truck die nadeln hin ab vnd czeuch eß her auß vnd ist das daß wasser nit herwider kompt eß aber wider vmb So thu daß anderways Vnd so eß nit me wider kompt so leg vff daß aug en pflaster von ayer clar vnd aye tottern vnd bolo *armenicus* czwischen tzway tuchlein gelegt vnd bindt daß aug vnd fur den siechen an ein finster stat da sol er in still sein acht tag vnd hut sich vor husten tzorn zu vil reden vnd arbaytten[.]¹²²

[Tell the patient to lie down on his back in front of you and bind his healthy eye, so that er cannot see, then have a seat that is higher than him, take some fennel in your mouth and chew it and a silver instrument, a nail. Blow two or three times in the eye, so that the fennel vapor goes into it. The instrument should have a large handle so that it can be easily held in the hand. Insert it in the conjunctiva by the lower corner of the eye and push the instrument to the cornea, when you see it, then insert the instrument below the cornea until the water which is near the eyeball and take that water with the instrument. Manipulate is up and down to let the water escape from the patient's sight. It will flow down toward the lower eyelid. Press the nail and extract it, if no water flows. If, on the other hand, the water continues to flow, repeat the maneuver. When the field is dry place a poultice of egg white, egg yolk and Armenian bole between two pads and bind the eye. Bring the patient to a dark place, where he should remain for eight days in silence, avoiding cough, anger, excessive speaking and fatigue.]

The only significant difference is that, in the German text, the patient is lying in front of the surgeon during the operation, while in the Latin text he is sitting on a chair (*in scanno*),¹²³ a position certainly more adequate to the procedure and to its development (e.g., letting the water flow down toward the lower eyelid is definitely easier if the patient is in an upright position). In this case we can, therefore, imagine that the German translator of the *Chirurgia magna* had no experience with this procedure and did not render his source correctly.

¹²² Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 108v–109r.

¹²³ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), fol. 238rb.

Fundamentally unchanged in comparison to Lanfranc's Latin text is also the German description of the first surgical treatment for inguinal hernia, which is evidently inspired by Albucasis's method:

So hays den siechen vff ein veste panck legen vnd thu alle gwayd hinein vnd pint die armen mit zamen gethon henten vff die prust mit einer prayten pinten Daß sie die arm vnd prust nit versere Also pint auch die dicken pey den knyen vnd die pain pey den fussen also daß der siech an die panck gepünt sey mit dreyen pinten daß er sich nit regen mug Vnd er hab den ein instrument gemacht alß ein semicirckel also ∪ dz glü pyß eß weyß werde vnd hayß den dyner die hand vestiglich uff die stat deß kambß bain daß ledig sey von den gwayden Vnd hayß jn sie halten an die stat da die gwayd dar ein gen So trück den daß cauterium vff daß pain deß kambß vestiglich biß du daß pain deß kambß rurst Darnach so die stat verczert wurt pint eß starck mit puteren vnd cölbletern vnd hayß jn an ein pet tragen Da lig bis eß durch den val deß brandß alß an der wunten hail werd dieser weg ist gar sicher von guten wegen deß cauterium die du horen wurst Wen die cicatrix also starck ist gehefft mit dem pain deß kambß daß eß nit ledig wurt[.]¹²⁴

[Let the patient lay on a solid bench and reduce the hernia, then bind the arms with folded hand on the breast with a wide band so that neither the arms nor the breast are hurt. Then bind the thighs by the knee and the legs by the feet, so that the patient is bound to the bench with three bands and cannot move. Take an instrument in the form of a semi-circle, like this ∪, heat it until it becomes white and tell you helper to put his hand on the pubic bone to prevent the exit of the intestine and tell him to keep his hand on the place where the hernia has been put back. Then press the cautery on the pubic bone until you touch it. When the spot is wounded, bind is firmly with butter and cabbage leaves and have the patient brought to bed. He should lie there until the burn on the wound heals. This method is the safest of those you will hear because of the cautery, since the scar is so strongly bound to the pubic bone that it will never get loose.]

In comparison to the Latin 1546 printed edition of the *Chirurgia magna*, the text from the Erlangen manuscript adds a small drawing to clarify the exact form of the cautery to use during this procedure, which has possibly been copied from the Latin manuscript used as source for the translation. Another peculiarity of the German rendering of this passage is constituted by the absence of an adjective corresponding to Latin *pistato*¹²⁵ “crushed” and indicating that the cabbage leaves used for the dressing of the wound should not be entire. Equally faithful is the rendering of the following passage describing the procedure to remove the testicle which has died due to the lack of nutrition resulting from the cauterization.

124 Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 123v.

125 Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), fol. 242rb.

The accurate description of the procedure for the extraction of bladder stones, which Lanfranc has from Albucasis, is also present in the Erlangen manuscript:

So salb den allem den lengern vingeren der lincken hant vnd den czöger mit roßöl vnd thu jn in deß siechen arß des gwayd du vor solt gelert haben mit eim waychende clistier vnd die rechten handt solt du jm legen vff den camb leichtlich zu greyffen daß du denn stain treibest zu den tzweyen vingern vnd so du den stain mit den 2 vingern begriffen hast so treyb in jn den haß der blasen gegen den hoden alß ver du macht so entpfinst du den die herten deß stainß zwischen dem arß vnd der hoden die stat hayst *peritomeon* so schneid den mit dem scharsach mit der rechten hant zwischen den fadem der von dem arß get gen den hoden gegen den lincken arßbacken gleich vff den stain Also daß du den stain recht begreyfst zwischen dem vinger der in dem arß ist vnd dem scharsach vnd mach da ein wunten da durch der stain auß müg den du mit den vingern auß trücken solt Ist daß er also nit herauß get So behilff dich aussen mit dem vncino vnd so eß herkompt so stich mit eim stich die lefftzen der wunden gar wol czamen nit allein aussen auch in der tieffen vnd leg dar auff deß puluerß von calck daß vor gesagt ist vnd darnach ayer clar vnd ein wenig roß ößl vnd pint eß wol mit pinten vnd plumaceolis byß er gar hayl werd[.]¹²⁶

[Lubricate the longest finger and the index of your left hand with rose oil and insert it into the anus of the patient (you should have purged him with a soothing enema first). Lay your right hand on the pubic bone and move the stone toward the two fingers and when you have it between your fingers, then push it toward the neck of the bladder against the testicle. While doing this you will feel the hardness of the stone between the anus and the testicle. The spot is called perineum. Cut it with the lancet in your right hand along the line going from the anus to the testicles on the side of the left buttock. Cut down upon the stone itself, while keeping it with your finger in the anus and the lancet and press it outward with your fingers. If it does not come out, help yourself from the outside with a hook. Once it has come out, sew with one stitch the edges of the wound not only on the outside, but also on the inside and spray some of the powder of quicklime which has been described above, then eye-white and a bit of rose oil. Bind it well with bandages and pads until it heals.]

The various phases of the operative procedure are described in detail following the Latin source literally. However, possibly as a consequence of a misreading of the antigraph or of the confusion of two similar anatomical terms, the German manuscript has *peritomeon* “peritoneum,” instead of *perineon*¹²⁷ “perineum.”

Along with couching cataract surgery and perineal incision, another technique that can have unhappy consequences – especially if performed by incompetent practitioners – is paracentesis. This surgical treatment is solely indicated in case of ascites and not in other forms of dropsy, as Lanfranc underlines. Both the operative

¹²⁶ Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 134rv.

¹²⁷ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), fol. 245rb.

instructions and the repeated appeals to caution of the Latin source can be found in the German vernacularization as well:

Aber die hailung die mit dem eysen geschicht die czimt allein alchiti Die etlich gehertzlich angent vnd merckent die *particularia* nit wen sie wissen der kunst der artzeney gar nichtß Ich han etlich gesehen die die jungen vnd alten blöd vnd starck gleich hailn wollten die hant pey dem nabel auff zu schneyden vnd verderbsten sie al Darvmb liessen sie nit dester mynder dar von Aber du solt vor mercken ob der siech jung vnd starck sey Wen ist er nit starck so hail jn mit dem eysen nit Noch in den alten solt du gleych sender crafft nit trawen wen eß ist vn müglich daß man em alten vind alß starck in dem die wassersucht bestetigt sey dar vmb ist daß du em starcken jungen vinst der sem begirlich begert den du anderß nit hailn macht, so erfar subtillich ob der wassersuchtig von besunder sach der lebern sey So muß man in an deß miltz seythen schneyden . . .¹²⁸

[But a surgical treatment is only indicated for ascites, which many address aggressively without paying attention to the details, since they do not know anything of the art of medicine. I have seen many who wanted to heal the young and the old, the weak and the strong all in the same way with their hand near the navel and ready to cut. And they lost them all. Nonetheless they did not stop operating. But you should pay attention if the patient is young and strong: if he is not strong, do not try to heal him with the blade. Nor in old patient you should not trust pretended force, since it is impossible to find an old man who is affected by dropsy and strong. If you find a strong young patient who cannot be healed in any other way, make certain if the dropsy is caused by the liver. In this case, you should incise on the side of the spleen . . .]

As we have seen and as has been stressed by Monica Green,¹²⁹ Lanfranc's gynecological surgery is particularly indebted to Arabic authors and, in particular to Avicenna and Albucasis. All the conditions, whose surgical treatment can be traced back to Albucasis's work are present in the German version of the *Chirurgia magna*. The German translation of the chapter on diseases of the breast is, as usual, very literal. Nevertheless, an addition to the title seems to indicate that the non-gynecological part of the chapter, i.e., the one on fatty breast in men, is perceived as absolutely marginal by one of the users of the manuscript. The red rubric translating into German the Latin heading *De ægritudinibus mamillarum, scilicet pinguedine et magnitudine præter naturam* (On the diseases of the breasts, their unnatural fattiness and size) has, in fact, been integrated with the words *der frauen* "of women" by a hand not corresponding to either the scribe or the rubricator (Fig. 2).¹³⁰

Toward the end of the chapter, after having discussed the treatment of a series of conditions affecting the feminine breast, Lanfranc moves on to describe the surgical therapy for gynecomastia:

¹²⁸ Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 140r–v.

¹²⁹ Monica H. Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine* (see note 67), 93–96.

¹³⁰ Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 118vb: "Das fimfft capitel von den siechtagen der prust der frauen" (The fifth chapter on the diseases of the breast of women).

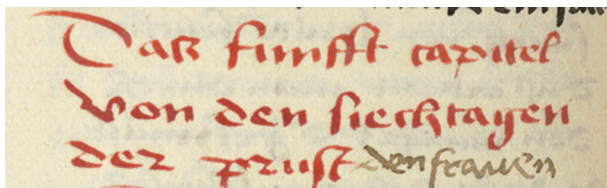


Fig. 2: Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 118vb.

Nimia pinguedo quæ in virorum nascitur mamillis, non curatur nisi cum manu: quoniam in carne addita nihil operatur natura. Quoniam carnis ablatio est operi naturæ contrarium. Propterea si mamilla viri adeo magna sit, vt dependeat: sicut mamilla mulieris fac duas sectiones in inferiori parte mamille ad modum semicirculi: ita *que* capita sectionis adinui-cem coniugantur: *et* totam cutem cum superflua pinguedine auferas: deinde sue: *et* consolida, sicut nosti. Si vero non est adeo magna: vt descendat, sufficit vna sola lunaris incisio sic. (*et* auferatur superfluum: postea solidetur.¹³¹

[The excessive fat which forms breasts in men cannot be cured without surgery, since in added flesh nothing can be done naturally and the reduction of the flesh is against the nature. For this reason, if the breasts of a man should be so big that they hang as the breasts of a woman, make two incisions in the lower part of the breast in form of a semi-circle, then bring the edges of the section together removing all excessive fat, then suture and consolidate in the way you know. If, on the other hand, they are not so big that they descend, a single half-moon-shaped incision like this (is enough, and remove the excess. Then consolidate.]

The German rendering of this passage reads as follows:

die den mannen an den prusten wurth Die hailt man allein mit der hand Wenn sie wurt zugeton dem flaysch die natur wurckt nichtz wen die abnemung deß flaisch ist der natur wurckung wider Dar vmd ist das deß manß prust gros wurt ∪ daß sie hangt alß der frawen prust so mach 2 schnidt oben an der prust alß ein semiciral ∪ also daß die trinnen der schnyt czamen gefugt werden Vnd nym daß gantz vbrig fleysch So hefft eß denn vnd consolidier eß alß du eß bekenst Istz aber nit alß groß daß sie hang So ist genugk an eim schnyd also C vnd nym daß vbrig danne vnd hail eß zu.¹³²

The beginning of the passage is incomplete since the subject of the sentence – in Latin *nimia pinguedo* “excessive fat” – is missing in the manuscript, possibly as a result of a scribal omission either in the present witness or in its antigraph. Apart for this, we can notice that the German text has the two semi-circular incisions in the upper part of the breast (*oben an der prust*) rather in the lower one and does not render the Latin adjective *lunaris* “half-moon-shaped,” but, as in the previous

¹³¹ Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), fol. 241va.

¹³² Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 120vb–121ra.

case, uses a drawing to explain the exact form of the incision which has to be made by the surgeon.

Extremely accurate and devoid of any omission or misunderstanding of the source is, on the other hand, the German translation of the chapter dedicated to the closed mouth of the vagina or of the uterus, fleshy growths in the vagina and to the various forms of hermaphroditism. See, for example, the description of the procedure to treat a woman who cannot conceive because her cervix is closed in both the Latin source and the German translation:

Si vero connus sit liber, matricisque orificium sit oppilatum: ita *que* propter hoc spermatis iniectio non possit fieri in matrice: *et* propter hoc conceptio denegetur: tunc mulierum apta, secundum *quod* in incisione lapidis diximus faciendum: et tenaculis vuluam aperi: vt videri possit matricis orificium: *et* cuncta superflua cum instrumentis remoue. Cauendo ne nimis de substantia matricis tangas: immo melius est de superfluo dimittas aliquid quam exquitate remoueas: postea habeas formam factam de plumbo grossam: quantum potes intromitte: quam oleo vngas de lilio: *et* in connum vsque ad matricis orificium impelle: ibique dimitte donec locus vndique sit firmatus. Deinde vtatur viri societate, loco prius inuncto cum pinguedine anseris, vel gallinæ.¹³³

Ist aber daß leib frey ist vnd der mund der bermüter beslossen also daß daß sperma nit hinein mag Da von die entpfahung gewert wurt so pint die frawen alß wir gesagt haben von dem stain vnd thu die fud mit eim tenackel auff daß man das loch der bermuter sehe vnd thue alle vbrige ding herauß mit den instrumenten vnd lüg daß du die bermuter nit rurest Eß ist halt pesser daß du deß vbrigen etwaß drinnen last wen daß man eß gantz herauß thun Nach mach ein groß form von pley die macht du hinein thun die salb mit lilgen öll vnd inconnum byß zu dem mundloch der bermuter daß laß eß byß die stat allenthalben gehailt Darnach sol sie gesellschaft haben deß manß vnd sol aber die stat vor salben mit gantzen vnd hūner schmaltz¹³⁴

[If, on the other hand, the vulva is free, but the mouth of the uterus is closed, so that the spermata cannot enter the uterus and the conception is impossible because of that, prepare the woman as we have described in the chapter on stones, keep the vulva open with a speculum in order to see the mouth of the uterus and remove all superfluous tissue with your instruments. Pay attention not to touch the uterus. In fact, it is better to leave some of the excess inside than to remove something too much. After that take a large form made of lead, anoint it with lily oil and push it in the vulva up to the mouth of the uterus. Leave it there until it is healed. Then she will be able to have intercourse with a man, but she will have to anoint the spot with goose or hen fat first.]

On the basis of the contrastive reading of some of the passages from Lanfranc's surgical works best revealing the influence of Albucasis's *Surgery* on his professional development in both Latin and German, we can claim that, despite not being

133 Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia magna* (see note 22), fol. 245va–b.

134 Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms B 32, fol. 136ra–b.

mentioned in the Erlangen manuscript, the inheritance of the Arabic surgeon is definitely well preserved in the High German versions of these texts. In this respect, the fortune of these vernacular versions somehow determined the later dissemination of Albucasis's methods in the German language area.

On the one hand, the wide circulation of the *Chirurgia parva*, which is transmitted in German in three different versions, the last of which – Otto Brunfels's *Kleine Wundartzney des hochberuempten Lanfranci* – was particularly successful in the Early Modern Times and repeatedly reprinted, guaranteed the survival of Albucasis's mixture of incense, dragon's blood and quicklime to dress wounds not only in Latin texts, but also in vernacular surgical handbooks, as the quotation from Brunschwig's *Buch der Cirugia* has shown. On the other hand, the more limited diffusion of the single German translation of the *Chirurgia magna* possibly contributed to determine the disappearance of ambitious and risky procedures for non-traumatic conditions such as cataract, hernia, and bladder stones from later vernacular surgical texts which were often the product of (former) field surgeons such as Heinrich von Pfalzpaint (ca.1400–1464), Hieronymus Brunschwig (ca.1450–1512), and Hans von Gersdorff (ca.1455–1529), who, as a consequence of their formation, had a mainly traumatological focus. The same can be said for gynecological surgery which would find no space in works centered on the treatment of the casualties of the battlefield.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to show an example of global circulation of surgical knowledge and literature during the Middle Ages on the basis of the analysis of Lanfranc of Milan's works and their vernacular renderings in the Germanic languages, and in particular in English and German.

As we have seen, Lanfranc of Milan was one of the most influential late-medieval surgeons, whose works – the *Chirurgia parva* and the *Chirurgia magna* – enjoyed wide circulation throughout Europe from the late twelfth century onward and were repeatedly translated into vernacular. In this respect, he can be considered an example of globalism himself, since he based both his theoretical vision and his operative practice not only on his training in Bologna with Guglielmo da Saliceto, but also on the teaching of some of the most important late antique surgeons, especially those of the Greek-Arabic tradition, such as Rhazes, Galen, Avicenna. In this way, he significantly contributed to the circulation and dissemination of Islamic surgical tradition in the Germanic language areas, where both the Arabic original works and their Latin translations were still almost unknown. Among these, the

tenth-century *Surgery* by Albucasis, which became available to the Latin-speaking West in the twelfth century thanks to the translation produced in Toledo by Gerard of Cremona, certainly plays an important role in both the inclusion of new surgically treatable pathologies (e.g., cataract, inguinal hernia, or gynaecological conditions) and the description of the corresponding operations in Lanfranc's works, and in particular in his *Chirurgia magna*.

Through the vernacular translations of Lanfranc's works this new approach and the related procedures spread also in those parts of western Europe, as the Germanic ones, from which we have only scarce or no manuscript evidence of the Latin Albucasis. From this point of view, the vernacular translations we have considered not only witness the direct Germanic reception of Lanfranc's works, but also allow to trace the indirect path of dissemination of Albucasis's surgical experience, which otherwise would have remained inaccessible to practitioners and surgeons operating in those regions.

Nina Maria Gonzalbez

Brick by Brick: Constructing Identity at Don Lope Fernández de Luna's Parroquieta at La Seo

Abstract: The fourteenth-century capilla de San Miguel, popularly known as the *parroquieta*, was built in Zaragoza, Spain, as the funerary chapel of the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Lope Fernández de Luna (r. 1351–1382). Art and architectural historians describe the chapel as a mudéjar structure or a Christian structure with Islamic design elements. This categorization is reinforced through UNESCO's World Heritage List and its inclusion of the *parroquieta* in the entry for mudéjar architecture of Aragón. UNESCO's description of mudéjar as "the only style unique to Spain" encumbers the term with elements of national identity that underplay the global features of late medieval Iberian architecture. The chapel's patron, a member of a powerful noble family in Aragón, traveled extensively as a trusted advisor to King Pedro IV of Aragón (r. 1336–1387). The monument should more accurately be read as a combination of artistic forms incorporating elements from the local Aragónese Gothic, pre-Christian Aragónese Islamic architecture, pre-Christian and Christian Andalusia (specifically Sevillian), Italian, and Castilian traditions. Luna's funerary chapel is best understood as a structure that affirms the archbishop's cosmopolitanism and celebrates his career as an international diplomat, and not as a comment on interfaith relations in medieval Iberia, as the 'mudéjar' designation often implies.

Keywords: Mudéjar, Zaragoza, Sevilla, Don Lope Fernández de Luna

Introduction

In her chapter for *The Globalization of Renaissance Art*, Claire Farago provides an overview of the current issues surrounding Early Modern global art history and the problems of periodization. In doing so, she also offers four ways forward; the dissolution of binaries, an avoidance of monolithic treatments of cultures, dismissal of histories that place Europe at the end of a linear trajectory, and most importantly

for this paper, a consideration of all genres of art as equal.¹ Tiling, brickwork, and calligraphy, elements often under-considered in art historical discourses of the past, function as artistic characteristics in the monument under study in this paper. These components are connected to various cultures and geographical areas, and an examination of them and how they relate to each other within the monument can shed light on the motivations of the patron.

The fourteenth-century capilla de San Miguel, popularly known as the parroquieta, was built in Zaragoza, Spain, as the funerary chapel of the Archbishop of Zaragoza, Lope Fernández de Luna (Fig. 1). The chapel contains three distinct extant elements: the first, an exterior wall consisting of intricate brickwork inlaid with colored geometric tiles that partially continue into the interior; the second, a wooden roof with polygonal coffering inside of the chapel; and finally, the tomb of the archbishop.

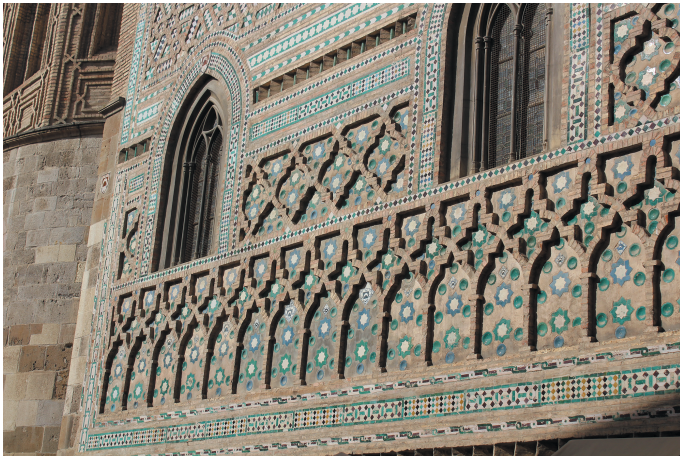


Fig. 1: Exterior wall of the parroquieta, Cathedral of San Salvador, Zaragoza, Spain, 1374–1381. Author's photograph.

The chapel's patron, a member of a powerful noble family in Aragón, traveled extensively as a trusted advisor to King Pedro IV of Aragón. Luna moved up the ladder of his ecclesiastical career quickly.² He was transferred from his position as Bishop

¹ Claire Farago, "The 'Global Turn' in Art History: Why, When, and How Does it Matter?," *The Globalization of Renaissance Art: A Critical Review*, ed. Daniel Savoy. Brill's Studies on Art, Art History, and Intellectual History, 274/23 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2017).

² Real academia de la historia, "Lope Fernández de Luna," *Biografico Database*, <https://dbe.rah.es/biografias/29264/lope-fernandez-de-luna> (last accessed on Jan. 23, 2023).

of Vic in 1348 to the Archbishop of Zaragoza in 1351. In his two extant architectural projects, the Castillo de Mesones and the parroquieta, the archbishop combined a multitude of styles. Art and architectural historians have continually described the chapel, due to its exterior wall and wooden ceiling, as a ‘mudéjar’ structure, or a Christian structure with Islamicate design elements. This categorization positions the chapel’s style as a legacy of decoration and patterning originally associated with the visual culture of Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula. The term’s religious and geographic associations limit attention to the hybrid and international features of the funerary chapel, which should more accurately be read as combining Islamicate and Gothic elements from the local Iberian context (the kingdom of Aragón); from other Iberian kingdoms (Castile); from the region of Andalusia, specifically the city of Seville; and from other parts of Europe, especially Italy.³ Luna’s monuments are best understood not as byproducts of interfaith relations in medieval Iberia, as the mudéjar designation often implies, but rather as visualizations of the archbishop’s cosmopolitanism and celebrations of his career as an international diplomat.⁴

Scholarship on the parroquieta has largely focused on the structure’s exterior wall with more limited attention to the interior wooden ceiling. The interest in the wall stems from its unusual combination of local and foreign styles. Maria Zamora provides a detailed breakdown of the wall’s combination of two distinct elements, with the brickwork completed in the Aragónese fashion and the tilework in the Aragónese and the Sevillian.⁵ Antonio Olmo Gracia attributes the unique merger of local and non-local styles and techniques in the parroquieta to the archbishop’s close relationship with his brother-in-law, Gil de Albornoz. Through this link, Luna encountered both the Italian castle style on which he based another architectural project, and the Sevillian tilers that he later employed to work on his funerary

3 While this paper focuses on Italian fortification architecture, it should be noted that there are strong undercurrents of Islamic influence, particularly in Venice and Sicily, and in other Mediterranean sites. After all, the Mediterranean was a contact zone, a perfect example of what globalism in the pre-modern era could mean. The Venetian structures specifically demonstrate the way that Islamic architectural elements were interpreted through a largely peaceful mercantile exchange. Deborah Howard, *Venice and the East: The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 1. [Editor’s note: see now Theresa Jackh, “Sizilien als Ort des kulturellen Austauschs,” *Islam in Europa 1000–1250*, ed. Claudia Höhl, Felix Prinz, and Pavla Ralcheva (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2022), 33–40.]

4 For more information on the travel of diplomats and the role public houses served in this profession see Peter Dobek’s article in this volume.

5 Maria Isabel Alvaro Zamora, “Lo Aragónés y lo Sevillano en la ornamentación mudéjar de la parroquieta de la Seo de Zaragoza,” *Artígrama: revista del departamento de historia del arte de la Universidad de Zaragoza* 1 (1984): 47–66; here 50–51.

chapel.⁶ How much Luna was directly responsible for the design choices is unknown, but his consistent employment of local and foreign artists known for regional techniques indicates that he took at least some active interest in creating cosmopolitan styles.⁷ Bernabé Subiza and Carmelo Gracia identify the Kufic and pseudo-Arabic inscriptions on the wooden ceiling as the work of two separate artisans or artisan groups.⁸ In his article on the Torre Nueva of Zaragoza, Subiza briefly discusses the parroquietta's use of Sevillian tiles stating that a lack of quality craftsmen in Aragon led to the employment of foreign mudéjar artisans.⁹

While these authors recognize the varied stylistic influences on the chapel, most scholars still typify it as a mudéjar structure. UNESCO's World Heritage List even includes the parroquietta in the entry for mudéjar architecture of Aragón. This description of mudéjar as "the only style unique to Spain" encumbers the term with elements of national identity that underplay the global features of late medieval Iberian architecture and thus severely limits our understanding of the chapel.¹⁰ The limiting effect of the term mudéjar has been recognized and debated since its inception. It is derived from the word *mudayyan*, meaning "those permitted to remain" and was first used in thirteenth-century texts to refer to Muslim subjects of Christian kingdoms. It was not until the nineteenth century, however, that the word was used within an art historical paradigm.¹¹

6 Antonio Olmo Gracia, "Las relaciones entre los Luna y los Albornoz y su reflejo artístico en el Aragón del siglo XIV: el Castillo de Mesones de Isuela y la parroquietta de Zaragoza," *Mundos medievales espacios, sociedades y poder: homenaje al profesor José Ángel García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre* ed. Beatriz Arizaga, Dolores Mariño, and Carmen Díez Herrera. Vol. II (Madrid: Editorial de la Universidad de Cantabria, 2014), 1699–710; here 1710.

7 Another structure associated with the archbishop remains intact in Zaragoza. The construction of the Monasterio de la Resurrección de las Canoneras del Santo Sepulcro began in 1304. The monastery received financial support from Martín de Alpartir, the treasurer to Don Lope, as well as Don Lope himself. His input on the structure and decoration of the buildings, however, appears to have been minimal.

8 Bernabé Cabañero Subiza and Carmelo Lasa Gracia "Elementos arquitectónicos y decorativos Nazaríes en el arte mudéjar Aragonés, III: inscripciones de la capilla de San Miguel de la Seo de Zaragoza," *Artigrama* 19 (2004): 337–59.

9 Bernabé Cabañero Subiza "Elementos arquitectónicos y decorativos Nazaríes en el arte mudéjar Aragonés, I: la Torre Nueva de Zaragoza, una replica de la Sala de los Abencerrajes de la Alhambra de Granada," *Artigrama* 19 (2004): 243–302.

10 "Mudejar Architecture of Aragon," UNESCO, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/378/> (last accessed on January 18, 2023).

11 "Un Arte que no tiene par si ni semejante en las demás naciones meridionales, como no hámenester ninguna de ellas de la política tolerante que dá vida á los vasallos mudejares de la corona de Castilla, ni de las leyes que los defienden y protegen, ni de la alianza social, que demanda y obtiene su inmediata participación en el ejercicio de las artes mecánicas, y que lleva al fin su influencia á las esferas de las ciencias de las letras." José Amador de los Ríos with afterword by Pedro de

In a lecture delivered in 1859, José Amador de los Ríos exclaimed that mudéjar architecture was born of the political and religious tolerance that characterized Iberian kingdoms in the Middle Ages and thus

it does not have equal nor likeness in other southern nations, since they had no need of the political tolerance that gave life to the mudéjar vassals, nor of the laws that defended and protected them, nor the social alliance, that demanded and obtained their immediate participation in the exercise of the mechanical arts, which eventually came to influence the spheres of the sciences and letters.¹²

The style, he claimed, was typified by the combination of Christian and Western elements with Islamic and Eastern characteristics. Criticisms of the classification state that the works under the designation are too heterogenous, that the term automatically ignores the Jewish presence, that these works were rarely the sole product of ‘mudéjares,’ and that there is seemingly no specific amount of Islamic influence needed to classify a monument as ‘mudéjar.’¹³

Scholars such as Jerrilynn Dodds, Cynthia Robinson, Leyla Rouhi, and Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza among others, have either abandoned the use of the term entirely or have called for a more nuanced understanding that distances the term from its religious and ethnic connotations.¹⁴ Traditionally, scholarship on monuments considered ‘mudéjar’

Madrazo, *El Estilo de mudéjar en arquitectura: discurso* (Madrid: Imprenta de Manuel Tello, 1872; rpt. Valencia: Librerías “Paris-Valencia,” 1996), 1–73; here 3–4.

12 The term was first employed in 1857 by Manuel de Assas y de Ereño to describe architecture in “Nociones fisionómicas-históricas de la arquitectura en España,” *Seminario Pintoresco Español* (1857): 353–60; here 353–54.

13 For comprehensive historiographies of ‘mudéjar,’ see José Gómez Galán, “El mudéjar como estilo artístico: una valoración historiográfica,” *Mirabilia/Mediterranean and Transatlantic Approaches to the Culture of the Crown of Aragon 1* (2017): 89–122; Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualís, *El arte mudéjar*, Serie de estudios mudéjares (Teruel: Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 1993); Rafael López Gúzman, *Arquitectura ‘mudéjar’: del secretismo medieval a las alternativas Hispanoamericanas* (Madrid: Ediciones Cátedra, 2000).

14 Jerrilynn Dodds examines ‘mudéjar’ style in Jewish synagogues of Spain warning that assigning classifications according to hegemonic divisions. Jerrilynn Dodds, “Mudejar Tradition and the Synagogues of Medieval Spain: Cultural Identity and Cultural Hegemony,” *Convivencia: Jews, Muslims, and Christians in Medieval Spain*, ed. Vivian B. Mann, Thomas F. Glick, and Jerrilynn Dodds (New York: George Braziller and The Jewish Museum, 1992), 112–31. In the introduction of the same volume, Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi call for case studies that are object-based and examine the space rather than rely on previously designated stylistic qualifications. Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza likewise problematizes the term ‘mudéjar’ as a wide architectural category. He argues that such a category is inherently anachronistic and that contemporaries of mudéjar structures would not have understood specific elements as such. Ruiz Souza also claims that elements typically considered mudéjar were assimilated so thoroughly they should be considered local tradition. See Juan Carlos Ruiz Souza “Architectural Languages, Functions, and Spaces: The Crown of Castile and al-An-

has understood the motivations behind the creation of such works as the result of either fascination with Islamic motifs, a desire to subjugate Muslim populations, or a pragmatic solution that used the widely available workforce of ‘mudéjares’ and less expensive materials such as wood. María Judith Feliciano avoids the term entirely in her discussion of thirteenth-century textiles from southern Iberia favoring the word ‘Andalusí’ instead. She notes that the technique, fabric, and skill needed to create them imbue the garments with desirability. Their creation by Islamic artisans did not impact their associations with wealth and status and therefore were an appropriate garment for the burial of a Christian king.¹⁵

I contend that a similar phenomenon occurs at the parroquieta where the archbishop’s choices for the styles of his monuments, as well as the artisans who carried them out, point toward an interest in the display of wealth, status, and cosmopolitanism with no concern around the confessional faiths associated with those styles or artisans. All of the various suppositions surrounding the term ‘mudéjar’ have been largely disproven and scholars now look to present more nuanced and thorough case studies that expand the narrative of ‘mudéjar’ monuments beyond the limits of the term. In the introduction to this volume, Albrecht Classen calls for a closer examination of diplomatic expeditions in an effort to further understand interreligious and intercultural relationships, and this case study aims to explicate one such instance of cultural exchange through this method. An investigation of patronage is thus an apt way of understanding structures such as the parroquieta and distancing them from ethnoreligious connotations of the terminology.

The Cathedral of Zaragoza, which contains the archbishop’s chapel, sits on the site once occupied by one of the oldest mosques in Andalusia. Its patron, Ḥanaš al-Šanā’anī, in turn, had the mosque constructed on the previous site of a Visigothic cathedral. Up until its conversion to a Catholic cathedral, it was altered multiple times including changes made to the space now used as the archbishop’s funeral chapel, which may have originally been a burial chamber of the original mosque.¹⁶

dalus,” trans. Deborah Roldán and Cynthia Robinson. *Medieval Encounters* 12 (2006): 360–87; here 373; Ruiz Souza “Los estilos nacionales y sus discursos identitarios: El denominado estilo mudéjar,” *La Historia del Arte en España: devenir, discursos y propuestas* ed. Alvaro Molina Martín (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2016), 197–216; Ruiz Souza “El lenguaje de la arquitectura mudéjar: La yestería decorativa bajomedieval,” *Arte mudéjar en la provincial de Valladolid* ed. Fernando Regueras Grande and Antonio Sánchez del Barrio (Valladolid: Diputación de Valladolid, 2008), 47–59.

¹⁵ María Judith Feliciano “Muslim Shrouds for a Christian King? A Reassessment of Andalusí Textiles in Thirteenth Century Castilian Life and Ritual,” *Under the Influence: Questioning the Comparative in Medieval Castile*, ed. Cynthia Robinson and Leyla Rouhi. The Medieval and Early Modern Iberian World, 22 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2004), 101–31.

¹⁶ Virgilio Enamorado and Javier Peña, “La inscripción Árabe de la parroquieta de Zaragoza y la Mezquita Aljama de Zaragoza,” *Tudmir* 4 (2016): 101–14.

Looking at an inscription located on the exterior wall of the chapel, Vergilio Enamorado and Javier Peña theorize that the outside wall of the parroquieta is original to the mosque that the cathedral of Zaragoza replaced. Their evidence builds on previous work by Peña that proposed that the outside wall, including the majority of its tile and brickwork, and the wooden *mocárabes* (a type of ornamented ceiling comprised normally of recessed sections made of wood or stucco) ceiling were mosque structures.¹⁷ The structural plans of the previous mosque, the lack of written Arabic known by artisans in Luna's time, and the placement of the windows among other evidence demonstrate that the wall is original to the mosque.¹⁸ This makes the designation of the chapel as 'mudéjar' even more dubious as large parts of the structure were developed before the site was Christian. While it is very likely that the parts of the funerary chapel identified by Peña were not wholly developed by Luna, it is clear that the archbishop not only accepted the style of the building with minimal intervention but included further Andalusian elements in his renovations.

Pope Clement VI ordained Lope Fernández de Luna as archbishop of Zaragoza in 1351. In addition to this formal role, Luna became an all-important advisor to King Pedro IV. The king regularly consulted the archbishop on state matters and consistently involved him in diplomatic missions. Among other things, Luna advised his king on the war with Castile's monarch Pedro I. He also assisted the king in his negotiations with the nobles of Aragón, as well as supporting the king's position in defense of the Avignon popes. Luna was such a trusted advisor to King Pedro IV that contemporary sources state that Pedro had placed "... in his hands the reigns of the kingdom."¹⁹ Luna thus fulfilled both ecclesiastical and advisory roles in the Kingdom of Aragón. Acting as a diplomat, the archbishop spent time in Italy attempting to win supporters over to the various causes of the King of Aragón and in Almazán, a municipality in Castile where he attempted to reinstate diplomatic relations between the two kingdoms. Later, while engaged in ecclesiastical duties in Avignon at the behest of Pope Innocent VI, Luna continued to negotiate peace between the rival Iberian kings.²⁰

17 Javier Peña, "La Seo del Salvador de Zaragoza (análisis e hipótesis de su evolución constructiva desde su origen como mezquita-aljama hasta el siglo XVI)," *Turiso* 7 (1987): 81–104.

18 Enamorado and Peña, "La inscripción Árabe de la parroquieta" (see note 16), 101–14.

19 "... en sus manos las riendas del reino." José de Soria, "Los sinodos de Zaragoza promulgados por el arzobispo Don Lope Fernández de Luna (1351–1382)," *Scriptorium victoriense* Vol. II, no. 1 (1955): 311–70; here 311.

20 Martín Carrillo, *Historia Del Glorioso San Valero, Obispo de La Ciudad de Çaragoça, Con Los Martyrios de San Vicente, Santa Engracia, San Lamberto . . . Con Un Catalogo de Todos Los Prelados . . . Y Abades Del Reyno de Aragon (Advertencias Y Respuesta Á Las Obiecciones Que Se Han Hecho Á La Historia de San Valero* (Zaragoza: Juan de Lanaja Quartanet, 1615), 262.

The Tile and Brickwork of the Parroquietta

The archbishop's continuous travels and consistent exposure to international styles undoubtedly influenced the design and further ornamentation of his parroquieta. For the exterior wall of his funerary chapel, Lope Fernández de Luna looked to combine the local traditions of three differing styles of Aragónese monochromatic tilework and brickwork with the Andalusian tradition of bichromatic tiles, or tiles using more than one shade of a color to create dimension in the finished product (Fig. 2). The exterior wall consists of three large horizontal panels of friezes, each comprising alternating brickwork inlaid with colorful tiles. The Aragónese tiles themselves are of three different styles.²¹ The first and second, consisting of monochrome pieces, were used for architectural ornamentation and small bands of tiles. The third style, consisting of painted tiles of a small crescent moon, was deployed for the Luna family emblem (Fig. 3).



Fig. 2: Bichromatic tiles on the *parroquieta*, Cathedral of San Salvador, Zaragoza, 1378–1379. Author's photograph.

The closest stylistic parallel for the Andalusian tilework on the parroquieta comes from the church of San Gil de Sevilla and a mosaic tiled skirting board from the Alcázar of the same city (Fig. 4). The tiling in all of the structures conforms to the same palette with a white base and a heavy emphasis on the use of green and black. As well as the coloring, the tile shapes in areas at San Gil are an exact match for those found at La

²¹ Zamora, "Lo Aragonés y lo Sevillano en la ornamentación" (see note 5), 58.



Fig. 3: Monochromatic and shield tiles on the exterior wall of the *parroquietta*, Cathedral of San Salvador, Zaragoza, 1378–1379. Author’s photograph.

Seo. Zamora contends that the tiling on San Gil de Sevilla was at least evolutionarily related to the works on the *parroquietta*, if not by the same artisans or workshop.²² Archbishop Luna would have necessarily had to look elsewhere for the tiles on his funerary chapel, as the bichromatic type was previously non-existent in Aragón. This was especially important as the windows Luna inserted in the wall broke up the original mosque tiling and brickwork. Bichromatic tile was very popular in Seville and appealed to the archbishop as he not only replaced those tiles disturbed by the ren-

²² Here Zamora posits a fourteenth-century date for the pattern found at San Gil based on a near identical pattern on the skirting boards in the Patio de las Muñecas of the Alcázar of Seville, which the author dates to before the midpoint of the fourteenth century. Zamora, “Lo Aragonés y lo Sevillano en la ornamentación (see note 5), 58. In a recent comprehensive study of the tiling in the Alcázar, Alfonso Pleguezuelo has categorized the tiles of the structure into six phases. Based on an analysis of the glazing, coloring, thickness, and the hand vs. mechanized cutting patterns on the tiles, Pleguezuelo offers a preliminary dating for the rooms surrounding the Patio de las Doncellas, including the Patio de las Muñecas, in the fifteenth century. The Patio de las Doncellas, the Sala de Audiencias, and perhaps the Salón de Embajadores, show evidence of being tiled earliest in the structure’s creation, in the fourteenth century. Alfonso Pleguezuelo, “Los alicatados del palacio mudéjar en el Real Alcázar de Sevilla: Un primer análisis visual,” *Apuntes del Alcázar de Sevilla* 16 (2015): 218–32. These findings were bolstered through chemical testing of micro-samples from in-situ tiles in the Alcázar showing that the tiles from the Patio de las Muñecas likely date to the fifteenth or sixteenth century. J. L. Pérez-Rodríguez, M. D. Robador, J. Cataing, L. de Viguerie, M. A. Garrote, and A. Pleguezuelo, “Caracterización arqueométrica (físico-química y microestructural) de azulejos en el palacio mudéjar del Real Alcázar de Sevilla mediante métodos químicos cuantitativos no invasivos,” *Boletín de la sociedad Española de cerámica y vidrio* 60 (2021): 211–28.

ovation but carried them into the interior of his chapel. To complete the wall to his satisfaction, Luna hired the Sevillian tilers Garcí and Lop Sánchez, who created the bichromatic diamond tiles that are in use mainly on the parroquieta's bottom register. The close dates of construction for San Gil de Sevilla and the parroquieta make it possible that the tilers Garcí and Lop Sánchez were directly responsible for the tiling of both.²³ Despite the wall of the parroquieta containing a number of Sevillian tiles, the brickwork of the funerary chapel is largely Aragónese and likely predates the construction of the parroquieta. It consists of three horizontal bands made up of alternating brick motifs. The bricks on the structure demonstrating bichromatism in yellow and red deviate from the monochromatic style then in use in Aragón.²⁴



Fig. 4: Skirting board panel, Patio de las Muñecas, Alcázar, Seville, Spain, fifteenth c. Author's photograph.

Completed in the beginning or middle of 1378, the renovation of the wall was likely directed by Mahoma Calahorri.²⁵ The wall closely resembles that built by Calahorri in 1360 at the Church of the Virgin of Tobed, about 30 miles southwest of the funerary chapel.²⁶ While not directly in charge of construction at Tobed, the archbishop

²³ Zamora also relates the tiling at La Seo to the same pattern found in the Royal Chapel at the Mezquita in Córdoba (see note 5), 56.

²⁴ Gracia, "Las relaciones entre los Luna y los Albornoz" (see note 6), 1708.

²⁵ Gracia, "Las relaciones entre los Luna y los Albornoz" (see note 6), 1708.

²⁶ Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "Los artifices del mudéjar: maestros moros y moriscos," *XIII Simposio Internacional de mudéjarismo: Actas: Teruel, 4-5 de septiembre de 2014* (Teruel: Centro de Estudios mudéjares, Instituto de Estudios Turolenses, 2017), 19–30; here 26.

had a vested interest in the church and approved its construction under his treasurer Martin de Alpartil.²⁷ Luna had some interest in combining local and trans-Iberian styles. While his archbishop's palace is no longer extant, it is probable that Mahoma Calahorri acted as the Master of Works for a time on this monument as well.²⁸ Before Calahorri's time in the position, Abdelaziz de Terrer operated as the Master of Works for the palace. This same Abdelaziz de Terrer was employed by King Pedro IV of Aragón to work on his Aljafería remodeling.²⁹ Surviving works by Terrer and Calahorri indicate that the façade of the palace was likely executed in the same brickwork style Luna used on his funerary chapel. While he used Sevillian tile to create a distinct aesthetic, the archbishop maintained local and traditional elements in his brick construction.

The Ceiling and Epigraphy of the Parroquieta

The wooden ceiling of the parroquieta's second level also combines distinct Sevillian and Aragónese characteristics. The layout and much of the decoration are in fact Sevillian, much like that of the ceiling found in the archbishop's other extant architectural commission, the Castillo de Mesones. The parroquieta's wooden ceiling consists of a square base leading up to an octagonal dome. The bottom register of its square base is separated into distinct bands each filled with inscriptions. The bands contain pseudo-Kufic, an illegible imitation of Arabic script, made up of aesthetic forms associated with the Muslim Nasrid dynasty in Granada, a kingdom in the southern Iberia area known as Andalusia (or: al-Andalus), as well as a legible Kufic script.

The legible inscriptions are of a floriated Kufic style and were the work of local Aragónese artisans.³⁰ The braided Kufic of the pseudo-calligraphic inscriptions indicates that Luna brought in artisans from Andalusia who were well-versed in this style. The epigraphy is of the same kind found at the Alcázar in Seville and the

²⁷ Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "Estructuras 'mudéjares Aragónesas,'" *Arte mudéjar en Aragón, León, Castilla, Extremadura y Andalucía* (Zaragoza: Institución "Fernando El Católico," 2006), 297–314; here 304.

²⁸ Antonio Olmo Gracia, "El palacio mudéjar de Don Lope Fernández de Luna, Arzobispo de Zaragoza," *Aragonia Sacra: Revista de Investigación* 21 (2011): 237–48; here 245.

²⁹ Gracia, "El palacio mudéjar de Don Lope Fernández de Luna" (see note 28), 243.

³⁰ Bernabé Cabañero Subiza and Carmelo Lass Gracia, "Elementos arquitectónicos y decorativos Nazaríes en el arte mudéjar Aragónés, III: inscripciones de la capilla de San Miguel de la Seo de Zaragoza," *Artigrama* 19 (2004): 337–59; here 340.

convent Teresas de Ecija of the same city.³¹ Luna's choice of artistic forms, both in keeping the ceiling's structure and the inclusion of braided Nazari inscriptions popular in Seville at the time, may have been the result of his employment of the talented and sought-after Sevillian tilers Garcí and Lop Sánchez.

The Castillo de Mesones

The archbishop's only other extant architectural work, the Castillo de Mesones, encompasses even greater stylistic hybridity than his funerary chapel. The castle-palace's plan is rectangular with six circular towers, one at each corner and with one tower on each of the longer northern and southern sides. It measures 80 × 35 meters and is made of ashlar block. The castle's unique plan is extremely rare in Spain and has been linked to Italian models.³² Olmo Gracia links the Mesone's architectural plan directly to Spoleto castle in Italy.³³ Archbishop Luna traveled to Italy on multiple occasions, both as a diplomat and on personal business to see his brother-in-law, Cardinal Gil de Albornoz at Spoleto Castle.³⁴ Cardinal Albornoz served as a papal legate and vicar in Italy and his role consisted mainly of diplomatic attempts to gain loyalty to the Avignon papacy. Albornoz was a powerful and influential force in Castile where he was a trusted advisor to King Alfonso XI.³⁵ During these trips, which occurred in 1353 and 1363, the archbishop would have stayed in his brother-in-law's castle.³⁶

The similarities between both structures are strong, especially in their layout. Spoleto and Mesones are rectangular with towers at each corner and centrally located on each of the longer sides. As the rectangular formation with regularly interspersed towers rarely occurs in Spain, it is reasonable to assume that Luna used his firsthand encounter with Spoleto to inform his architectural choices at

31 Subiza and Gracia, "Elementos arquitectónicos y decorativos Nazaríes" (see note 30), 340–41.

32 Cristóbal Guitart Aparicio, *Castillos de Aragón*. Colección Aragón (Zaragoza: Librería General, 1976), 132.

33 Gracia, "Las relaciones entre los Luna y los Albornoz" (see note 6), 1702.

34 Through an analysis of documents related to the archbishop and his family, Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol was able to identify the familial relationship. Previous scholarship had continually and erroneously stated that Don Lope Fernández de Luna was the uncle of Cardinal Gil de Albornoz. See Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, "Apéndice biográfico de cargos, títulos y dignidades citados en la Historia de los hechos del cardenal Gil de Albornoz," J. G. de Sepúlveda, *Obras completas*. Vol. V, *Historia de los hechos del cardenal Gil de Albornoz*, (Pozoblanco: Ayuntamiento de Pozoblanco, 2002), 59–82; here 74.

35 Joëlle Rollo-Koster, *Avignon and Its Papacy, 1309–1417: Popes, Institutions, and Society* (Lanham, Boulder, et al.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015), 89.

36 Gracia, "Las Relaciones Entre Los Luna y Los Albornoz" (see note 6), 1701–02.

Mesones. While concrete documentation regarding its construction is lacking, evidence suggests that the castle was built between 1370 and 1379, after the archbishop had been named Captain of the Front in Calatayud, where the castle is located.³⁷

Luna's designation as Captain of the Front occurred after relations with Castile had taken a turn for the worse.³⁸ The construction of the castle-palace was begun after his trips to Italy and Luna may have taken the opportunity to adapt Italian defensive architecture, as opposed to a more regularly understood Aragónese style. Aragónese castles had largely resisted the uniform layout represented by Mesones. The Mequinenza and Valderrobres castles are exemplary of the more irregular forms that persisted in Aragón. Both castles are built with little concern for symmetry. José Prades links this irregularity to their adaptation to the terrain.³⁹ While in Spoleto, Luna likely witnessed his brother-in-law's defeat of and treaty with Giovanni di Vico. The treaty with Vico required recognition of Avignon Pope Innocent VI. Luna may have associated Spoleto Castle with a successful militaristic operation and diplomatic negotiation inspiring his architectural project built during his diplomatic efforts to reinstate relations with Castile. Likewise, Luna may have sought a visual association with Albornoz's influential position and high standing in the court of Alfonso XI through his new castle.

The northeastern tower of the Mesones contains a chapel with a wooden ceiling interspersed with Gothic painting. The style of the woodwork is unique in Aragón and may be explained, at least in part, by the archbishop's continued travels. The hexagonal roof's particular design occurs in only one other place in Aragón: the parroquieta.⁴⁰ Prades believes the closest comparison to the wooden ceiling of Mesones lies in the Cuarto Real de Santo Domingo in Granada, a city in Andalusia then still under the control of the Nasrid dynasty, evidence of yet another connection to Andalusian styles.⁴¹ The Mesones ceiling may, once again, be tied to the archbishop's relations with his brother-in-law Gil de Albornoz.⁴² Garcí and Lop Sánchez, the Sevillian tilers who completed the tiling work on the exterior and interior wall of the parroquieta, may have been responsible for the wooden ceiling at Mesones. There is no documentation that definitively links the tilers to the cre-

37 José Antonio Martínez Prades, "El Castillo de Mesones de Isuela," *Seminario de Arte Aragonés* 37 (1983): 5–143; here 44.

38 Prades, "El Castillo de Mesones de Isuela" (see note 37), 43.

39 Prades, "El Castillo de Mesones de Isuela" (see note 37), 46.

40 Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis, "La arquitectura mudéjar," *Los mudéjares En Aragón*, ed. Gonzalo M. Borrás Gualis (Zaragoza: Caja de ahorros de la inmaculada de Aragón, 2003), 73–188; here 106.

41 Prades, "El Castillo de Mesones de Isuela" (see note 37), 50.

42 Gracia presents a case for Lop Sánchez's involvement as a soldier in the conflict between Peter I and Peter IV and connects him to the Albornoz family's exile in "Las relaciones entre los Luna y los Albornoz" (see note 6), 1709–10.

ation of the wooden ceiling, but the specificity of the woodwork may point to the Sevillian tilers' involvement. A note from the archbishop's treasurer states that Lop Sánchez of Seville was paid for work done at the castle.⁴³ Gonzalo Borrás Gualís ties this contract to the creation of the wooden ceiling and its distinctive Andalusian structure.⁴⁴ The note, however, states that he was employed as the *alcayde* or the commander of the castle. The differentiation of roles makes it possible that this Lop Sánchez was not the same Lop Sánchez who was hired to tile the parroquieta.⁴⁵

The chapel contains an assortment of painted angels in the Italian Gothic style. The angels carrying lit candles fill the open compartments of the wooden ceiling and the base contains an alternating motif of red dragons with vegetation, crossed black hawks, and shields with the Luna crescent. Elements of the Sienese and Florentine schools of Gothic painting made their way into Catalan works likely through the direct influence of Ferrer Bassa.⁴⁶ While Spoleto was not a major center of Italian Gothic painting, the archbishop may nevertheless have been exposed to it during his times in the city. Spoleto is within easy traveling distance of Siena, a major artistic hub where Luna could have encountered works. However, it is important to remember that there was a thriving Italo-Gothic school of painters in Aragón at the time. The Italian style of the castle may have made these artists an attractive possibility, though there was a strong current of the Italo-Gothic in the area regardless.

Prades suggests that the painters responsible for the Castillo de Mesones ceiling may have been John and Nicolas of Brussels, an attribution he bases on style and the fact that the painters were acquainted with Luna through their work on the archbishop's funerary chapel and his no-longer-extant palace.⁴⁷ John's and Nicolas's paintings in the parroquieta have unfortunately disappeared, but a surviving contract details their payment for the work.⁴⁸ María Carmen Lacarra Ducay suggests Jaime Serra as the most likely author of the Castillo works. Despite being from

43 Prades, "El Castillo de Mesones de Isuela" (see note 37), 50.

44 Gonzalo Borrás Gualís, *Arte mudéjar aragonés*, ed. Colegio oficial de arquitectos técnicos y aparejadores de Zaragoza. Vol. II (Zaragoza: Caja de ahorros y Monte de Piedad de Zaragoza, Aragón y Rioja, 1985), 241–42.

45 "Loppe Sánchez de Sevilla, alcayde del Castillo del lugar de Mesones . . . cincientos florins de oro de Aragon, los quales le fueron dados para la obra del dito castiello . . ." The contract is provided in María Carmen Lacarra Ducay "La capilla de la Virgen del Castillo o de Nuestra Señor de los Ángeles en el castillo de Mesones de Isuela (Zaragoza)," *Boletín del Museo e Instituto "Camón Aznar"* LXXXVIII (2002): 89–105; here 99.

46 Judith Berg Sobré, *Behind the Altar Table: The Development of the Painted Retable in Spain, 1350–1500* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 206.

47 Prades, "El Castillo de Mesones de Isuela" (see note 37), 53.

48 *Contract for Juan and Nicolas of Bruselles* (1379), listed in full in Prades, "El Castillo de Mesones de Isuela" (see note 37), 65.

Catalan, a principality of Aragón, Serra painted in a distinctly Italo-Gothic style. Of the four Serra brothers who were all painters, Jaime is the only one to have a direct connection to Aragón and an indirect connection to Don Lope.

The previously mentioned Martín de Alpartil who was the archbishop's treasurer in 1381, contracted the painter for the creation of an altarpiece in the same year. Lacarra Ducaý affirms previous findings that Jaime, with the possible help of his two brothers Juan and Pedro, completed the work on the ceiling. Close parallels can be found between the chapel ceiling paintings and other works that are attributed to Jaime Serra like the *Virgen de la Humildad* in Tobed and the *Resurrección de Cristo* at the monasterio de las Canonas del Santo Sepulcro de Zaragoza.⁴⁹ Jaime's brother, Pere Serra, is documented as working in the atelier of Ramón Destorrents from 1357–1360. Destorrents was a student of Ferrer Bassa and painted in the same Italo-Gothic as his teacher. There is also a strong resemblance between the angels of the Castillo de Mesones ceiling with the *Virgen de la Humildad con donante* from the Prado attributed to either Ramón Destorrents or the Serra brothers.

Conclusion

Both of Archbishop Luna's extant commissions employ a multitude of different styles to create new structures which were unique in Aragón. The highly unusual combination of the wooden ceiling interspersed with Italian-style painting is one such unique work. Both structures use techniques that are unique in Aragón, such as the *armaduras de limas*, that demonstrate the importance of the local artistic traditions while also embracing non-Aragónese styles that highlight the movement of artists and artisans. Luna also appears to have used these same artisans repeatedly, as in the case of Lop Sánchez, showing a consistency that underscores his desire to create stylistically new, but cohesive, structures.

Luna's continued interest in using specific artisans, in some cases using those closely connected to the Crown of Aragón, to create distinctly Iberian facades points to a desire to associate himself with the highest level of power.⁵⁰ The archbishop's

⁴⁹ See Lacarra Ducaý "La capilla de la Virgen del Castillo" for an in-depth discussion of the various assignments scholars have made for the painted ceiling panels in the chapel at the Castillo de Mesones (see note 45), 93–94.

⁵⁰ Luna chose Pere Moragues, a sculptor and goldsmith, from Aragón to complete his sarcophagus. The sculptor was commissioned to create multiple works of art the crown among them the sarcophagus of Pedro IV's mother Doña Teresa de Entenza. Pedro IV also ensured that the sculptor did not leave Zaragoza until the completed commission for the archbishop's sarcophagus was com-

relatively new archbishopric, created only 30 years prior, may have inspired a desire in him to create a style that reinforced his standing in society and legitimized his position in the Church in Aragón in particular. Archbishop Luna chose, in some cases, unique structures to Aragón and in others, styles and forms associated with local institutions.

Luna's interest in using non-Aragonese styles, which he perhaps associated with certain functions of power, may have made the Sevillian mode a more attractive opportunity than the Aragónese for many of his aesthetic choices. In multiple cases, these choices are directly related to a style of ornamentation that can be linked to the Alcázar of Seville, the fourteenth-century renovations of which were finished ten years before the completion of the funerary chapel. The Alcázar, as the seat of Castilian power in Seville, may have provided Luna with an aesthetic connection to a competing royal power. Pedro I's extensive renovations on the Alcázar began in 1364 and required master builders and tilers from Seville and further afield in Andalusia, many of whom were likely Muslim. Don Lope Fernández de Luna's interest in engaging the Andalusian styles of ornamentation is unlikely to be connected to an interest in Islamic forms, despite artisans who worked in this style being largely Islamic, but rather were likely connected to their association with the buildings of Pedro I and the Castilian monarchy.

Luna's structures were largely built during the conflict between Pedro I and Pedro IV. His consistent services to the king in diplomatic processes and military operations may have at least partially inspired his architectural works. Luna was responsible for negotiating The Almazán Treaty of 1375 on behalf of Aragón. The treaty established a peace between the two large Iberian powers based on the marriage of the Infante don Juan, grandson of the, by that time deceased Pedro I, and the Infanta Leonor, daughter of Pedro IV. While the peace would not consolidate the Iberian kingdoms, it would create new territories and solidify connections laying the groundwork for the future consolidation of the peninsula under the Catholic Monarchs Isabella and Ferdinand.⁵¹ His architectural works emphasized a type of "pan-Iberianism" that relied largely on a conglomeration of artistic forms from Castile and Aragón reflecting his continued diplomatic role in peace negotiations.

His decision to use a wide variety of forms that were linked with any number of differing types of power, both ecclesiastical and governmental, indicates that the parroquieta and Castillo de Mesones were meant to impress upon viewers his wealth, influence, power, and wide-ranging network. A case study of Lope Fernán-

pleted as Luna passed away before the work could be completed. Émile Bertaux, "Pere Moragues, argentier et imagier: le tombeau de l'Archevêque D. Lope de Luna, à Saragosse," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 3 (1909): 399–403.

51 Real academia de la historia, "Lope Fernández de Luna" (see note 2).

dez de Luna's funerary chapel in conjunction with Castillo de Mesones demonstrates that as a patron of architectural works, Luna made specific and informed decisions. His choices for the style and ornamentation of his architectural works were deliberate. Additionally, Luna chose artisans from areas associated with the highest quality of their chosen works; Sevillian tilers, Northern painters, and Aragonese sculptors. Understanding the parroquieta as 'mudéjar' thus limits the archbishop's agency and hampers our understanding of hybrid forms and styles.

Leo Donnarumma

***Quello assalto di Otranto fu cagione di assai male.* First Results of a Study of the Globalization in the Neapolitan Army in the 1480s**

Abstract: At the end of July 1480, a strong army led by the Turkish general Gedik Ahmet Pascià landed in Southern Italy near the city of Otranto. During the siege, the fury of the Ottomans was unleashed following the killing of the Turkish ambassador, sent to negotiate the surrender of the city. The Ottoman army was made up of elite soldiers from the Middle East, but throughout the following year it had to face one of the most specialized armies in Italy, the army of the Kingdom of Naples. Thanks to some recent research, it is now possible to shed new light on this clash: the Neapolitan army, reformed in 1464 by Ferdinand I, featured soldiers coming from all over Europe, and it demonstrated its own versatility against the Ottomans by displaying an innovative way to fight a war. Not only was it a confrontation between two armies, it was also one culture pitted against the other, whose mixing was destined to leave tangible signs in the history, the respective societies, and the geography pertaining to the places involved in the war: a true encounter of two separate worlds, at least in military terms. This paper aims at exploring on a deeper level the connections between military history and forms of globalization through the analysis of the composition of the armies, especially the Neapolitan one, and at comparing the two different ways of fighting by the armies involved through analyzing unpublished diplomatic and fiscal sources of the fifteenth century as well as international research discussing the topic. Therefore, this paper is not only about military history, since it also focuses on the question to which extent two different mindsets – each being the expression of a specific culture and of specific royal policies – happened to influence each other.

Keywords: Military history, globalization, Otranto's war, Ottomans, Naples, Renaissance army.

Introduction

Two main issues have, for a long time, hindered the study of military history in Italy:¹ after World War II, it was a common feeling that the analysis of the phenomenon of war should be avoided, as it conflicted with a certain “pacifist” view of society. Indeed, an unnatural connection was created between military history and militarism, which reinforced the rejection of this discipline.² The study of war was, therefore, carried out exclusively in military academies for half a century.

On the other hand, taking a closer look at it, war is a truly complex social phenomenon: the French sociologist Gaston Bouthoul argued that it was among social phenomena the most violent spectacle.³ The noun “spectacle” should not mislead us here: while the study of war may indeed appear extremely interesting, it is often made trivial. Bouthoul is considered to be the creator of polemology, a branch of science standing right in the middle between sociology, psychology, and military history.⁴ As polemology is an interdisciplinary science which involves military history but is not strictly limited to it, it might help revive the study of military history in Italy.

Indeed, as military history involves such varied topics as the encounter or clash of people belonging to different social environments and the art of fighting and technology, it can truly be said to be an object of great scholarly value. To be more precise, the phenomenon of war should be considered on several different levels. The incredible variety of topics which matter here has made it necessary to study the subject of “war” through numerous interdisciplinary approaches. A narrow focus would only allow a partial view of the phenomenon of war itself. Although the logical consequence of this statement would seem to be, in short, to incorporate the results produced by different approaches into a fully comprehensive work, the difficulty of this endeavor will be immediately clear to any scholar attempting it. First, war must be considered in its entirety, for its political, geographical, and eco-

1 First of all, I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof. Ilaria Taddei and Prof. Francesco Storti, for their valuable advice. I must, also, thank Prof. Albrecht Classen for his support and patience, Prof. Warren Tormey for valuable suggestions, and Dr. Marialuisa Ruggiero for her help. Finally, thanks are due to Dr. Chiara Melchionno for pointing out to me the important opportunity of an international conference that gave rise to this volume.

2 Cf. Fabio Bargigia, *Gli eserciti nell'Italia comunale: organizzazione e logistica (1180–1320)* (Milan: Unicopli, 2010), 18–25.

3 Cit. in Francesco Storti, “Istituzioni militari in Italia tra Medioevo ed età moderna,” *Studi Storici* 38/1 (Jan.–Mar. 1997): 257–71; here 257.

4 Gaston Bouthoul, *Le phénomène guerre. Méthodes de la Polémologie, morphologie des guerres, leurs infrastructures (technique, démographique, économique)*. Petite bibliothèque Payot, 29 (Paris: Payot, 1962), 9.

nomic implications. Second, it is necessary to look more closely at the mechanisms brought into play for the recruitment and logistics of troops. In addition, one should not forget to study military actions *tout court*, the tactics chosen by the factions, the changes in anthropogenic geography and landscape, the impact on civil society, and the damage caused. Furthermore, it is also possible to analyze the military conditions as long as there is enough documentation to ensure a satisfying overview of the military clash, which is extremely difficult for the Middle Ages, despite the large number of chronicles and descriptions reporting the placements of troops and the strategy of commanders.

Finally, one can also reflect, when studying warfare, on the welfare agencies that come into action after the battle, on the psychology of the people involved in the clashes – even more so if these are fought with a blank weapon staring at the enemy in the “whites of his eyes” – the technologies employed, and the arts involved (metallurgy, tannery, textile enterprises, agriculture, and so on). In this sense, then, the study of a single war phenomenon should involve many different scholars: historians, archaeologists, art historians, architects, economists, law historians, psychologists, and many more.

This approach is currently unlikely to happen in Italy, though, where the number of War Studies scholars is still limited, and scholars belonging to different disciplines rarely join in their work.⁵ The matter becomes even more serious when we remember what Piero Pieri, a well-known military historian of the Italian Renaissance, stated in his article published in *Les Annales* in 1963⁶:

Il n'est jamais possible de considérer la guerre en soi comme une réalité fermée sur elle-même, qu'il faut, au contraire, pour l'étudier, la relier aux autres activités, à toutes les activités des hommes, bref, l'organiser dans la masse entière d'actions et réactions en chaîne.

[It is never possible to consider the war in itself as a reality closed to itself; instead, it is necessary, on the contrary, to study it, to connect it to the other activities, to all the activities of the men, in short, to organize it in the whole mass of actions and chain reactions].⁷

From that date on, unluckily, no really good specific studies on warfare in the early modern age in Italy have been published, in response to a past rhetoric that tended

5 Paolo Grillo and Aldo Angelo Settia, *Guerre ed eserciti nel Medioevo* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2018), here 17–23.

6 Piero Pieri, “Sur les dimensions de l'histoire militaire,” *Annales. Economies, sociétés, civilisations* 18.4 (1963): 625–38. On his life, see Fabio De Ninno, *Piero Pieri. Il pensiero e lo storico militare* (Milan: Mondadori Education ed., 2019). His great masterpiece for the Renaissance period remains until today Piero Pieri, *Il Rinascimento e la crisi militare italiana* (Turin: Einaudi ed., 1952).

7 Piero Pieri, *Sur les dimensions* (see note 6), here 625.

to reject the study of military history. Especially at the turn of the new millennium,⁸ since the 2000s, historiography has prioritized the study of the history of military institutions, a decision that partly conflicted with what Pieri stated, calling for greater collaboration and interdisciplinarity in approaching the phenomenon of war. Thus, we can say that although the social studies published since the 2000s helped revive the study of warfare in Italy, they were focused on social history and neglected other aspects of military history and military events.⁹

Given these assumptions, the reader should always keep in mind that the study pursued here is still in the making and represents, as previously stated, only one among several approaches to military history. In this instance, in fact, the study of war is intertwined with globalism, a pairing often disregarded in the Western chronologies of the Middle Ages but which has been recently supported by several scholars.¹⁰

Furthermore, one should not forget that globalization, even in the military field, can be said to have existed as early as the fifteenth century – probably even earlier, in the long history of the Middle Ages. This is clearly stated in the recent volume by Charles Parker, *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age*, where the author stresses the fact that the military expansion of the great euro-Asian and Asian empires from the mid-fourteenth century to late 1480 contributed to: “new commercial exchange

⁸ Some of the main studies we should mention, for the early modern period, are those by Michael Mallett, Duccio Balestracci, Maria Nadia Covini, Francesco Storti and Alessandro Barbero (and others), each one on a different geographical area of Italy. Michael E. Mallett and J. R. Hale, *The Military Organization of a Renaissance State: Venice c. 1400 to 1617* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); Michael E. Mallett, *Mercenaries and Their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London: The Bodley Head, 1974); *Condottieri e uomini d'arme nell'Italia del Rinascimento*, ed. Mario del Treppo (Naples: Liguori, 2001); Maria Nadia Covini, *L'esercito del duca. Organizzazione militare e istituzioni al tempo degli Sforza (1450–1480)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1998); Francesco Storti, *L'esercito napoletano nella seconda metà del Quattrocento* (Salerno: Laveglia, 2007); id., *I lancieri del re. Esercito e comunità cittadina nel Mezzogiorno aragonese* (Battipaglia: Laveglia & Carlone, 2017); Alessandro Barbero, “L'organizzazione militare del ducato sabauda durante la guerra di Milano (1449),” *Società e storia* XIX (1996): 1–38; Duccio Balestracci, *Le armi, i cavalli, l'oro. Giovanni Acuto e i condottieri nell'Italia del Trecento* (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2003); id., *Stato d'assedio. Assediati e assediati dal Medioevo all'età moderna* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2021); Fabrizio Ansani, “Oltre i signori, dopo i mercenari. Per una rilettura del rapporto tra istituzioni militari e stato rinascimentale,” *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano per gli Studi Storici* 33 (2021): 29–100.

⁹ Although it was written in 1997, it still sounds really up-to-date what Francesco Storti stated in F. Storti, “Istituzioni militari” (see note 3).

¹⁰ As also stated in the introduction to this volume, edited by Albrecht Classen; see his reflections in the paragraph “Polar Positions in Research.”

networks, large-scale migration streams, worldwide biological exchanges, and transfers of knowledge across oceans and continents.”¹¹

So, finally, we can ask the question: what do we really know of military institutions and the history of warfare in the Italian Renaissance? Starting from some recent studies by William Caferro, the answer is easy: “the recruitment and composition of armies in fourteenth-century Italy are among the most vexing and misunderstood aspects of medieval warfare.”¹² Moving on to the fifteenth century, the situation looks even worse. Although we don’t lack any source material that could provide a more detailed overview and would allow us to postulate an intriguing hypothesis, there appear to be very few studies on the subject. It is important to stress that Italy was not only a region in which merchants, cultural ideas, and arts circulated, but particularly in which people moved around a lot. Social mobility, a theme more intensively explored by recent historiography,¹³ represented a huge encounter of different cultures and communities. Additionally, when social phenomena, such as wars, lead to a further clash of civilizations, some interesting melting pots are born: that is the case of the war of Otranto in 1480.

The Case Study: The War at Otranto (1480–1481)

The Balkan Peninsula represents, even today, a topic scarcely discussed in European historiography in all its institutional, social, and cultural aspects as well as from a political, economic, and military point of view. This region was strongly involved, both from a social and political point of view, in the Ottomans’ progressive expansion into Europe.

For centuries, the Ottoman army has been falsely regarded as being so powerful as to have conquered a whole European region with no real resistance on the enemy’s side, while actually the local political and social authorities managed to stand up against the invader for a long time, attempting to preserve their autonomy, and establishing relations with adjacent states, or, sometimes, long-distance relations with European states such as the ones in late medieval Italy.

¹¹ Charles H. Parker, *Global Interactions in the Early Modern Age (1400–1800)* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 3. See also the circulation of iron ingots and the English exports of weapon to the Ottomans in the sixteenth century studied by Amany El-Sawy’ in this volume: “Globalism During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I.”

¹² William Caferro, “The Florentine Army in the Age of the Companies of Adventure,” *Millars* 43 (2017): 129–50; here 131.

¹³ See, in particular, *La mobilità sociale nel Medioevo italiano*, Vol. 2: *Stato e istituzioni (secoli XIV–XV)*, ed. Andrea Gamberini (Rome: Viella, 2018).



Fig. 1: Map of the Balkan Peninsula. Scale map 1:16000000 © Leo Donnarumma, from modified screenshot of Google Earth © Google.

The interest of the Ottoman Empire in this area grew even more after the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, when Sultan Muhammad II (Mehmed II) led the Ottoman's army to the *renovatio imperii*, a concept deeply imbued with Islamism, which the “classicist” Muhammad II strongly believed in.

His expansionist policy collided with the preexisting local autonomies and the interests of some “States” of the Christian West, such as the Holy Roman Empire, Venice, and Naples. The latter had political and economic interests over the Angevin domination first, whose kingdom lasted in Hungary from 1310 to 1386, and then over the marriage policy of Ferdinand I and Matthias Corvinus in the late fifteenth century.¹⁴ The reasons behind the war, therefore, are to be traced back to the help that Ferdinand I of Naples granted to the Venetian and Albanian forces during the war which started with the Ottoman's conquest of Argos in Greece, a Venetian colony. In 1479, the Ottoman admiral Gedik Ahmed Pasha¹⁵ conquered Cephalonia,

¹⁴ Mario del Treppo, “Il regno aragonese,” *Storia del Mezzogiorno*, ed. Giuseppe Galasso and Rosario Romeo (Rome: Editalia, 1986) vol. IV, vol. IV/1, 88–201.

¹⁵ On this important figure, see: Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1978). For a more recent study, see Meehrdad Kia, *The Ottoman Empire: A Historical Encyclopedia*, vol. I (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2017) 78–79.

Zakynthos, and Ayamavra in the Peloponnesian Peninsula. The prince Leonardo, commander of the conquered territories, fled seeking help in Naples.

The military policy carried out by Ferdinand I, partly achieved through the reform which will be discussed in the next section, was not well received by Venice, which in return sought to weaken the Neapolitan military power and interests in the Adriatic.¹⁶ Venice was then an ally of Florence, which, following the Pazzi conspiracy, had been invaded by an army led by Alphonso, Duke of Calabria and son of the King of Naples, as ordered by the Pope and as a result of the pacts of 1478. Thus, in June 1478, the forces of the coalition made up of the *Patrimonium Sancti Petri*, the Kingdom of Naples, and the Republic of Siena, and consisting mainly of fighters from the Neapolitan army, gathered in southern Tuscany; they set fire to the territory and besieged several Tuscan key defense sites, the most important being the siege of Colle Val D'Elsa.¹⁷

The local fights involving the Italian Signorie, therefore, were rather well-timed for the maneuvers of Muhammad II, who, as a new Justinian, intended to restore the Roman Empire, of which he had become the successor. The Turkish ruler, deeply immersed in the humanistic ideology and culture of his time, was well aware that he had to identify a cultural, political and ideological substratum that collided with the populations he was going to conquer. In so doing, he would justify the war while encouraging the penetration of Ottoman values into the conquered societies.

He was probably seeking to replicate both the Carolingian *renovatio imperii*, which had been quite successful as it was based on the union between Frankish political structures and the Christian religious dimension, and the Byzantine strategy to control the power – which had pursued a goal similar to his own. As a matter

16 Franco Cardini, *Il Sabato* (Feb. 21, 1993), n. 34, 47, says: “sources unsuspected because they are Venetian, assure us that the Venetian ‘bailo’ in Constantinople, Andrea Gritti, was instructed by his government to let the sultan know that he could rightfully seize Apulia as such territories rightfully belonged to the Byzantium territory of which he was lord.” Quoted by Vincenzo Scarpello, *Aspetti di storia militare nella guerra d'Otranto* (2010); online at <https://culturasalentina.files.wordpress.com/2010/09/aspettidistoriamilitarenellaguerradotranto.pdf> (page 9, note 9). This book appears to have been published only online.

17 Riccardo Fubini, “La congiura dei Pazzi: radici politico-sociali e ragioni di un fallimento,” *Lorenzo de' Medici: New Perspectives: Proceedings of the International Conference Held at Brooklyn College and the Graduate Center of the City University of New York, April 30–May 2, 1992*, ed. Bernard Toscani. Studies in Italian Culture, 13 (New York, San Francisco, et al.: Peter Lang, 1993), 219–47; Lauro Martines, *April Blood: Florence and the Plot Against the Medici* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2003); Marco Barsacchi, *Cacciate Lorenzo! La guerra dei Pazzi e l'assedio di Colle Val d'Elsa (1478–1479)* (Siena: Protagon Editori, 2007); Anna Sioni, “Lorenzo il Magnifico a Napoli (18 dicembre 1479 – 27 febbraio 1480),” *Ancora su poteri, relazioni, guerra nel regno di Ferrante d'Aragona. Studi sulle corrispondenze diplomatiche II*, ed. Alessio Russo, Francesco Senatore, Francesco Storti (Naples: FedOA University Press, 2020), 127–154.

of fact, he tried to combine civil power with religious authorities. For these reasons, he aimed at being seen as a spiritual heir of the Roman empire within the Islamic dimension.¹⁸

Furthermore, we must not forget that, on the other hand, Muhammad II intended to enforce Jihad in a more literal and militarily aggressive way and attempted to combine these two elements to justify his own expansion. The Turkish military operation, contrary to what Flavio Russo stated,¹⁹ was therefore part of a wider project of political and military expansion, as it was meant to grant the Turkish a bridgehead from which they would go on to expand their domain. The Turkish action plan initially involved the occupation of the city of Brindisi, a port of considerable size on the Adriatic Sea, which – as also claimed by Laggetto – could be reached with favorable winds from Albania within a few hours. However, both the Turkish ambassadors and spies found that Brindisi was well defended, fortified and equipped with several modern artillery pieces. Otranto, on the other hand, relied on a smaller garrison and *petriera* artillery²⁰ and had been devastated by a plague, and was therefore chosen by the Turkish general staff as the epicenter of the conquest. Salento, the southernmost region of Puglia, would represent the first Ottoman conquest and would restore the Turkish domain over Taranto – a crucial city in the most ancient Justinian domains.²¹

On July 25, 1480, Ahmed Pasha²² landed near Otranto and besieged the city.²³ The fleet that transported the Ottoman army – which we will discuss shortly – was

18 Antonio Saracino, *Otranto baluardo dell'Occidente Cristiano* (Rome: Centro Internazionale Amici della Scuola, 1981), 19.

19 Flavio Russo, *Guerra di corsa: ragguaglio storico sulle principali incursioni turco-barbaresche in Italia e sulla sorte dei deportati tra il XVI ed il XIX secolo* (Rome: Stato maggiore dell'esercito, Ufficio storico, 1997), vol. 1.

20 The *petrary* is a cannon used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries loaded with stone projectiles. For a digital reconstruction of a seventeenth-century *petrary*, see <https://sketchfab.com/3d-models/petriera-da-mascolo-museo-navale-di-venezia-82c9ad8792234cbf97498839c60cc47f> (last accessed on Feb. 10, 2023); see Carlo Beltrame, "Artiglierie navali veneziane al tempo della battaglia di Lepanto," *Oltre Lepanto, dallo scontro di ieri all'intesa di oggi: atti dei convegni, Venezia, Trento 11–12 novembre 2011* (Pergine Valsugana: Centro studi Vox populi, 2012), 125–45.

21 The land of Otranto which was chosen for the invasion included the current provinces of Lecce and Brindisi. The principality of Taranto, instead, occupied the entire Apulian area plus some bordering areas in Campania and Basilicata.

22 Statesman and admiral, he was a *sanjak bey* of the Sanjak of Avlona at the moment of the conquest of Otranto, and one of the sultan's most important military representative. Salvatore Bono, *Corsari nel Mediterraneo: cristiani e musulmani fra guerra, schiavitù e commercio* (Milan: Mondadori, 1993); Gábor Ágoston and Bruce Masters, *Encyclopedia of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2010), 427 and following.

23 On the military actions, see *Otranto 1480: Atti del convegno internazionale di studio promosso in occasione del 5. centenario della caduta di Otranto ad opera dei Turchi: Otranto, 19–23 maggio*

made up of 140 ships, of which 40 were galleys, 60 *fuste* and 40 *maoni*, a sort of big galleys. These data can be drawn both from the report written by Giovanni Antonio d'Acello,²⁴ and on the basis of the one by Ibn Kemal,²⁵ an Ottoman historian. The latter affirms that he does not take into account 30 (or 40) – the number is not clear in the chronicles – *maoni*, which he does not consider warships, but means of transportation.

Another invaluable testimony is provided to us by the Benedictine monk Ilarione da Verona, who wrote to the Cardinal of Siena, Francesco Todeschini Piccolomini within months of the Turkish landing, informing him that the fleet consisted of 150 or up to 200 ships, while the army that landed consisted of 20,000 men and 600 racehorses.²⁶ The Turkish supreme command was composed obviously by the Pasha himself, by the Agà of the Janissaries, a man called Sabech, a Christian convert originally from Metelino, commander-in-chief of all the infantry, the sandjak-bey of Thrace, and that of Negroponte, Chajr El-Din (Ariadeno), who were jointly entrusted with the command of the cavalry. Among the officers stood out the rays Saduc, Pasha's aide-de-camp, and among his soldiers, his gigantic bodyguard, the Moor Mulce.

The Neapolitan army, on the other hand, defended the entire land of Otranto and could count on a maximum of 5,000 fighters, a very high number for the time, including state-owned men-at-arms and provisioned infantrymen, of whom we will speak in more detail about in the next sections. The city of Otranto was defended by a garrison of 400 provisioned infantry, to which were added 300 men-at-arms sent by the king and approximately 1500 citizens who courageously defended the city.²⁷

1980, ed. Cosimo Damiano Fonseca (Galatina: Congedo, 1986), 2 vols.; Francesco Somaini, "I progetti ottomani sull'Italia al tempo della conquista di Otranto (1480–1481), la figura di Gedik Ahmed Pascià e la sua idea di una restaurazione in chiave turca del principato di Taranto," *Territorio, culture e poteri nel Medioevo e oltre*, ed. C. Massaro and L. Petracca (Galatina: Congedo, 2011) II, 531–85; Vito Bianchi, *Otranto 1480: il sultano, la strage, la conquista*. Robinson. Letture (Rome and Bari: Laterza, 2016); Saracino, *Otranto baluardo dell'occidente cristiano* (see note 18).

24 Giovanni Antonio d'Acello was probably charged by Alfonso, Duke of Calabria, to provide a report on the state of the Ottoman army landed in Otranto to be presented to the king of Naples. "Relazione d'Acello," Donato Moro, *Hydruntum: fonti documenti e testi sulla vicenda otrantina del 1480* (Galatina: Congedo, 2002), vol. I, 200.

25 Aldo Gallotta, "I turchi e la terra d'Otranto," quoted in *Otranto 1480: Atti*, ed. C. D. Fonseca (see note 23), vol. 2, 177–92; here 187.

26 The edition of the fifteenth-century source has been prepared by Lucia Gualdo Rosa, in the volume *Otranto 1480: Atti*. See: Ilarione da Verona, "Descrizione della presa d'Otranto," *Otranto 1480: Atti*, ed. C. D. Fonseca (see note 23), vol. 1, 257–80; here 259 and following.

27 Ferrante d'Aragona probably refers to the latter, when he says that [they] "mai videro guerra ne saperiano cazare una coltella" (they had never seen war or hold a knife). Giancarlo Andenna, "Un tragico punto di svolta: l'occupazione turca di Otranto 1480–1481," *Otranto nel Medioevo tra Bisanzio*

The war of Otranto can be divided, for academic purpose, into three phases. The first – and the most demanding for the Turks, including the landing and the conquest – ran from 28 July 1480 to September of the same year. The second went from September 1480 to March 1481, and it was when the clashes between the Ottoman and Aragonese forces became all the more frequent. The last phase extended from March to September 1481 when the Neapolitans completed their successful siege of Otranto and forced the Ottomans to leave. At this stage of the war the Aragonese laid siege to the city of Otranto, limiting the defenders' ability to obtain food and provisions.

But what remains unknown is how the army was actually composed of. Who were the soldiers who fought in Otranto?

The Neapolitan Army

A recent study by Francesco Storti on the composition of the Neapolitan army is based on unpublished fiscal and diplomatic documentation.²⁸ The scholar managed to unearth records on the state of the army of the Kingdom of Naples, at first under the control of Alfonso V of Aragon and then his natural son, Ferdinand I, who ruled from 1458 to 1494, when Charles VIII, king of France, came to Naples with his armed forces.²⁹ Storti's work, however, focuses on the heavy chivalry and the reformation that the king of Naples enacted in his possessions. It is important to highlight that the monarch inherited a realm where his father had applied some important reforms: starting from reworked administration and taxation policies, Alfonso, thanks also to his cultural knowledge, imagined and designed some reforms that involved all aspects of the monarchy.³⁰ His natural son and successor to the throne of Naples, Ferdinand I, in 1464, after having eradicated the Conspiracy of the Barons, continued his father's project of reforms, by creating a strong army of soldiers guided only by the king and revoking the possibility to have a private army even to those who were loyal to him:

e l'Occidente, ed. Hubert Houben. Saggi e testi, Università del Salento, Dipartimento dei beni e delle arti e della storia, 33 (Galatina: Congedo, 2007), 243–47.

²⁸ Francesco Storti, "Politica militare e organizzazione statale a Napoli alle soglie delle Guerre d'Italia. I soldati dell'ultimo re," *Itinerari di ricerca storica* 35 (2021): 51–74; Storti, *L'esercito napoletano* (see note 8); Storti, *I lancieri del re* (see note 8).

²⁹ *The French Descent into Renaissance Italy (1494–1495): Antecedents and Effects*, ed. David Abulafia (Aldershot, Hampshire: Variorum, 1995).

³⁰ On Alfonso the Magnanimous, see: Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous: King of Aragon, Naples, and Sicily 1396–1458* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

“è parso a sua maiestà doverse assicurare de tuti li baroni in levarli l’arme de mano . . . in tale modo che nel Regno non serrano alter gente che quelle de sua maestà.”

[it seemed to the king to make sure to remove all arms from the hands of the barons, in such a way that in the Kingdom there will be no armed people other than those of the king.]³¹

The reform was intended to limit the military power to the king only: it initially involved the king’s lancers,³² the élite chivalry corps made up of *uomini d’arme*, 450 specialized men at arms, well armored, salaried by the king who lived in the whole kingdom. Simultaneously there was an incredible number of other “armies,”³³ composed by infantrymen (who fought mainly with spears, pikes and swords and a Spanish shield called washer), shooters (with crossbows, hand cannons, and springals), light cavalymen, and supporting staff, like cannon operators and military engineers³⁴. Unfortunately, the current research cannot sketch out the entire composition of the Neapolitan army since the Neapolitan archive was destroyed by the Nazis in 1943, but a comparative study can outline the hypothetical size of the Neapolitan army.³⁵ Storti, in his invaluable analysis, notes that probably the Neapolitan army consisted of 18,755 heavy cavalymen in 1444.³⁶

As Mallett himself said, before Storti’s recent investigations:

Throughout the 1440’s and up to 1454 the Milanese and Venetian armies continued to number about 20,000. The Florentines, fighting active campaigns in southern Tuscany in the last years of the wars (1448–1454), considerably increased their forces to 10–12,000, but a part of these troops was lent by Milan The papal army also increased in size in the 1450’s and maintained a strength of 8–10,000 throughout the minor campaigns conducted by Paul II in the 1460’s However, by the 1490’s – after resolving the Otranto’s crisis, I would suggest – the Neapolitan army was thought to be the strongest army in Italy, although scant evidence of its numerical strength has yet come to light.³⁷

31 Translated by the author. Storti, *L’esercito napoletano* (see note 8), 121.

32 Storti, *I lancieri del re* (see note 8).

33 A topic largely discussed in my Ph.D. dissertation, currently (Feb. 2023) in the course of reaching completion.

34 Francesco Storti, “Fanteria e cavalleria leggera nel regno di Napoli, XV secolo,” *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane* 133 (2015): 1–47.

35 Other studies exist on the formation of permanent armies, see, Mallett, *Mercenaries and Their Masters* (see note 8); Covini, *L’esercito del Duca* (see note 8); Mallett, *The Military Organization* (see note 8).

36 Storti, *L’esercito napoletano* (see note 8), 18.

37 Michael Mallett, *Signori e mercenari. La guerra nell’Italia del Rinascimento* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1983), here 125–26.

Back to the globalization theme at the core of this volume and in order to understand better the composition of the Neapolitan army, leaving the men at arms aside, we have, fortunately, some fiscal registers which have survived the devastation brought upon the state archive of Naples.³⁸ In one of them,³⁹ the substitute treasurer, Antonio De Lisi, in Abruzzo Citra – the region that now stretches out from Abruzzo to Molise and Northern Puglia – registered all the payments he performed to the state-owned troops, on their way to Tuscany to fight in the Pazzi War.⁴⁰

As I have previously stated, the kingdom of Naples, in 1478–1479, was engaged in the Pazzi War, a political clash stemming from the conspiracies within the Florentine Republic (or better crypto-Signoria) and the broader Italian political context.⁴¹

Alphonso, duke of Calabria, and his troops left Naples on June 5, 1478, to rejoin the troops of Federico da Montefeltro on July 10, somewhere between Montepulciano and Chianciano. The Florentine army, well aware of being outnumbered by the enemy, preferred to avoid direct confrontation and retreated in the direction of Arezzo, securing a safe escape route toward Florence. The army of the Neapolitan-Sienese-Pontifical alliance, then, began to devastate the territory of the Republic, destroying the opponent's resources and wearing down their morale.

Within the register, in particular, we see that there are mostly infantrymen, and a first recognition on data – still not completed yet⁴² – shows that of all of the first 360 and counting military roles analyzed in this register, which reported all the payments to an army corps stationed in Abruzzo Citra between June and July 1478, 14% of the combatants were from Albania and the Balkan Peninsula, while the rest came from other parts of Europe, mainly Italy (the majority, circa 70–80%, and among them about 80% of the Italians came from the Kingdom of Naples), Corsica (2%), Spain (2%), and France (specifically from Normandy, 2%). As for the Albanian fighters, specifically, they were infantrymen for the most part (about 95% of the total); one was a colonel and the remaining 5% were suppliers of the army.

The most common data, related to the theme of globalization and here interpreted taking the origin of the fighters into account, present us with a row with the name and surname “*Giorgio de Lucera Albanese* or *Giorgio de Antibari de Moncte*

38 Jole Mazzoleni, *Le fonti documentarie e bibliografiche dal sec. X al sec. XX conservate presso l'Archivio di Stato di Napoli* (Naples: Arte Tipografica, 1974), vol. I, here 59.

39 State Archive of Naples (ASNa), *Fondo Percettori e tesorieri, Tesorieri di Abruzzo Citra*, 6723.

40 See note 17.

41 Laura de Angelis, *La Repubblica di Firenze tra XIV e XV secolo* (Florence: Nardini, 2009); *Firenze e la Toscana: genesi e trasformazioni di uno stato (XIV–XIX secolo)*, ed. Jean Boutier, Sandro Landi, and Olivier Rouchon (Florence: Mandragora, 2010); See also note 17.

42 The manuscript, found by the author in the State Archives of Naples, has not been published yet, and the current study is part of the doctoral research.

Sant'Angelo" and the amount of money paid to him. As Ferrante's military reform was intended to inspire the soldiers directly controlled by the king with a natural feeling of attachment, most of them were requested to get married and live in the kingdom. In the onomastics that have been dutifully registered by the substitute treasurer, it is possible to learn where they came from and where they lived at that time. In most cases, one can even retrace their travel to Italy and find out their residence of that time.

The counties of Monte Sant'Angelo and San Giovanni Rotondo, on the other hand, had been donated by Ferrante, king of Naples (Ferdinand I), to Giovanni, son of Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg, the great Albanian hero who had fought the Turks on both sides of the Adriatic for thirty years, until his death.⁴³ Skanderbeg's help was fundamental to secure the kingdom of Naples to Ferdinand I against the rebellious Barons.

In a series of letters, which have been studied especially by Gennaro Maria Monti,⁴⁴ we witness the correspondence between the prince of Taranto and Skanderbeg. The prince, Giovanni Antonio Orsini del Balzo, was the most powerful Neapolitan feudal lord of the fifteenth century, and "determined several times, by the support given or taken away from the king of Naples, the fate of their kingdom."⁴⁵ Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg, on the other hand, due to his proximity to the possessions of the prince was a real treaty and the prince tried to convince him to betray Ferrante. Skanderbeg, however, confirmed his loyalty to the Aragonese king, refusing to betray him and the memory of his father, who had helped Skanderbeg against the Turkish in Albania.⁴⁶

This isn't the only relevant data; in addition, Ferrante's military reform led to the restoration and implementation of the military buildings watching over the most threatened areas of the kingdom and along its borders.⁴⁷ The king had a defensive system built which stretched from Termoli to Torre Mileto in Puglia: on that coast

43 Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg was an Albanian leader who led a rebellion against the Ottoman Empire in the Balkans. First having been a hostage at the Sultan's court, he learned from the enemy and then was engaged in fighting it from 1443 to 1468. Fan Stylian Noli, "Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg (1405–1468)," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1945; Oliver Jens Schmitt, *Skanderbeg: Der neue Alexander auf dem Balkan* (Regensburg: Pustet, 2009).

44 Gennaro Maria Monti, "La spedizione in Puglia di Giorgio Castriota Scanderbeg e i feudi pugliesi suoi, della vedova e del figlio," *Japigia* X (1939): 275–320.

45 Benedetto Croce, *Aneddoti di varia letteratura* (Bari: Laterza 1953), vol. 1, 77.

46 See: *Il re cominciò a conoscere che il principe era un altro re: Il principato di Taranto e il contesto mediterraneo (sec. XII–XV)*, Fonti e studi per gli Orsini di Taranto. Studi; 2, ed. Gemma Teresa Colesanti (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 2014); Francesco Storti, *El buen marinero: psicología política e ideología monárquica al tempo di Ferdinando I d'Aragona re di Napoli* (Rome: Viella, 2014).

47 Lucio Santoro, *Castelli angioini e aragonesi nel Regno di Napoli* (Milan: Rusconi Immagini, 1982).

stood a series of watchtowers with two “casali albanesi” built only 5 km inwards as the first line of defense. Those *casali* were small settlements formed by several houses attached to each other in a row and protected by a wall that encircled them, featuring only one entrance and four perimetric towers. Usually, one of the towers was the bell tower of the church. Larino, Torretta, Casale di Francano, Casale di Colle Lauro, Casale di Civitella, Casale di Sant’Elena, Montorio, are only a few examples of small cities established to receive the Albanian fighters and their families.

This military system was supplemented by strong castles and fortresses, the majority of which were already existing, within the inner belt of the territory, which Ferdinand I had renovated in order to face the threat of modern artillery. The focal point of the apparatus, however, was the fortress of the Tremiti Islands, that is only 220 km away from Ragusa, in Croatia, the port from which Skanderbeg used to depart for Italy. This stronghold still has an inhabited center composed of small houses attached to each other where the Albanian soldiers used to live.⁴⁸ After the death of Gjergj Kastrioti Skanderbeg in 1468, a huge mass of people moved to the Kingdom of Naples; however, unlike what had happened twenty years before, they were not only soldiers, but people of all sorts. During the Ottoman expansion, all the persons who feared for their lives in the Balkan Peninsula tried to find a new place to live or fight against the Turks in the Neapolitan Kingdom or in the Republic of Venice.⁴⁹

Moreover, unlike the heavy cavalry that fought in *lance* formations, the infantrymen were paid individually: each line of payment records a different soldier. In these logs all the Albanian fighters (as well as the soldiers belonging to other nationalities) were paid all together in a row, and they probably lived, responded to orders, and fought in small groups of twenty or thirty combatants. In addition, the treasurer sometimes used a brace to link two soldiers coming from the same city in Albania and living in the same city in Southern Italy. This may suggest that probably there could be a relation between them such as a family relationship. The brace is repeated four times in the part of the register I have already analyzed, but

48 Luigi Marino and Lucio Giorgione, “L’architettura fortificata degli insediamenti slavo-albanesi (arbereshe) nel Basso Molise,” *Fortificazioni, Memoria, Paesaggio. Convegno scientifico in occasione dei cinquant’anni di attività dell’Istituto Italiano dei Castelli, 1964–2014, Bologna 27–28–29 novembre 2014*, ed. Vittorio Foramitti and Enrico Lusso (Udine: Forum; Milano: Istituto Italiano dei Castelli, 2014), 46–68.

49 For the presence and expertise of the fighters of the Albanian light cavalry (the “stradiotti”) among the ranks of the army of the Serenissima, see Mallett, *The Military Organization* (see note 8), here note 9, 107.



Fig. 2: Map of the Otranto's Channel. Scale map 1:4000000 © Leo Donnarumma, from modified screenshot of Google Earth © Google.

the treasurer does not always note the nationality of the soldiers and their original residency.⁵⁰

From these details it is possible to assert that the Neapolitan army represented a melting pot of different cultures and populations from all over Europe, in which each man was skilled in the military techniques typical of the kingdom. However, this is not the only sign of a spreading Renaissance globalization.

The fifteenth-century Italian infantry was characterized by a general process of evolution similar, in a certain way, to that of the heavy cavalry, especially with regard to its specific use and training.⁵¹ Throughout the Middle Ages, the Italian pen-

⁵⁰ On the Neapolitan treasury, see: Mario del Treppo, "Il re e il banchiere: strumenti e processi di razionalizzazione dello stato aragonese di Napoli," *Spazio, società, potere nell'Italia dei Comuni*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti (Naples: Liguori Editore 1986), 229–304. Enza Russo, "Pratiche aragonesi nel Regno di Napoli: i conti della tesoreria generale di Alfonso V d'Aragona," *Istituzioni, scrittura, contabilità. Il caso molisano nell'Italia tardomedievale*, ed. Isabella Lazzarini, Armando Miranda, Francesco Senatore (Rome: Viella, 2017), 147–64. For the local administration, see Enza Russo, "Il registro contabile di un segretario regionale nella Napoli aragonese," *Reti medievali rivista* 14.1 (2013): 415–547; online at <https://doi.org/10.6092/1593-2214/356> (last accessed on Feb. 10, 2023); Mario del Treppo, "Un ritrovato libro del Percettore generale del regno di Napoli," *Dentro e fuori la Sicilia: studi di storia per Vincenzo D'Alessandro*, ed. Igor E. Mineo and Pietro Corrao (Rome: Viella, 2011), 295–318.

⁵¹ On the Neapolitan infantry, see Storti, "Fanteria e cavalleria leggera" (see note 34).

insula had always maintained a long tradition of infantry, a good example of which can be found in the commune's infantrymen. During the Renaissance, as we can also gather from the register examined, infantrymen were recruited among the people from the urban class and had a social prestige and earned a moderate amount of money. The payment rolls show us that, in addition to provisioned foot soldiers, i.e., fighters with polearms, there were also marksmen, including crossbowmen, fighting both on foot and on horseback, and musketry. To these must be added a large number of "tactical support" troops, as Francesco Storti defines them,⁵² and sappers, employed in the fortifications and in the transport of supplies.

In the wake of the previous tradition, therefore, and meeting with the "new infantry" brought to Italy by Alfonso the Magnanimous, a new weapon was born in the Southern Kingdom, capable of combining the two fighting styles of the two different military traditions and also giving life to new corps, such as those of light cavalry – within a period marked by political, economic, and military experimentation. All these infantries, already widely used by Alfonso, had been brought together by Ferrante into a single contingent in 1464/1465. It was initially made up of 500 men, directly employed by the crown and permanently stationed, but its number progressively increased to 2000 during the Pazzi's war and remained as such until the Second War of Succession in 1485.⁵³

The Ottoman's Army

Before we start discussing the Turkish army, we must keep in mind that studies on the subject are rather scarce. That fact is especially relevant for scholars seeking to analyze the social background of its soldiers, despite the period involved is the late fifteenth century, which is renowned for its cultural and institutional relevance.

The expansion of the Turks, first in the Anatolian Peninsula and then in the Balkan Peninsula, started mainly 100 years before the conquest of Constantinople, and was brought about by the different "layers" which the Ottoman's army was divided into. The different social groups incorporated by the Ottoman Empire represented each a military specialization that was used strategically on the battlefields. The first group was made up of the Turcoman nomads, known as *akincis*, or horse-archers, usually fighting in tribal groups and deployed quite judiciously in

52 Storti, "Fanteria e cavalleria leggera" (see note 34), 2.

53 Storti, "Fanteria e cavalleria leggera" (see note 34), 11.

the vanguard or for swift actions.⁵⁴ There were also some former Byzantine troops used mainly as archers. The main body of the army was represented by the *Janissaries*,⁵⁵ a strong infantry, skilled in both ranged and hand-to-hand combat, recruited among Christian prisoners; they were also the first to be equipped with hand-cannons during the Hungarian wars in the first half of the fifteenth century.⁵⁶ During this century their number was increased by the Sultan Mehmet II (1451–1481) from less than 1000 to more than 7000 men.⁵⁷ The Janissaries were escorted in battle by the *Kapikulu Cavalry*, more prestigious than the infantry, and composed of Arab, Persian and Kurdish Muslims. Exceptionally, former-Janissaries were allowed to join this corps.

In order to protect their far-flung empire, Ottomans relied on the *sipahis* cavalry: raised up from local feudal aristocracy, its members were equipped at the expense of small feudality and represented the majority of the Ottoman armies. Near the city of Otranto, approximately 150 ships landed, some of which were specifically designed to transport horses, for the rough estimate of 10,000 to 13,000 soldiers: however, only 5,000 of them attacked the city.⁵⁸ It is known that the conquest of the castle did not take place until August 11, after three days of continuous assaults, and no less than fourteen days after docking on the shores of Otranto.

The heavy cavalry troops stationed in Otranto, having learned from the locals that Turkish horsemen had landed on the coast, probably to begin a looting raid, went out to face the enemy vanguard detachment formed by the “*akinji*,” charged with creating a bridgehead that would cover the landing of the remaining Turkish troops. Then, when the Neapolitan men-at-arms realized the extent of the enemy force, they withdrew within the safe walls of Otranto, alerting the inhabitants and sheltering them inside the castle. At dawn on July 29, 1480, it was clear to both citizens and troops of Otranto that the enemy was going to besiege the city. A messenger was sent by the Turks, according to Muslim warfare norms, demanding surrender of the city while offering to everyone the chance to continue living in the city and to have their life spared, should they bow to the sultan.⁵⁹

54 David Nicolle, *Armies of the Ottoman Turks 1300–1774*. Men-At-Arms Series (London: Osprey, 1983), 8.

55 David Nicolle, *The Janissaries*. Elite Series (London: Osprey, 1995).

56 Nicolle, *Armies of the Ottoman* (see note 54), 10.

57 Gábor Ágoston, “Firearms and Military Adaptation: The Ottomans and the European Military Revolution, 1450–1800,” *Journal of World History* 25 (2014): 85–124.

58 Alberto Rovighi, “L’Occidente cristiano di fronte all’offensiva del Turco in Italia nel 1480–81: aspetti militari,” *Otranto 1480: Atti*, ed. Fonseca (see note 23), vol. I, 65–136; here 97.

59 Luigi Nuzzo, “Percorsi religiosi e strategie di dominio tra l’Atlantico e il Mediterraneo agli inizi dell’età moderna,” ed. Michele Bernardini, Clara Borrelli, Anna Cerbo, Encarnacion Sanchez Garcia, *Europa e Islam tra i secoli 14 e 16* (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2002), vol. 1, 325–77.

Francesco Zurlo, commander of the garrison, knew better than to trust the Turks and, given their non-Christian faith, had no choice but to fight them relentlessly. He refused to deal with the first two embassies and threatened to kill the ones to follow – which he actually did. Ahmed Pasha, therefore, attacked the city with artillery, hoping for a quick victory that would speed up the conquest of the principality of Taranto, through the conquest of Lecce, Brindisi and Taranto.⁶⁰

In the following ten days, the 200 men-at-arms and 300 infantrymen who were in the city were joined by approximately 1500 armed men from the local population, which speaks for the great devotion that – as has already been demonstrated for the War of Neapolitan Succession – the locals felt toward the Aragonese sovereign.⁶¹

The war in Otranto also provides the opportunity to emphasize different levels of globalization. As can be noted from historic sources, not only did this conflict produce an encounter between different nationalities but also between two different ways of carrying out war. Ottoman tactics were based on quick and surprise attacks carried out by numerous lightly armed cavalry, which did not, however, refrain from hand-to-hand combat. In the event of a siege, as in Otranto, the infantry and the cavalry worked in close cooperation. Moreover, thanks to their massive use of artillery, they could wield cold steel in combat.⁶²

In Italy, the various rulers used, what historian Piero Pieri calls the “decisive tactical action,” a violent and decisive shock attack, which aimed at annihilating the enemy, due to its violent frontal impact. This tactic was well recognizable also in the two main military tactics, the one by Braccio da Montone⁶³ and the other by Muzio Attendolo Sforza.⁶⁴ Both relied primarily on heavy chivalry, but the first one was based on continuous attacks by the cavalry squads that, supported by the infantry, rotated during the battle to ensure a constant pressure on the enemy line.

⁶⁰ For a more detailed reconstruction of the war in Otranto see Vincenzo Scarpello, *Aspetti di storia militare nella guerra d'Otranto*, 2010 (see note 16).

⁶¹ Francesco Storti, “La più bella guerra del mondo. La partecipazione delle popolazioni alla guerra di successione napoletana (1459–1464),” *Medioevo mezzogiorno mediterraneo*, ed. Gabriella Rossetti and Giovanni Vitolo (Naples: Liguori, 2000), 325–46.

⁶² On the Turkish tactics see the contributions to *Islamic Society and the West*, ed. Hamilton Gibb and Harold Bowen (London: Oxford University Press, 1950–1957).

⁶³ Braccio da Montone was one of the most important Italian condottieri. For more information, see the contributions to *Braccio da Montone e i Fortebracci: atti del Convegno internazionale di studi: Montone, 23–25 marzo 1990*, ed. Maria Vittoria Baruti Ceccopieri (Narni: Centro Studi Storici di Narni, 1993).

⁶⁴ Piero Pieri, “Muzio Attendolo detto Sforza,” *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 4 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1962); online at: https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/attendolo-muzio-detto-sforza_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ (last accessed on Feb. 10, 2023)

The second attack, on the other hand, was based on the use of many military specializations working coherently and on the ability to perform different maneuvers on the battlefield while searching for a weak point in the enemy array.⁶⁵ Therefore, it is useful to remember the words of Braccio da Montone as they have been handed down to us by a chronicler of the time:

Noi siamo pochi a combattere, perché non meniamo fuori alla morte gente disutile, et mal pratica. Nelle nostre guerre non va la gioventù fatta in fretta, delicata, et inesperta, ma quelli, che hanno indurati, et incalliti corpi dal caldo, et dal freddo, i quali infin dalla fanciullezza si sono avezzi a dormire nelle stalle, et hanno imparato a sopportar la polvere, il vento, la fame, la sete, il sonno, et altre fatiche grandissime, senz'alcun piacere, et alle-vatisi infra l'armi de' nemici, hanno imparato a disprezzare le ferite, a menare, et a riparare i colpi, et secondo che comporta il luogo, et il tempo, a ferire il nemico hora in una, et hora in altra parte della persona, a servir gli ordini, a esser i primi ad attaccar la battaglia, et in uno istesso tempo a partirsi dalla compagnia, et ire a ferire il nemico, et subito ritornare all'ordinanza, ad osservar con diligenza il cenno del Capitano . . . meglio è servirsi d'un piccol numero bene amestrato, che d'una mal pratica moltitudi-ne.⁶⁶

[We are few to fight . . . those, who have toughened, and hardened bodies from heat, and cold, which since childhood are accustomed to sleep in the stables . . . they have learned to despise the wounds . . . to obey orders . . . (and conclude with) It is better to make use of a small number of soldiers well trained, than of an ill-practiced multitude.]

The use of heavy cavalry along with a strategy centered around penetrating the enemy's ranks did not match the tactics employed by the Ottoman army in Otranto: their usual strategy – as it had happened a few years earlier in Albania – was based on making extensive use of the availability of human capital and consisted of sending the army year after year to fight against the enemy until the opponent ended up exhausted and annihilated. Probably the Ottomans' army in Otranto was waiting for these expected reinforcements and began to raid the surrounding territory looking for food and supplies, relying on light cavalry, particularly suited for this type of operations. This type of tactic led, in the years during which the war of Otranto raged, to a continuous series of clashes and skirmishes, sometimes won by one faction and sometimes by the other.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Mallett, *Signori e mercenari* (see note 37), 180–84.

⁶⁶ Giovanni Antonio Campano and Giovanbattista Bracciolini, *L'histoire e le vite di Braccio Fortebracci detto da Montone, et di Niccolò Piccinino, perugini* (Venice: Francesco Ziletti, 1572), 110–14.

⁶⁷ In one of these skirmishes, Giulio Antonio Acquaviva, duke of Atri, died on February 7, 1481. See especially the biography dedicated to Acquaviva by Luigi Volpicella, *Regis Ferdinandi primi Instructionum liber: 10 maggio 1486–10 maggio 1488* (Naples: Stab. Tip. Luigi Pierro & figlio, 1916), 217.

Conclusion

We can now postulate the existence of a typically European way of waging war which, in this conflict, was exposed to something other than itself. From 15th century sources it is known that there was indeed a specifically “Italian” way of making war. For example, if we move back to the war that occurred between Louis Duke of Savoy against Milan in 1449, we have a testimony to the supremacy of the Italian men-at-arms. As the situation was getting more dire, in writing a letter to his father, the Antipope Felix V, the duke said:

n'est aucunement possible que la chouse puisse promptement venir faicte sy non par la main des Ytaliens.

[It's not possible that the thing could be done except by the hand of the Italians].⁶⁸

The words chosen by Louis are particularly meaningful, as the duchy of Savoy was situated between the Italian and French areas, regions which in the fifteenth century were experimenting with new military institutions and organizations. Despite some initial victories, only their greater numbers allowed the French men-at-arms to initially over the Italian ones, so much so that as early as April 22, 1449, the Savoy troops were defeated near Borgomanero, and the Piedmontese duke was forced to make a pact with Francesco Sforza to prevent the spread of his company across the Sesia River.

The European tactics were bound to change a few years after Otranto: the introduction of a large number of foot soldiers (like Swiss and German infantrymen and Spanish *tercios*), the spread of firearms, and the increased use of light cavalry – the so-called military revolution⁶⁹ – took place following the encounter between the Neapolitan and Ottoman army. Those developments accelerated the reception of new techniques and military tactics imported from Eastern Europe and additional cultural experimentation in the military field that occurred between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century.

Here, then, is one of the fundamental features of the Middle Ages – experimentation – joining the theme of globalization in military history studies. Giuseppe Sergi, one of the Italian scholars who has studied the “idea of the Middle Ages” in the

⁶⁸ The thing to be done here is intended as the victory against the army of the duke of Milan. Ginevra, Archives d'Etat, Ms. *Hist.* 159, *Recueil de pièces relatives à l'alliance entre le duc Louis de Savoie et les Milanais*, quoted from Alessandro Barbero, “L'organizzazione militare del ducato al tempo della guerra di Milano (1447–1450),” Alessandro Barbero, *Il ducato di Savoia. Amministrazione e corte di uno stato franco-italiano*. Biblioteca Storica Laterza (Bari and Rome: Laterza, 2018), 68–97; here 94.

⁶⁹ Geoffrey Parker, *The Military Revolution: Military Innovation and the Rise of the West (1500–1800)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

post-medieval period (Medievalism), is very helpful in enhancing our understanding of this key concept. In the conclusion to one of his volumes,⁷⁰ Sergi asked the question: “what is the meaning of the Middle Age? . . . In addition to “rural lordship” and the commune, we found experimentation . . . Experimentality was manifest in the Latin-Germanic encounter; in the Byzantine models that exported Greek-Hellenistic culture to the West; in the different types of ethnic combinations.”⁷¹

Infantry, on the other hand, underwent some radical changes during the fifteenth century: its use became more and more frequent, and its relevance grew, while specialized infantry – such as Janissaries or Neapolitan *provisionati* – became even more important during fights.

This point is also illustrated when analyzing the battles of the War of Otranto, such as the one fought in Bagnolo nel Salento, when Count Giulio Antonio Acquaviva and his fifty men-at-arms lost their lives. Turkish forces won this battle solely thanks to the *Janissaries*, who managed to overcome the Neapolitan heavy cavalry. Nevertheless, at the end of the fight the Turks had lost nearly one thousand fighters on the battlefield.

With the naval victory at Saseno, which took place about twenty days after the defeat at Bagnolo, Ferdinand finally shattered the Sultan’s plan to dominate the Otranto Channel, instead, he imposed Neapolitan naval supremacy. Within a month, therefore, the situation changed abruptly. Ahmed Pasha, who landed in Vlorë after surviving the naval battle of Saseno, would never return to Otranto, while the Aragonese army, having blocked any incoming logistical supply for the Turks, tightly besieged the city of Otranto one last time. Although the first Aragonese assault was pushed back on August 24, 1481, when Sabeck, commander of the Janissaries, learned the news of Mehmet II’s death, he surrendered to Alphonso, Duke of Calabria, on September 6, 1481. The survivors were allowed to leave the city, though without their slaves, and embark toward Vlorë.

Concluding with the words which Keegan formulated in his masterpiece, *The Face of Battle*, the study of a battle, therefore, as much as it might focus on aspects that may be considered collateral, will never allow us to ignore the analysis of the combat and of the campaign themselves.⁷² After the reform of 1464, the sovereignty of Naples had become the only authority for those who, within the Kingdom, wanted to practice the profession of arms. As the response to that call was massive, and freshly hired soldiers went to form the ranks of the new stable infantry of the

⁷⁰ Giuseppe Sergi, *L’idea di Medioevo: Fra storia e senso comune* (Rome: Donzelli, 1998).

⁷¹ Translated by the author. See also Sergi, *L’idea di Medioevo* (see note 70), here 102–03.

⁷² John Desmond Patrick Keegan, *The Face of Battle. A Study of Agincourt, Waterloo, and the Somme* (London: Paperback, 1983). In Italian translation, id., *Il volto della battaglia* (Milan: Il saggiatore, 2001), 23–24.

provisionati. The interest toward experimentation, which was widely supported by the head of state, led in this military event to the integration of Balkan, Spanish, and Italian military skills and to the simultaneous development of other forms of military specialization useful for strengthening the infantry military corps. The war of Otranto, therefore, represented a watershed for the Kingdom of Naples, because the violent military tactics used by the heavy cavalry clashed against the rapid and stealthy actions of the Turkish light cavalry, and the ever-increasing use of infantry and light cavalry of the kingdom demonstrated the will of the Sovereign to put an end to this war quickly,⁷³ because, as Machiavelli said: *quello assalto (di Otranto) . . . fu . . . cagione di assai male*.⁷⁴

⁷³ Francesco Storti, "Fanteria e cavalleria leggera" (see note 34), 29–30.

⁷⁴ Niccolò Machiavelli, *Istorie Fiorentine e altre opere storiche e politiche*, ed. Alessandro Montevocchi (Turin: UTET, 1986), book VIII, par. XXII, 733.

Peter Dobek

The Diplomat and the Public House: Ioannes Dantiscus (1485–1548) and His Use of the Inns, Taverns, and Alehouses of Europe

Abstract: The diplomatic and friendly correspondence of the sixteenth-century intellectual and envoy Ioannes Dantiscus (*Jan Dantyszek*) (1485–1548) offers first-hand accounts of late medieval and early modern globalism through his and his colleagues' use of public houses across Europe. Public houses were establishments, such as inns, taverns, and alehouses that provided numerous vital services to both inhabitants and to visitors of a location. In the extant copies of 6,275 letters, Dantiscus and his correspondents praised and lamented their stays in the establishments. The numerous letters reveal a continental interconnectedness in a diplomat's experience with publicans, expenses, provisions, communication, comfort, illness, and local women during the sixteenth century.

Keywords: Ioannes Dantiscus, public houses, globalism before globalism, Jagielloonian Dynasty, diplomacy, Cracow, medieval and early modern Europe

Introduction

In a lengthy letter to the King of Poland from 1526, Ioannes Dantiscus (*Jan Dantyszek*) (1485–1548), a sixteenth-century intellectual and envoy born in Danzig, employed by the Polish monarchy, and following the Habsburg court, reported back to his employer and enumerated the costs of monthlong stays at inns throughout the Spanish lands. His mission had been pleasant and productive, but costly as he paid five ducats for a first lodging, three ducats for a second, and two ducats for a third.¹ Satisfying arrears was only one of the many concerns of a diplomat traveling across medieval and early modern Europe when utilizing the services of public houses. Public houses were establishments, such as inns, taverns, and alehouses that pro-

¹ "A primo 5, a secondo 3, a tertio duo ducati quolibet mense errant solvendi." Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, "Letter #305," *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=305> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

vided numerous vital services to both inhabitants and to visitors of a location. The nature of such places meant that they were inherently cosmopolitan by attracting a diverse clientele. Diplomats, as introduced by Albrecht Classen in the Introduction to this volume, were important brokers “during the pre-modern history in creating networks, connections, communication systems, and exchange modi.” They traversed the continent hoping to establish and maintain relations between distant rulers. Dantiscus’s and his colleagues’ letters reveal various aspects of medieval and early modern globalism across Europe, including in London, Madrid, Barcelona, Granada, Augsburg, Cracow, and many other settings. Their compositions mirror the literature and experiences of the earlier German-Bavarian poet Wolfram von Eschenbach, the Austrian-German poet Rudolf von Ems, the Italian-Florentine Giovanni Boccaccio, the English Geoffrey Chaucer, for instance, as explained by Classen in his contribution. In the extant copies, Dantiscus and his correspondents described their interactions with public houses and/or publicans in 183 letters and poems.² The numerous missives reveal a continental interconnectedness in a diplomat’s experience and expectations with publicans, expenses, provisions, communication, comfort, illness, and local women during the sixteenth century. They also provide information on areas of Europe whose importance has often been dismissed by other scholars but were part of a vast diplomatic network.³

Ioannes Dantiscus was one of the most well-known and well-traveled European diplomats of the sixteenth century. He was born in Danzig (Gdansk), Poland (then part of Royal Prussia) on November 1, 1485, to a burgher family. His father, Hans von Höfen, was a brewer and a merchant.⁴ Dantiscus began attending the university in Cracow around 1500, and already by 1501, he entered the services of the King of Poland, Jan I Olbracht (1459–1501). After the king’s death in 1501, he served the heir to the throne, King Aleksander I Jagiellon (1461–1506), as a scribe (*scriba*) in the royal chancellery.⁵ In November 1505, the monarch awarded Dantiscus a subvention, which he used to travel across Europe and the Mediterranean.⁶ Upon returning from his travels, he continued in the royal service under the new

2 *Inventory of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence*, ed. Jerzy Axer and Anna Skolimowska, vol. 2, part 4 (Warsaw and Cracow: Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, Warsaw University and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2011), 11.

3 M.S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy, 1450–1919* (Harlow, Essex: Longman, 1993), 27–28.

4 Zbigniew Nowak, *Jan Dantyszek: Portret Renesansowego Humanisty [Jan Dantyszek: Portrait of a Renaissance Humanist]* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1982), 8.

5 Henry de Vocht, *John Dantiscus and His Netherlandish Friends: As Revealed by Their Correspondence 1522–1546* (Louvain: W. Vandermeulen, 1961), 6.

6 Anna Skolimowska, “Ioannes Dantiscus. Biographic Note,” *Corpus of Joannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?menu=aboutDantiscus&f=aboutDantiscus> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

king, Zygmunt I Stary (1467–1548), and by 1507, he began to carry out diplomatic missions to Prussia.⁷ It is at this time that Dantiscus joined the group known as the Guzzlers and Gobblers (*Bibones et Commedones*). The literati of Cracow formed this group in the early sixteenth century to celebrate life by carousing throughout the city. Its members met at inns, taverns, and alehouses, “gained inspiration” through the consumption of alcohol, raised hell throughout the city, and later recounted their alcohol-fueled encounters at public houses and in literature.

In 1515, Dantiscus began to complete assignments for Emperor Charles V (1500–1558), who, in 1516, ennobled him for his services. Over the course of his career, Dantiscus served four Polish kings (Jan I Olbracht, Aleksander I Jagiellon, Zygmunt I the Old, and Zygmunt II August) and attended the courts of Henry VIII of England (1491–1547), Francis I of France (1494–1547), Charles I of Spain (1500–1558), Emperor Maximilian I (1459–1519), Emperor Ferdinand I (1503–1564), and various others.⁸ He and his colleagues would be part of the generation that shaped “modern European diplomacy.”⁹

Throughout his extensive travels, Dantiscus met and worked with countless individuals from and beyond Europe, many of whom became his acquaintances and friends. The letters exchanged among them reflect the congeniality of the friendships and the endurance of bonds across the continent. They also demonstrate an interconnectedness within the diplomatic community at this time as reflected in the topics discussed in the missives. Among his most frequent correspondents were: Jan Chojeński (1486–1538), Grand Chancellor and Bishop of Płock; Maurycy Ferber (1471–1537), bishop of Warmia; Tiedemann Giese (1480–1550), bishop of Chełmno; Sigmund von Herberstein (1486–1566), diplomat in the Habsburgs’ service; Stanisław Hozjusz (1504–1579), royal secretary to Zygmunt I; Mikołaj Nipszyc (ca. 1483–1541), a royal courtier to Zygmunt I; Cornelius de Schep-per (1503–1555), secretary and councilor to Emperor Charles V; Alfonso de Valdés (1500–1532), secretary of Emperor Charles V; and many others. Although this only comprises some of Dantiscus’s 650 different correspondents, this provides a wide range of opinions about public houses across a large geographic region as these were all well-traveled individuals and it reflects aspects of globalism in medieval and early modern Europe.¹⁰

7 de Vocht, *John Dantiscus and His Netherlandish Friends* (see note 5), 6.

8 Skolimowska, “Ioannes Dantiscus. Biographic Note” (see note 6).

9 Timothy Hampton, *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2009), 16.

10 Skolimowska, “Ioannes Dantiscus. Biographic note” (see note 6).

Literature on Diplomacy

Scholars have already considered various aspects about diplomacy in the medieval and early modern eras but have not sufficiently explored the experiences of envoys with public houses and publicans. The collection of articles, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration*, for example, focuses predominately on documents, treaties, and missives, which do not reveal much about the experience of the diplomat with public houses.¹¹ Jeremy Black's *A History of Diplomacy* challenges the "standard European-based continuum of diplomatic development until it encompassed the globe" and considers diplomatic services across the globe from antiquity to the present, but does not consider the role of public houses.¹² In *Medieval Diplomacy and the Fourth Crusade*, Donald E. Queller examines various subjects, including who was employed as a diplomat, the role of envoys in resolving disputes, legislation concerning ambassadors, representative institutions, amongst others. In a few sentences, Queller does mention that Venetian legislation regulated the price and quality of wine served by innkeepers and the standards that the publicans had to maintain in their establishments.¹³ These are passing observations, however, and not an analysis of the role of those establishments. Olivia Remie Constable devotes more attention to the relationship between diplomacy and public houses by expanding the scope of study chronologically from later antiquity to the early modern period and by considering the Mediterranean world.¹⁴ Her work helps to reveal glimpses of the reliance of diplomats on the establishments known as *pandocheion*, *funduq*, and *fondaco* in this setting.¹⁵ The goal of the book, however, is to trace the history of the institutions and not the reliance of diplomats on such places.¹⁶ Works focusing on the lives and missions of specific diplomats also fail to examine the emissary's reliance on public houses.¹⁷ The focus of most works on diplomacy

11 *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration*, ed. Pierre Chaplais (London: The Hambledon Press, 1981).

12 Jeremy Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (London: Reaktion Books, 2010), 9.

13 Donald E. Queller, *Medieval Diplomacy and the Fourth Crusade* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1980), 16.

14 Olivia Remie Constable, *Housing the Stranger in the Mediterranean World: Lodging, Trade, and Travel in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

15 Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14), 1.

16 Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14), 1.

17 Zrinka Blazevic and Anđelko Vlasic, ed., *The Istanbul Letters of Antun Vrancic: Croatian and English Translation of Selected Latin Letters* (Istanbul: Croatian Academy of Science and Arts, 2018); Gabor Almási, *The Uses of Humanism: Johannes Sambucus (1531–1584), Andreas Dudith (1533–1589), and the Republic of Letters in East Central Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009).

and diplomats is on other aspects and not on the role of the public houses and their purveyors despite the fact that they were essential to diplomatic services throughout the continent.

Polish historiography on diplomatic services has likewise not considered the use of public houses by diplomats beyond local studies. Andrzej Wyczański's seminal work, "Polska Służba Dyplomatyczna w Latach 1506–1530" ("Polish Diplomatic Service in the Years 1506–1530"), extensively examines the logistics of Polish diplomatic services, including travel times, destinations, expenses, difficulties, etc.¹⁸ The analysis, however, does not consider the role of public houses in the operations of such services. Other scholars have looked at the role of public houses in certain cities but have not extended the work across a wider geographical area.¹⁹ A recent volume dedicated to the diplomacy of the Jagiellonians does not even mention Dantiscus let alone the role of hostelries in dynastic diplomacy and foreign relations.²⁰

This chapter seeks to move the scholarship on diplomacy and public houses beyond a local study or lack thereof and to show how the use of these establishments throughout Europe reflects a continental interconnectedness, the basis for subsequent global networks.

Publicans

The diplomatic correspondence of Ioannes Dantiscus reveals the complicated relationships between envoys and the publicans of medieval and early modern Europe. Publicans were the individuals who maintained the establishments and provided services to various patrons. Although the individuals operating the establishment were different, their roles were similar across Europe and beyond as Constable has pointed out throughout the Mediterranean world.²¹ The most basic services included providing food, drink, and accommodations. They also could lend horses or wagons, sell supplies, such as wood, and help facilitate postal services. Offering

¹⁸ Andrzej Wyczański, "Polska Służba Dyplomatyczna w Latach 1506–1530" ["Polish Diplomatic Service in the Years 1506–1530"], *Polska Służba Dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII Wieku*, ed. Zbigniew Wójcik (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), 11–79.

¹⁹ Peter Dobek, "Diplomacy and the *Karczma/Taberna*: The Role of Cracowian Public Houses in the Diplomatic Practice of the Jagiellonians (1430–1540)," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Historyczne* 147.1 (2020): 1–11.

²⁰ *The Jagiellonians in Europe: Dynastic Diplomacy and Foreign Relations*, ed. Attila Barany (Debrecen: Hungarian Academy of Sciences, 2016).

²¹ Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14).

such amenities was costly for the publicans and they were persistent in recouping their expenses. Some publicans owned the facilities they were operating, but certainly not all did. The diplomats relied on these individuals, though resented their insistence on prompt payment. The correspondence between Dantiscus and his colleagues often declared their opinions of these individuals and these judgments influenced the selection of a public house.

Numerous letters gave praise to the publicans of the continent for their amicability and services. The diplomats realized that the publicans were indispensable to completing their missions and made comments about them. In his correspondence to Dantiscus from Maastricht on January 1, 1531, for example, Cornelius de Schepper praised a publican and a public house: "The innkeeper of the house is a good man and assuming from the drinking, the hostess is not boorish. I believe it will not be a bad inn for you."²² His experience at the inn was enjoyable and he felt it necessary to recommend it to his friend Dantiscus who might be travelling through the area. In a letter from July 7, 1539, Johann Hannau (ca. 1524–1575) wrote to Dantiscus that he has a good hostess named Margaret in Cracow who is providing him with all what he needed.²³ Women played a fundamental role in the success of an establishment as various scholars have shown in many locations.²⁴ Diplomats could be spending an extended period of time at the public house, and it was important that they got along with their hosts, otherwise, their stay could become problematic.

Other letters decry the "mistreatment" of the emissaries at the hands of the publicans. The maltreatment of the envoys was most often associated with demands for payment. In a letter from October 29, 1515, for instance, Dantiscus wrote to Sigmund von Herberstein to ask him to obtain money from the emperor because

²² "Hospes huius domus vir est bonus et praesumens de potu, hospita non infaceta. Credo non habiturum te malum diversorium." Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, "Letter #579," *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=579> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

²³ "Hospitam etiam habeo bonam, quae Reverendisimam Celsitudinem Tuam probe se noscere dicit, Margaretam nomine. Ea omnia, quae potest, mihi praestat adeo, ut nihil quod equidem sciam in ulla re mihi decedit, idque lubentissime in gratiam Reverendissimae Celsitudinis Tuae se facere et facturam pollicetur." Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, "Letter #2182," *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=2182> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

²⁴ Judith Bennett, *Ale, Beer and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in Changing World 1300–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); Peter Paul Dobek, "Karczma/Taberna: Public Houses in Cracow During the Jagiellonian Dynasty," Ph.D. thesis, Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI, 2019.

the innkeeper was demanding payment and Dantiscus had exceeded his stipend. According to Dantiscus,

At the conclusion of my letter, the innkeeper came to me with a certain vigor wishing to have the money, so now she is my enemy, therefore, she will not tolerate me. I am pressed, pushed, and squeezed from almost all directions by abuse, because I do not have blessings, as long as I will have had money. May you go on, as you begin to spend time with the emperor, so that I may have at least something, if not all things, by which I may be freed, so that the innkeeper remains silent for a short time. You understand, I imagine, how troublesome it is always to be pushed, beaten, strangled, etc. by creditors.²⁵

In desperation, Dantiscus pawned his envoy's chain and his rings and continued to beseech von Herberstein as a minister-member of the Imperial Financial Council to find relief for Dantiscus's troublesome position, perhaps, with the emperor's assistance.²⁶ Dantiscus's experience reveals a sense of abuse faced by diplomats over remuneration for services rendered. The diplomats could incur excessive costs and face financial hardships. Publicans, however, needed to recoup the costs of providing services and often pressed their clients, especially for timely payments. Failure to collect fees could result in debt – a common problem for publicans – and dishonor. The creditor could look dishonorable to medieval and early modern European society because they could not collect arrears and therefore, not properly manage their public house. Many scholars have discussed the importance of honor to European society in the Middle Ages and early modern period.²⁷ Mark D. Meyerson, for

25 “In conclusione litterarum venit ad me hospes cum quadam vehementia volens habere pecuniam, quae nunc mihi hostis est, ideo mecum non habitat. Urgeor, impulsor et angor fere ab omni parte, propter maledictas, quia non habeo, benedictas, dum habuero, pecunias. Generositas Vestra pergat, ut inceptit, agree cum caesarea maiestate, ut saltem aliquid habeam, si non omnia, quo sim solvendo, ut hospes paulisper conquiescat. Scit, ut opinor, Generositas Vestra, quam molestum est a creditoribus semper urgeri, impulsari, angari etc.” *Ioannes Dantiscus' Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein*, ed. Jerzy Axer and Anna Skolimowska, vol. 1, part 2 (Warsaw and Krakow: Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, Warsaw University and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2008), 73.

26 *Ioannes Dantiscus' Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 25), 21; “In Londino vero ab hospite absolve non poterat, nisi vendita catena aurea, quae trecentos ducatos continebat.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #6225,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=6225> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

27 Barbara A. Hanawalt, *‘Of Good and Ill Repute’: Gender and Social Control in Medieval England* (New York, NY, and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Daniel Lord Smail, *The Consumption of Justice: Emotions, Publicity, and Legal Culture in Marseille, 1264–1423* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2003); *A Great Effusion of Blood: Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004); A. Lynn Martin,

example, has argued, “Since honour was a social value, the possession of which depended on the community’s evaluation of the conduct of an individual and his or her family, acts that entailed a challenge to or a defence of honour had a meaning recognized and understood by the entire community.”²⁸ The inability to collect arrears would result in dishonor and the failure of the establishment.

The publicans could anger the diplomats for other reasons as well. In a missive from Jan Zambocki (ca. 1480–1529) to Dantiscus from Piotrków, Poland on October 20, 1523, for instance, Zambocki called the innkeeper a “scoundrel” because he had razed the stable and Zambocki did not know where Dantiscus could keep his horse.²⁹ An important consideration of travelers with horses looking for accommodations often meant that they needed to find public houses with stables. Horses were important tools for those who could afford them in travel across the continent and the privileged individuals had lofty expectations for services rendered by the publicans when accommodating the beasts. For whatever reason, the publican in Piotrków had demolished the stable and this prompted the angry response from Zambocki.

The relationship between a diplomat and a publican would have been complicated as the emissaries moved and worked across the continent. In most cases, an emissary employed the services provided by a publican and paid for said services. This would keep the relationship between customer and provider normal and likely, even cordial. A prolonged stay at an establishment would result in extensive interaction. It was in both parties’ best interests to keep the exchanges amicable. The publicans, as individuals whose livelihood depended on prompt payments, however, were persistent in seeking remuneration, especially with highly itinerant diplomats, and could even harass those failing to pay. Diplomats found such insistence to be an attack on their solvency and honor, which could sour interactions and create a hostile environment.

Alcohol, Violence, and Disorder in Traditional Europe (Kirksville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2009).

²⁸ Mark D. Meyerson, “The Murder of Pau de Sant Martí: Jews, *Conversos*, and the Feud in Fifteenth-Century Valencia,” *‘A Great Effusion of Blood’: Interpreting Medieval Violence*, ed. Mark D. Meyerson, Daniel Thiery, and Oren Falk (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 57–78; here 58.

²⁹ “Nam nebulo ille hospes meus stabula diruit.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #187,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=187> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

Expenses

The costs of staying at public houses throughout Europe during diplomatic missions created a financial burden for the envoys. Rulers provided for initial travel expenses, but if diplomats incurred expenditures beyond the primary stipend, they would personally cover the costs and the treasury would reimburse them for their services on a given assignment. The emissaries hoped that they could afford the expenses, otherwise, they would have to sell possessions and beseech patrons and friends in the hopes that they could help alleviate some of the burden. Satisfying arrears, as noted above, could lead to disagreements between the envoys and the publicans.

The costs of staying at a public house varied slightly depending on the location, duration, and services. Places where living expenses were higher resulted in greater costs for the publicans, which were passed onto the patrons. Cities that were the preferred residences of rulers also added to the living expenses as those typically attracted the populace.³⁰ Establishments that considered themselves of higher standards often located in such cities would charge their clients more as was the case for Dantiscus in Madrid in 1524 when he stayed at a “large and magnificent lodging, in which we had nothing but the bare walls, tables, benches, beds, and everything else that pertains to domestic use.”³¹

The correspondence provides a sense of the costs of utilizing the public houses across the continent. While traveling in London in 1522, Dantiscus stayed at an inn that was “not for the common people” (*vulgarem*) where “one hundred and fifty nobles paid 225 ducats and abandoned much more money.”³² He next traveled to Plymouth where he spent eighteen ducats at an inn, and to Castille where he spent twenty ducats for lodging over an unknown length of time.³³ In a letter dated June 25, 1519, Dantiscus wrote to Piotr Tomicki (1464–1535) to inform him that he “is

³⁰ Black, *A History of Diplomacy* (see note 12), 49.

³¹ “In amplum et magnificum hospitium locati, in quo nihil aliud quam nudos habuimus parietes, errant nobis mensae, scamna, lecti, et praeterea quicquid ad usum domesticum spectat, emendum.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #226,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=226> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

³² “Dicitur hic hospiti solvisse centum quinquaginta nobiles, faciunt 225 ducatos, et quod alias multam pecuniam exposuerit.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5806,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=5806> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

³³ Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #6227,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=6227> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

able to live frugally and honestly” by paying nine ducats per month for a room at a public house in Barcelona in addition to expenses for food and horses.³⁴ In 1524, Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara (1465–1530) informed Dantiscus that he paid three ducats for lodging in Valladolid for a week.³⁵ Dantiscus likewise paid three ducats in 1524 for a week at an establishment in Tordesillas.³⁶ At the end of 1526, Dantiscus paid sixty ducats for a six month stay in Granada.³⁷ Conversely, if the envoys were looking to save on expenses, they could also look for less comfortable establishments. Dantiscus, for example, stayed at a “bare inn” in Brussels for one ducat in 1531.³⁸ The lower rates are closer to the expenses for lodging in the *fondacos* of thirteenth- and fourteenth-centuries Alexandria.³⁹ The costs reflected in the missives suggest that prices were relatively similar, although this could vary due to several factors.

Missions requiring longer stays placed serious financial strains on Dantiscus and the other diplomats regardless of the location. On his return from attending a *Sejm* (diet) in Cracow, Dantiscus wrote multiple letters to his friends to recount the events and to complain about his expenses during the trip, including accommodations in the city for three months from December 1536 to February 1537. In a letter to Jan Chojeński from March 16, 1537, Dantiscus expressed his hardship: “Having recently abandoned over a thousand florins in Cracow, I am diminished to such an

34 “Quod non multum cupio, sed ut parce, honeste tamen vivere possem, quotidie cogor duos ducatos exponere metquintus cum coco et cum quattuor equis, pro hospitio solum quolibet mense solvo novem ducatos.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5899,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=5899> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

35 “Conduxi hic igitur hospitium, pro quo qualibet septimana solvo tres ducatos.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #216,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=216> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

36 “Qualibet septimana pro tribus ducatis conductum.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5807,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=5807> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

37 “Expensas facere cogimur, lectosque et hospitia solvo, pro quibus hic extraordinarie per istos sex menses non infra 60 ducatos exponam.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #319,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=319> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

38 Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #4906,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=4906> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

39 Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14), 138.

extent that hardly a hide remains with meat to be eaten.”⁴⁰ On November 24, in a letter to Tiedemann Giese (1491–1556), he reaffirmed the costs of the diet and his poverty because he claimed to have spent 1,500 marks of his own money.⁴¹ Dantiscus’s prolonged residency in Cracow strained his resources. Jakub Zabrzeziński described to Dantiscus his own challenges of paying for his stay in Mons in 1531. His lodging cost him 160 ducats and to pay for it, he had to pawn a biretta with a gold medallion, a ring, two shirts, and a sword.⁴² He later asked the emperor to help him with the costs so that he could buy back the pawned items. The demands of such a long mission would have strained even the wealthiest envoys.

The types of services sought by the diplomats also affected the costs they incurred. Basic amenities, such as food, drink, and rooms were usually affordable for the envoys wherever they traveled. This was not always the case, however, as Dantiscus wrote in a letter dated November 10, 1522, from Plymouth. He complained that the public house was selling everything, including the food, bread, and beer at triple the price.⁴³ If the envoys wanted better quality comforts, the costs would increase significantly. A diplomat’s choice of drink, for example, could easily add to their expenses. On one occasion in London in 1522, the entourage of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (1473–1530) provided Dantiscus with wine and beer from the royal provisions at his inn.⁴⁴ Dantiscus and his correspondents had an affinity for drink often to the detriment of their savings and wrote frequently about their consumption as discussed below.

40 “Ego quidem relictis Cracoviae nuper supra mille florenis adeo sum extenuates, quod vix pellis, carnibus consumptis, restat.” *Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae*, ed. Jerzy Axer and Anna Skolimowska, vol. 1, part 1 (Warsaw and Cracow: Centre for Studies on the Classical Tradition in Poland and East-Central Europe, Warsaw University and Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004), 160.

41 “Si non fuisset profectio anni praeteriti ad comicia Regni Cracouiam, in quibus mille quingentas marcas de meis hic censibus ex pecuniis propriis absumpsi.” *Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 40), 357.

42 “Et ego omnes eas dimisi ibi in hospitio in summa centum et sexaginta ducatos, et unum biretum cum una medalia de auro, quae erat valoris viginti ducatorum et unum anulum valoris sexaginta ducatorum et duas comisas totas laboratas de auro valoris 20 ducatorum et unum enssem.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #655,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=655> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

43 “In hospitio omnia triplici pretio emuntur, quaecumque apponuntur ad mensam seorsum quodlibet ferculum, panem, cerevisiam et ignem, sicut hospes aestimat, solver cogor.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #6248,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=6248> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

44 “Diversoria et ex penu regio vina et cerevisiae cum aliis hic caeremoniis mihi ferebantur.” Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5806” (see note 32).

Provisions

Public houses provided the diplomats with the provisions necessary to conduct their diplomatic services across the continent. The public houses supplied a substantial variety of foods and drinks, which usually depended on the seasons and the availability of goods. Most offerings were sourced locally, but occasionally, imported items were available. The costs of imported items limited their consumption to the wealthiest patrons. For some, the local fare was a delightful experience of regional cuisine, while others longed for their native victuals. The public houses also offered a place where the travelers could keep their horses while they completed their missions.

Most meals were cheap, simple, easily prepared, and long-lasting. This included breads, gruels, soups, and locally grown vegetables. A form of bread could be found in any public house across the globe as evidenced by the Midrash telling of two travelers and many other accounts.⁴⁵ Grains were normally readily available and affordable in most markets and bread was one of the easiest and cheapest ways of consuming the processed grains. Meat and animal products could also be available to clients, but the best cuts and selections went to wealthier guests. The food was cooked in a hearth in the large hall or in the kitchen depending on the establishment and sold to patrons throughout the day. Meals, generally, were basic and were not worth mentioning in correspondence, but notably tasty or notably terrible victuals were worthy of comment. On some occasions, diplomats were able to indulge, usually on account of their hosts. For example, in 1527, Wolfgang Prantner (d. 1541) wrote to Dantiscus from London to recall a feast at his inn in the name of Henry VIII. The feast included wine and food served in gold vessels.⁴⁶ Prantner also received rings of gold and silver as gifts.

Alcohol was a particular point of interest for the diplomats and they would often remark on its quality. Beer and wine were the most common alcoholic beverages and the most popular amongst the envoys conducting missions across the globe. In a letter from Valladolid on January 4, 1523, for instance, Dantiscus stated that he consumed four silver tankards of wine, which always pleased him.⁴⁷ A week later,

⁴⁵ Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14), 17; Midrash on Psalms (Book 1, Psalm 4).

⁴⁶ “Deinde me ad regem contuli, cum quo (uti omnium principum est humanissimus) ad mediam horam egi donatusque fui a masiestate sua annulis aureis et argenteis, vino praeterea ac dapibus de auratis vasis et lancibus in diversorium allatis.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #3465,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=3465> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

⁴⁷ “4 lagenas argenteas vini et postulavit, ut semper pro vino, quod mihi placeret.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #171,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’*

he reported that he was consuming a tankard of the wine every day.⁴⁸ The envoys also compared the quality of beer and wine in different regions that they had traveled to. Alcohol from their home regions was often a point of pride and comparison. Dantiscus, for instance, wrote to Cornelis de Schepper from Lubawa on February 24, 1536, that the local beer and Hungarian and Moravian wines were better and healthier than Spanish or Italian wines.⁴⁹ On occasion, the diplomats encountered vodka or mead as an option, but these were rarer and usually only found in the Baltic region. The alcohol provided the envoys a source of refreshment as well as commensality. There was no shortage of beverages available to the diplomats wherever they traveled.

Some of the public houses could offer stabling for the horses of the envoys and their entourages. The availability to house a horse often factored into the decision of which establishment to reside in as discussed above. In another instance, Piotr Tomicki wrote to Dantiscus from Cracow that “part of his entourage would stay with the horses at a public house in Kleparz [a satellite town of Cracow].”⁵⁰ It is unclear how large the group was and how many horses they had. In 1536, Dantiscus writing from Toruń requested that Fabian Wojanowski (d. 1540) find him a comfortable public house that could also accommodate horses.⁵¹ Public houses with stables ensured that not only the diplomats and their entourages received provisions, but

Texts & Correspondence; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=171> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

48 Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #173,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=173> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

49 “Tu scis, quam male ab illis toties sim habitus, a quibus hic me Ceres nostra reddit immune neque adeo Bacchus Hungarus et Moravus, quo hic certo modo utor, ferax esta podagrae, quam Hispanus vel Gallicus.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1421,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=1421> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022). As to the role of alcohol in the late Middle Ages and its criticism, see now also the study by Albrecht Classen, “Alcohol, Drunkenness, and Excess – Consumption and Transgression in Medieval Literature,” *Neophilologus* 106 (2022): 589–610; online at: 10.1007/s11061-022-09729-6. This is one of those interesting cases where historical documents, literary narratives, art-historical works, and didactic texts all join hands to shed light on the same concerns.

50 “Reliqua vero pars familiae cum equis habebit hospitium in Cleparz.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1347,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=1347> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

51 Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1560,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=1560> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

also their mounts. Horses were expensive to maintain but provided an effective means of movement across the vast distances covered by the diplomats.

Communication

Public houses played an important part in the logistics of communication for diplomats travelling across Europe. They were locations where correspondence was received, the latest “news” was heard, and important negotiations took place. The publicans were usually trustworthy and therefore entrusted with letters arriving for the envoys. They were also well-informed members of a community and the diplomats looked to them as a source of information. The spread of knowledge, as explained by Chiara Benati and Marialuisa Caparrini in their essay on Lanfranc’s surgical works in this volume, was a product and a vehicle of a medieval and early modern form of globalism. For itinerant individuals without other secure locations, the public houses could likewise play a role in sensitive discussions.

Dantiscus and the other envoys used public houses as a place for receiving missives. Throughout various letters, the envoys make a brief mention of receiving letters at the establishment in which they were currently residing from different individuals writing from various locations. In a letter from May 5, 1525 to King Zygmunt I, for instance, Dantiscus describes receiving and reading communiqués from the king written March 13 at his inn in Toledo.⁵² Likewise, in Barcelona, on March 12, 1519, and in Palencia, on September 10, 1527, he received correspondence at his public house from King Zygmunt I and Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch (ca. 1479–1531) respectively.⁵³ In a letter written on March 23, 1545, Marco de la Torre (d. 1545) informed Dantiscus that he did not remember the contents

52 “Discessique ad laetius prandium cum litteris Maiestatis Vestrae Serenissimae in deversorium meum.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #244,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=244> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

53 “In fine dicendi me certiores sua maiestas reddidit, quod iste secretaries per postas in duabus horis hinc sit abiturus, si velim scribere Maiestati Vestrae, quod deberet venire in hospitium meum et accipere litteras.” And “Hesterno sero intravi civitatem Palentianam et extra portam obviam mihi occurrit cursor et senior Mutza de Spola, Dominationis Vestrae qui mihi et Valdesio una praesentavit litteras, quas, cum ad hospitium veni, aperui.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, Letters #133 and #374, *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=133> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

of the missive he received at the public house in Cracow.⁵⁴ The public houses provided these itinerant individuals with a semi-permanent location, where they could receive important correspondence and continue to communicate with their places of origin and other individuals across Europe. In this way, the public houses of Europe functioned similarly to the official mail service (*barīd*) facilitated by the *wakāla* (hostels) of the Mamlūk period.⁵⁵

Publicans were individuals who interacted with both locals and travelers from farther away thus giving them access to an abundance of information. This allowed the public houses to be important centers for the sharing of domestic and international “news.” Diplomats arriving from abroad could quickly learn about the happenings of their destination as well as the events from other parts of Europe. Some of the information would have been rumors, but much more would undoubtedly have been of importance and value for the envoys. While sitting at a table at his inn on July 28, 1522 in Nuremberg, for instance, Dantiscus learned about the efforts of the Polish and Hungarian Kingdoms against the Ottoman Turks.⁵⁶ Two months later, while at an inn owned by the Fuggers in Antwerp, he heard some news about upper Germany.⁵⁷ The publicans would have been privy to much information brought by their customers and they could share that with the diplomats.

The public houses could also provide secure locations for itinerant individuals to negotiate the details of important agreements. The alcohol served at the establishments could help lubricate the process and seal arrangements with a toast, or it could undermine such sensitive activity. In 1532, for example, Dantiscus met with various lords in his lodging in Regensburg. According to his letter to King Zygmunt I, they “spoke more confidently with me about certain things.”⁵⁸ They discussed

54 “De hospitio nihil memini in litteris, quia non erat opus repetere, quod toties Paternitati Vestrae Reverendissimae viva voce fuerat inculcatum.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, Letter #2807,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=2807> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

55 Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14), 236.

56 “Et a comitibus quibusdam et primis hominibus, qui hodie mecum sederunt ad tabulam in hospitio.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #157,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=157> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

57 “Venerunt etiam heri ad hospitium meum, quod Fuggarorum domus est, novitates ex Germania superiori.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #163,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=163> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

58 “Vellet enim quaedam mecum confidentius colloqui et cum in conclave consedissemus.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #773,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=773> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

various important matters, including the perceived Ottoman threat. In 1533, Fabian Wojanowski reported to Dantiscus from Vilnius that he had conducted “business at his inn.”⁵⁹ The public house also played a vital role in negotiations between the Poles and the Prussians as revealed in a letter dated January 22, 1537, in Cracow from Dantiscus to the bishop of Warmia, Maurycy Ferber. Dantiscus was residing at a public house while attending a *Sejm* in Cracow. Following a meeting with the Royal Council, in which King Zygmunt received the demands of Prussian representatives – “The Prussian gentry’s envoys demanded from the king that he consult them when appointing lay and church officials in Prussia” – the king gave Dantiscus the authority to negotiate with the emissaries in his lodging.⁶⁰ Dantiscus writes, “After the reading of the demands, the king ordered that the messengers meet with me on the next day in my inn, if by chance, we reach an agreement on the matter.”⁶¹ The king regarded Dantiscus’s public house as a place sufficient for vital negotiations between his lead negotiator and the Prussian envoys, despite the possibility of other clients, the publican, or even spies hearing such sensitive information. Having a trusted location for negotiations was valuable to the diplomats for their missions and some of the envoys would use their hostelries as such a place.

Comfort

The comfort of a public house was an important factor in a diplomat’s choice of temporary residence. Many diplomats were accustomed to leading comfortable lives at home and they would seek to continue this during their travels. Their concern with comfort was shared by fellow emissaries traveling in other parts of the world, including across the Mediterranean.⁶² The correspondents often warned against uncomfortable public houses or recommended accommodating ones. Their guidance resembled the counsel of travelogues, like *Mandeville’s Travels* or the *Journey from Bohemia to Jerusalem and Egypt*, as discussed by David Tomíček in this volume. The diplomats would also reserve rooms at favorable locales if they knew their

59 “Cum super hoc negotio in hospitio meo inter pocula cum domino marschalco curiae mentionem faceremus.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1011,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=1011> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

60 *Ioannis Dantisci Epistolae Latinae*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 40), 133.

61 “Post lectionem libelli iniunxit serenissima maiestas regia ipsis nunciis, ut nobiscum postero die in meo hospicio convenirent, si forte ad aliquam inter nos compositionem res duci posset.” *Ioannis Dantisci Epistolae Latinae*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 40), 135.

62 Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14).

fellow envoys were planning on traveling through an area. If a public house did not meet expectations, then the emissaries were willing to relocate to something more acceptable.

The diplomats warned others from frequenting public houses that they deemed to be uncomfortable. Many examples speak to the disapproval of a location by the envoys, for instance, in a letter to Dantiscus from Cracow on February 23, 1534, Jan van Campen (1491–1538), described a particular inn as “not exceedingly sumptuous.”⁶³ Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara, the Grand Chancellor of Charles V, sympathized with Dantiscus’s uncomfortable lodgings on his way to Valladolid in 1524.⁶⁴ Balthasar Merklin von Waldkirch described his lodging in 1527 as “fetid and dark all over.”⁶⁵ He quickly left the next morning and moved to a different establishment. Alfonso de Valdes wrote to Dantiscus in 1528 that Mercurino Gattinara “was not pleased with his lodging in Pinto.”⁶⁶ It was not worth an emissary’s time and resources to reside in an unsuitable locale, so he would move away from the discomfort, while warning others to avoid such a place.

Public houses that provided the appropriate accommodations received the praise of the diplomats. A comfortable locale was seen as an essential part of a diplomat’s work. In a letter dated January 4, 1523, for example, Dantiscus informed Piotr Tomicki that “after all of his discomfort, he found a comfortable inn with many guests in Valladolid.”⁶⁷ On November 12, 1524, Dantiscus informed King Zygmunt I that he “will return with a colleague to the inn that is comfortable enough.”⁶⁸ In 1526, while traveling in the Spanish lands, Dantiscus spent a night in Torrejón de Velasco at a lodging which he described as having a “sweet familiarity and custom.”⁶⁹ Later, on September 12, 1527, while traveling from Palencia, de Valdés

63 “Addidit praeterea decem florenos pro viatico, liberaturum ultra haec omnia puto illum me [ex] hospitio, in quo hic sum nimis sumptuoso.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #900,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*, online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=900> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

64 “Et certe doleo non potuisse illam magis commodari hospitio quam factum sit, sed illorum magna omnino penuria est.” Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #216” (see note 35).

65 Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #374” (see note 53).

66 “Cancellario cum no placuisset hospitium in Pinto.” Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5807” (see note 36).

67 “Ut post tot incommoditates commodum mihi inveniretur hospitium in Valdolit, ubi omnia sunt plena hospitibus.” Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #171” (see note 47).

68 “Sed, ut redeam de hospitio, datum est tandem mihi cum college satis commodum.” Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5807” (see note 36).

69 “Illic in una partier domo hospitio suscepti, dulci familiaritate et consuetudine iuncti, pernoctarunt.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #281,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=281> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

informed Dantiscus: “I have found a sufficiently comfortable inn, which you, if it happens that you are to come here, can use.”⁷⁰ That same year, Wolfgang Prantner wrote from London to inform Dantiscus that he was treated “elegantly” or “sumptuously” at his lodging.⁷¹ While on April 12, 1544, Marco de la Torre wrote to Dantiscus that he does not despise the inn at which he is staying in Cracow.⁷² The frequency of comments on the matter show a clear preoccupation with the comfort of the public houses throughout the continent.

When diplomats knew that their fellow envoys were traveling in a certain area, they often tried to secure accommodations for each other throughout Europe, the Mediterranean, and beyond.⁷³ The travelers valued a verifiably reliable public house and wanted their comrades to experience the same comfort. This happened regularly as exemplified in 1527 by Alfonso de Valdés, who asked Dantiscus if he should find him lodgings in Covillas de Zerrata, approximately four miles from Palencia.⁷⁴ Piotr Konarski (d. 1536) wrote to Dantiscus in 1535 to ask him to secure “a public house for his successful arrival to Cracow.”⁷⁵ In a letter from March 19, 1543, Stanisław Hozjusz described leaving an inn, which Dantiscus had arranged for him in Cracow.⁷⁶ In a message from 1537 to his friend Tiedemann Giese, Dantiscus informed Giese that Mikołaj Nipszyc and royal chamberlain Marcin Wolski

70 “Nactus sum hospitium satis commodum et quod tibi, si quando huc venire contigerit, usui esse poterit.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5745,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=5745> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

71 “Domini Lei hospitio honestissime susceptus et tractatus fui lautissime.” Skolimowska, Turska, and Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #3465” (see note 46).

72 “In hospitalitate repetita praeoccupavit Paternitas Vestra Reverendissima meas vices. Meum erat enim illi agree gratis, quod nostrum non spreverit hospitium, quandoquidem multum decoris et splendoris nobis ex incolatu tanit hospitii accessisse non inficior.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #2714,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=2714> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

73 Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14).

74 “Si placeret Dominationi Vestrae illuc venire, curabo pro parte mea, ut habeat hospitium ac omnia alia ex sententia.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5742,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=5742> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

75 “Hospitium pro suo felici Cracoviam adventu.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #257,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=257> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

76 Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #2638,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=2638> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

would be traveling to Frombork for the election of the bishop of Warmia.⁷⁷ Dantiscus was particularly interested in the well-being of the participants of the election because he wished to secure the bishopric for himself. Dantiscus asked Giese “to receive the eight-horse retinue at his house.”⁷⁸ If he is unable, Dantiscus asked him, “However, may you meet with the venerable chapter to make it possible for the royal orator, who was next sent to our monastery, to have a comfortable inn.”⁷⁹ Dantiscus wanted Giese to provide proper and comfortable accommodations for the electors. Dantiscus added in the postscript: “My messenger will inform you on the customs of Lord Nipszyc, which, to the extent that they please me, I hope, they will please you.”⁸⁰ Dantiscus was referring to Nipszyc’s love of drink, cards, and dice and it is likely that Giese spent the night drinking and playing games with Nipszyc.⁸¹ Diplomats were well-aware of the many possible inconveniences of staying at a public house and they made sure to recommend reliable locales to their friends and colleagues throughout Europe.

Illness

As itinerant individuals who were exposed to foreign pathogens, different climates, and unfamiliar cuisine, the diplomats suffered from illness during their missions. As was the case with *pandocheions*, *funduqs*, and *fondacos* throughout the Mediterranean world, “a traveler was as likely to contract an illness in a hostel as to convalesce in one.”⁸² In most instances, the ailment was minor and recovery was quick. In some cases, however, the sickness was more serious and could result in

77 *Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 40), 224–25.

78 *Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 40), 224–25.

79 “In praesens non attingo aliud, quam, quod, si Dominacio Vestra illum commode cum equis octo in domum suam accipere potest, ob eas causas, quas descripsi in nouissimis, rem mihi gratam nobisque non invtilem vtrisque faciet; sin vero, Dominacio Vestra cum venerabili agat capitulo, vt orator regius, qui etiam ad conuentum nostrum proximum est missus, commodum hospiciu habere possit, de quo per istum meum nunciu cercior inter eundeu fieri possit.” *Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 40), 225.

80 “De moribus domini Nibschicz iste meus nuncius Dominacionem Vestram edocebit, qui, quemadmodum mihi placent, it et ut Dominacioni Vestrae placeant, oro.” *Ioannis Dantisci Epistulae Latinae*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 40), 225.

81 *Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 25), 84n1; Teresa Borawska, *Życie Umysłowe na Warmii w Czasach Mikołaja Kopernika [Intellectual Life in Warmia During the Times of Nicolaus Copernicus]* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, 1996), 111–112.

82 Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14), 17.

prolonged suffering or death. An ailing emissary often had to rely on the services of the publicans and their contacts to ensure their recovery. Dealing with an illness and the delays that it caused could be costly for the mission of the envoys. This was the case in 1527 when Dantiscus had to remain at a public house in Valladolid for seven months because he was sick with pain costing him seventy ducats.⁸³

The letters speak to the various illnesses that could hamper travel and diplomatic efforts. Dantiscus asked von Herberstein in a message dated October 29, 1516, to speak to the emperor to allow him to remain at his inn in Augsburg longer because a Polish member of his entourage has ulcers and needs time to recover.⁸⁴ In a missive on November 10, 1522 from Plymouth, Dantiscus complained to Piotr Tomicki that “he was experiencing stomach pain because of the twisting of colic.”⁸⁵ Tomicki later wrote from Cracow to Dantiscus in 1535 that, “My health is now weak, for I was never quite free from the fever, for nearly a year and a half, some pains have been added to others which torment me so badly.”⁸⁶ On May 9, 1526, Johan Weze (1490–1548) wrote to Dantiscus about illness at his lodging in Toledo.⁸⁷ Various ailments could affect the progress of diplomatic missions and being in unfamiliar lands could exacerbate such conditions.

Areas experiencing problems from the outbreak of illness could also factor into the decision making of the envoys as they were more likely to delay traveling there or avoid them completely. This was clear in a letter to Dantiscus from Mauritius Ferber in 1534 writing from Heilsberg. Ferber delayed traveling to Grudziądz in Pomerania because the “ferocity of the plague” caused “three children, in addition

83 “Remansi ego aeger in istis doloribus usque ad 27 Decembris et ne penitus sic cruciatus desperarem.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #332,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=332> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

84 “Proinde iterum iterumque Generositatem Vestram rogo, conferat cum caesarea maiestate de provisione mea ulteriori, rogetque suam maiestatem, ut permittat me hic manere, donec famulus meus, si possibile est, convalescat, tamen perinde est suae maiestati, si opera mea non indiget, ubi maneo, feratque mihi certitudinem de omnibus rebus meis, prout rogavi, et fideliter mihi patrocinetur.” *Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 25), 72–73.

85 “Nam aliquoties stomachi dolorem cum torsione colica hic sensi.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #6248” (see note 43).

86 “Sed mea nunc infirma est valetudo, nam ad febrem, a qua sesquianno fere numquam fui prorsus liber, alli quidam dolores accesserunt, qui me male cruciant.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1347” (see note 50).

87 “Qui hic est in hospitio Vestrae Excellentiae infirmus.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #287,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=287> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

to others, [to die] of the deadly poison.”⁸⁸ Exposure to any illness especially plague could lead to death, and it was wise to completely avoid the area regardless of the delay it would cause. A lack of proper sanitation meant that most regions could be affected by an outbreak at any moment. Among the many factors that influenced the diplomatic missions, the envoys needed to consider their own health and the diseases affecting various locations.

Local Women

The lives of such itinerant individuals were often lonely and the diplomats, at times, sought the comfort of local women. Men often sought “to have their sexual needs met in a more mechanical fashion, either because they are not married, are too far away from their wives, or because they face marital problems.”⁸⁹ Some of these encounters could lead to longer lasting relationships as was the case for Dantiscus. Other meetings were intentionally short-lived and only sought immediate comfort and pleasure.

Women engaged in prostitution frequented public houses throughout Europe and beyond where they could find clients, especially traveling diplomats.⁹⁰ Prostitution was a complicated practice in medieval and early modern Europe and the rulers and the church canonists “although they disapproved of it in principle and thought that it should be prohibited, still in practice they were prepared to tolerate prostitution and to justify its toleration in a Christian society.”⁹¹ Or as Albrecht Classen has argued, “As much as prostitution has regularly been viewed with considerable criticism, especially by members of the Christian Church, if not all religious groups and organizations, as much can we be certain that the institution itself has always played a significant role in virtually all but the most repres-

88 “Quod autem conventus in Grudento commode fieri nequeat, saevitia pestis in terra Culmensi pro bona parte grassantis et iam oppidum ipsum Grudentum vi sua corripientis, in causa est, ita ut barbitonsori ibidem, apud quem hospitari solent familiars mei, tres pueri praeter alios pestifero veneno demortui sint.” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1221,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=1221> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

89 Albrecht Classen, *Prostitution in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: The Dark Side of Sex and Love in the Premodern Era*. Studies in Medieval Literature (Lanham, Boulder, New York, and London: Lexington Books, 2019), 5.

90 Constable, *Housing the Stranger* (see note 14), 7.

91 James A. Brundage, “Prostitution in the Medieval Canon Law,” *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Judith M. Bennet et al. (Chicago, IL, and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989), 84.

sive societies.”⁹² Many scholars have examined the complicated relationship with prostitution and medieval and early modern European society and its prevalence across the continent, including Ruth Mazo Karras, Judith M. Bennet, Agnieszka Bukowczan-Rzeszut, and others.⁹³

Dantiscus's deployment in Spain at the court of Charles V led to an extensive relationship with a woman in Valladolid. Dantiscus met Isabella Delgada (d. 1546) during his stay there and the pair had a daughter, Juana, in 1527 and a son, Juan, in 1529 – his son would die at a young age. After Dantiscus was reassigned from Valladolid, the relationship became more difficult and eventually, became acrimonious. Despite difficulties in the relationship, Dantiscus tried to provide for Isabella and his daughter largely through the help of his friends still in the Spanish lands. His letters reflect his concerns and efforts to provide from abroad. His contacts in Spain also kept him informed about the happenings in Valladolid. In 1536, Diego Gracián de Alderete (ca. 1494–1586), for example, stayed at a public house near Isabella and was able to relay information about them to Dantiscus.⁹⁴ He sent subsequent letters to Dantiscus in 1537 and 1538.⁹⁵ Although Dantiscus's obligations forced him to leave Valladolid and he rarely saw his daughter, he tried to ensure her wellbeing from afar. His commitments elsewhere, however, diverted his attention and he was no longer active in their lives. Isabella died after 1546 and Juana would marry Diego Gracián de Alderete, an imperial secretary.

The diplomats often encountered prostitutes in the public houses and at times, sought their services. The correspondence usually did not refer to the women as prostitutes, but instead used codewords or euphemisms to refer to them. Medieval and early modern European society had many names for prostitutes, as Bukow-

⁹² Classen, *Prostitution in Medieval and Early Modern Literature* (see note 89), 2.

⁹³ Ruth Mazo Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England. Studies in the History of Sexuality* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996); *Sisters and Workers in the Middle Ages*, ed. Judith M. Bennet, Elizabeth A. Clark, Jean F. O'Barr, B. Anne Vilen, and Sarah Westphal-Wihl (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1989); Agnieszka Bukowczan-Rzeszut, *Jak Przetrwać w Średniowiecznym Krakowie [How to Survive in Medieval Cracow]* (Krakow: Wydawnictwo Astra, 2018), 251–263.

⁹⁴ Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1538,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=1538> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

⁹⁵ Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1656,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=1656> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022); Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #1862,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus' Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=1862> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

czan-Rzeszut has pointed out.⁹⁶ In a letter written on November 21, 1516 to Sigmund von Herberstein from Augsburg, Dantiscus fondly remembered his encounters as a member of the Guzzlers and Gobblers.⁹⁷ Dantiscus concluded the letter by telling von Herberstein that “the girls are waiting for them with weariness.”⁹⁸ The two had previously sought the attention of “the girls” (*puellae*) in Augsburg and Innsbruck resulting in von Herberstein contracting syphilis.⁹⁹ Dantiscus also commemorated such interactions with the girls in the elegy *Ad Gryneam*.¹⁰⁰

The papal nuncio, Fulvius Ruggieri, in describing the travels of the nobility and their use of public houses, wrote that the Polish lands did not lack “public women”: “On the road, the servants, unable to house themselves in cramped [public] houses, sleep separately except in winter, when all are together on straw, men and women, and the fact that they do not stop drinking and feasting on their travels, means that there are few modest women, and there is no lack of public ones.”¹⁰¹ In a letter from September 21, 1524, Mercurino Arborio di Gattinara described a public house near “women, who are called courtesans.”¹⁰² While in 1527, Alfonso de Valdés joked with Dantiscus and wrote to him: “In the meantime, be very happy with your ladies.”¹⁰³

At times, the publicans objected to prostitutes in their establishments as was the case in Antwerp when Dantiscus’s innkeeper forbade “public she-wolves” from the inn.¹⁰⁴ For diplomats, however, the loneliness of their travels across the conti-

96 Bukowczan-Rzeszut, *Jak Przetrwać w Średniowiecznym Krakowie* (see note 93), 252.

97 *Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence with Sigmund von Herberstein*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 25), 80nr8.

98 “*Puellae cum taedio expectant etc.*” *Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 25), 80.

99 *Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 25), 22.

100 *Ioannes Dantiscus’ Correspondence*, ed. Axer and Skolimowska (see note 25), 80nr8.

101 “W drodze słudzy nie mogąc pomieścić się w ciasnych domach śpią osobno mianowicie w zimie, wszyscy razem pokotem na słomie, mężczyźni z kobietami, a że i w podróży nie przestają pić i biesiadować, ztąd pochodzi że mało jest skromnych kobiet, nie brakuje nawet publicznych.” Fulvius Ruggieri, “Opis Polski przez Mons. Fulwiusza Ruggieri w roku 1565,” [“Description of Poland by Mons. Fulvius Ruggieri in 1565,”] *Relacje Nuncyuszów Apostolskich i Innych Osób o Polsce od Roku 1548 do 1690*, ed. Erazm Rykaczewski (Berlin and Poznań: Księgarnia Behra, 1864), 127.

102 “*Alio duo apud mulieres, quas cortisanas vocant.*” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #217,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=217> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

103 “*Interea vale felicissime cum tuis puteis.*” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #5748,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=5748> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

104 “*Fertur etiam postquam hospites illius libidinem in domibus suis ferre noluissent, publicas frequentasse lupas.*” Anna Skolimowska, Magdalena Turska, and Katarzyna Jasińska-Zdun, “Letter #164,” *Corpus of Ioannes Dantiscus’ Texts & Correspondence*; online at: <http://dantiscus.al.uw.edu.pl/?f=letterSummary&letter=164> (last accessed on Nov. 20, 2022).

nent and the availability of services could lead to the employment of prostitutes sometimes resulting in long-term consequences.

Conclusions

The public houses throughout Europe during the medieval and early modern eras were essential to the functions of diplomats and the inner workings of diplomacy. The large collection of correspondence between Ioannes Dantiscus and his friends and acquaintances provides an invaluable source for the study of the realities of the lives of envoys completing missions across the continent utilizing these facilities on a regular basis. Their intimate portrayal of their everyday activities reveals the importance of the public houses and an interconnectedness that spanned well beyond a single location. It shows that these aspects were common to travelers across the globe at this time. The establishments gave the itinerant envoys a semi-permanent location from which they could carry out their missions. This even included negotiating important agreements with other representatives at the locales. Employing the public houses for these diplomatic missions, however, was costly and the diplomats often struggled to pay for the expenses upfront.

Traveling throughout medieval and early modern Europe and beyond could be difficult and strained even the most seasoned emissaries. Some would come down with illnesses that could derail their itineraries. Some sought to relieve their stress and loneliness in the comfort of local women. Others simply enjoyed the comfort of an establishment and the many amenities that it offered. The locales which did not meet expectations, however, would not receive the patronage of the emissaries who evaluated these places and recommended avoiding unacceptable situations to their comrades. Conversely, an adequate inn, tavern, or alehouse received praise in the correspondence. Scholarship today should realize that the public houses played a fundamental role in the infrastructure of diplomacy across the continent and beyond and it should include an analysis of these establishments when looking into aspects of globalism in Europe during the medieval and early modern eras.

Amany El-Sawy

Globalism During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth I

Abstract: This chapter attempts to outline England's diplomatic engagement with the Ottomans during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I, which is considered the first example of an actual and unrelenting extra-European diplomatic alignment for England, developed in opposition to the Catholic hegemony. England's direct contacts with the Ottoman Empire resulted in substantial shifts in diplomacy and commerce and demonstrated a distinct change in how the Ottomans and the wider Islamicate World were perceived and considered by English society. Additionally and more significantly, this development fostered the English political and religious identity and promoted its formation of a distinct identity independent from Continental Europe's. Thus, Elizabeth and her ministers established an English manifestation on the world stage; and, though with little experience in global relationships, Elizabeth's government accomplished a successful foreign policy that protected English independence through innovative and groundbreaking diplomacy. This chapter illustrates the role of letters and gifts as means of globalism during the reign of Elizabeth, highlighting England's global engagement with the Ottoman Empire. The roles of William Harborne, Edward Barton, and Henry Lello, Elizabeth's ambassadors to the Ottoman Empire, are explored to highlight the commercial and diplomatic privileges secured for England. Finally, by taking the power and status of Eastern women, such as Sultana Safiye's into consideration, this chapter attempts to deconstruct Edward Said's views on Orientalism as a "Western style" based on the supremacy of the Occident. The agency of Safiye is foregrounded through the portrayal of her engagement in foreign diplomacy and her endeavor to foster good relationships between the Ottoman Empire and England.

Keywords: Globalism, Anglo-Ottoman encounter and trade, diplomacy and commerce in Elizabethan England, Ottomanism before Orientalism, agency of cosmopolitan Oriental woman.

Introduction

Peoples and cultures are not categorically separated from each other; instead, they are much more connected with each other than we might have thought. The predominant concept of globalism as being a purely post-modern phenomenon above all, as Albrecht Classen points out, “is nothing but the result of a dangerously myopic perspective not based on any historical foundation.” By contrast, Classen highlights that globalism

is part of human nature to explore and to conquer the world, to travel, to meet new people, to occupy neighboring countries, to do business on distant markets, to meet admired teachers and to learn from them, to gain inspiration from pilgrimage sites irrespective of their distance to one's own location, and so forth. The ancient Greeks and Romans, then also the pre-modern Chinese, and other people were certainly global players a long time before the emergence of modern globalism.¹

Classen adds that globalism “can mean many different things, such as the realization that we exist within a global network and must endeavor to uncover those connections, or the observation that humans throughout time have faced similar concerns, worries, threats, and pursued parallel ideals and desires.”² One of the crippling worries that Elizabethan England had to face were the expenses and consequences of war against Spain. In this predicament, the only way out was the expansion into the New World or what we could call globalism.

England succeeded to leave the margins of Europe to become a central member in the trade of Eastern goods. The rejuvenation of Elizabeth I's power was due to the overlapping worlds of diplomatic and commercial enterprises in the East starting after her excommunication. The English expansion in the East was made possible by a variety of actors, from joint-stock company agents, to official ambassadors. As a matter of fact, these English travelers did not delve into the East with a superior attitude, but they “displayed a cosmopolitan attitude that came to define England's relationship with the East during the transformative age of the early

1 Albrecht Classen, “Globalism before Globalism: The Alexander Legend in Medieval Literature (Priest Lambrecht's Account as a Pathway to Early Global Perspectives),” *Esboços: histories in global contexts Florianópolis* 28/49 (Aug./Sept. 2021): 813–33; here 816; online at <https://doi.org/10.5007/2175-7976.2021.e79311> (last accessed on Jan. 10, 2023), 816. See, of course, his long introductory essay to this volume and his own contribution.

2 Albrecht Classen, “The Global World in the Pre-Modern Era: Lessons from the Past for Our Future with a Focus on the Early Modern Novel *Fortunatus* (1509),” *Current Research Journal of Social Sciences* 3/2 (2020): 152–64; online at <http://dx.doi.org/10.12944/CRJSSH.3.2.04> (last accessed on Dec. 28, 2022), 154.

modern period.”³ These men went to the East looking to further personal, national and/or corporate ambitions, and in order to do so, they “studied the inner workings of foreign courts, learned new languages, acquired new skills in foreign diplomacy and long-distance trading, adapted to cultural, ethnic and religious differences, married local women and courted the favors of Muslim rulers. The Eastern travels of Englishmen sparked national interest at home.”⁴

Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Englishmen and women writers became aware that “personal and national desires and identities were no longer constructed only from within the local, the familiar, and the traditional, but increasingly became inseparably connected to the global, the strange, the alien.”⁵ As a consequence, the early modern period saw the rise of a diversity of events, presented either in iconography, on the page, or on the stage, which made English connections with the East visible by revealing cross-cultural encounters and alliances. Thus, this chapter illustrates the different means of globalism by which the English encountered the Ottomans during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.

Elizabeth I: Historical Context and Current Research

After the Catholic reign of Queen Mary I, England returned to Anglicanism. The Parliament of Queen Elizabeth I passed the 1559 Act of Supremacy restoring the Church of England’s independence from papal authority. However, Elizabeth, named Supreme Governor of the Church, was excommunicated by Pope Pius V because of her unceasing refusal to marry a Catholic Prince.⁶ Furthermore, England’s support of Dutch Protestant rebels in the Netherlands and the execution of the Catholic Mary Stuart in 1587 increased the tension between England and the Holy Roman Empire. As a result of these events, Philip II of Spain, former ruler of England along-

3 Alison Games, *The Web of Empire: English Cosmopolitans in an Age of Expansion, 1560–1660* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 10.

4 Mathilde Alazraki, “The Influence of Powerful Eastern Women in England’s Relationship with the East during the Early Modern Period (1570–1673),” *Actes des congrès de la Société française Shakespeare* (2022): 1–97; online at <https://doi.org/10.4000/shakespeare.6583> (last accessed on Jan. 12, 2022), 3.

5 Gerald MacLean, “Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger in the Levant,” *Travel Knowledge, European “Discoveries” in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 85–96; here 86.

6 John Wagner, *Historical Dictionary of the Elizabethan World: Britain, Ireland, Europe and America* (Hoboken, NJ: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 258.

side his wife Queen Mary I, planned to invade England to restore a Catholic monarchy. However, England inflicted several blows on Spain, but this Anglo-Spanish War had also negative effects on England's economy and military resources. Those difficult conditions led England to search for a solution and to form a series of Anglo-Eastern coalitions. This global alliance, especially with the Ottoman Empire, was the best solution Elizabeth I resorted to whose power is perfectly described by the prominent English traveler Henry Blount; "He who would behold these times in their greatest glory could not find a better scene than Turkey . . . Turks are the only modern people, great in action . . . whose Empire hath so suddenly invaded the world."⁷

The English who were in a weak position because of the break with Catholicism as represented by the Pope and the Habsburg Holy Roman Empire were, thus, more open to developing alternative views on Levantine and Ottoman culture. The British developed true admiration for the strengths of the Ottomans. It was, however, a jealous admiration,⁸ which Gerald MacLean describes as "imperial envy."⁹ For MacLean, the Ottomans had a pervasive impact on English life and were considered the *raison d'être* of the Levant Company. In 1581 Queen Elizabeth I gave Sir Edward Osbourne and Richard Staper the charter to form what was originally called the "Company of Merchants of the Levant." Originally, it was a joint stock company which never, as James Mather observes, "built forts, planted flags, [or] fired rifles and laid claim to patches of earth" as the East India Company did.¹⁰

In 1592, the Levant Company merged with the Venice Company, giving the new company even greater scope, monopolizing English trade to all of the Eastern Mediterranean.¹¹ The union with the Venice Company, which also led to a change in the official title of the company to "The Governor and Company of Merchants of England Trading to the Levant Seas," justly made the Levant Company the master of English trade to the Eastern Mediterranean.

This global coalition with the Ottoman Empire has already been explored by current British studies specifically those who focused on the Levant Company, the global outcome of the Anglo-Ottoman encounter. Christine Laidlaw's book, *The*

7 Henry Blount, *A Voyage into the Levant* (London: Andrew Croke, 1650), 4.

8 Naji B. Oueijan, *A Compendium of Eastern Elements in Lord Byron's Oriental Tales*. *Studies in Nineteenth-Century British Literature*, 13 (New York: Peter Lang, 1999), 36.

9 Gerald M. Maclean, *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800* (Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 20.

10 James Mather, *Pashas: Traders and Travellers in the Islamic World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009), 3.

11 Mortimer Epstein, *The English Levant Company: Its Foundation and its History to 1640* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1968), 36.

British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century (2010), is the most current in the field which considers the foundation of Anglo-Ottoman trade as an outcome of “commercial disputes with the Dutch,” that “led to the severance of the comfortable trading through Antwerp [which compelled the English] to look elsewhere for goods from the east.”¹² In fact, Laidlaw’s contention noticeably downplays the complications of the Anglo-Ottoman encounter, and it neglects rudimentary facts of early modern European history: specifically, the Spanish-Hapsburg incursion of the Low Countries which disrupted England’s access to Levantine merchandise. Laidlaw’s perspective is, nonetheless, insufficient in that even the scholars at the forefront of the history of the Levant Company sixty years ago investigated further the political-economic foundations of Anglo-Ottoman trade.

For example, G. D. Ramsay claims that Queen Elizabeth I, who continued the development of English heavy industry that her father Henry VIII had initiated, “helped to make England independent of foreign sources for armaments,” which were sequentially “purveyed to the Dutch, French and Islamic foes of the king of Spain”; a trade which, Ramsay describes, as “illicit or at least clandestine.”¹³ Similarly, Alfred C. Wood notes in *A History of the Levant Company* that tins were exported to the Ottomans and that the English merchants placed heavy emphasis on the secretive nature of their voyages into the Mediterranean to avoid the Spanish.¹⁴ Likewise, Halil Inalcik asserts that once the Ottoman state “realized that the Protestant nations, the English and the Dutch, had fought against Philip II of Spain and were thus natural allies of the empire and also economically useful, the Ottoman government favored them with capitulations.”¹⁵ Additionally, Inalcik postulates that, in addition to the said political factors, the Ottoman state was “anxious to establish direct trade relations” with England “in order to obtain vital materials such as English tin, steel and lead.”¹⁶ Altogether, however, all this research analyzes the Anglo-Ottoman encounter from a political or economic perspective only.

However, there are remarkable studies that have focused on the cultural encounter between England and the Ottoman Empire, such as the works of Matthew

¹² Christine Laidlaw, *The British in the Levant: Trade and Perceptions of the Ottoman Empire in the Eighteenth Century* (London: I. B. Taurus, 2010), 20.

¹³ George Daniel Ramsay, *English Overseas Trade during the Centuries of Emergence* (London: Macmillan, 1957), 33.

¹⁴ Alfred C. Wood, *A History of the Levant Company* (London: Frank Cass, 1964), 17.

¹⁵ Halil Inalcik, *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire, 1300–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 195.

¹⁶ Inalcik, *An Economic* (see note 15), 366.

Dimmock, Gerald Maclean, and Nabil Matar.¹⁷ Dimmock states that in the 1590s, the communication and interaction of “notions of status, geo-politics and religion in England” formed a “tangle of alliances” as Elizabeth and English society were challenged and provoked by European statesmen about England’s political and economic relationship with the Ottoman Empire.¹⁸

Moreover, Dimmock proposes that Catholic Christendom considered Elizabeth and the English as supportive to the Ottomans in their European campaigns and that, in terms of representation, the English were viewed as the “new” Turks.¹⁹ Besides, Dimmock states that Christopher Marlowe, one of William Shakespeare’s contemporary playwrights and a strong supporter of Queen Elizabeth and the reigning English state, assimilated ambivalent views of Ottoman Christian conflict into his plays *Tamburlaine* and *The Jew of Malta*.²⁰ *Tamburlaine* meticulously points out both the necessity and the danger of ambassadors to propel imperial aspirations. Jonathan Burton notes that the play is less concerned with “the author’s feelings concerning Islam than a perspective on early modern England’s need to produce a rhetoric that would justify its controversial commercial alliance with the Turks.”²¹ Like *Tamburlaine*, *The Jew of Malta* was written during the Elizabethan period of the “pax Turcica” – that moment in English history when its alliance with the Ottoman Empire promised the opportunity for national profit, despite national apprehensions about Turkish conquest westward. *The Jew of Malta* sheds light on Elizabethan period, when the bonds of dense sociability that connected communities of trans-imperial mediators determined Anglo-Ottoman successes.

However, Gerald Maclean, in *Looking East: English Writing and the Ottoman Empire before 1800*, demonstrates that English society was fascinated with the Turks and especially Turkish carpets since the reign of Henry VIII.²² Besides, Maclean highlights that Richard Knolles’s best-selling and “much reprinted” book *Generall Historie of the Turkes* (1603) illustrates how English society became interested in Ottoman culture in the 1590s; something that would have been impossible without the formation of Anglo-Ottoman political-economic relations in the 1580s.²³ Additionally, in *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558–1713*, Maclean and Nabil Matar

17 Matthew Dimmock, *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England* (Aldershots, Hants, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005); Gerald Maclean and Nabil Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World, 1558–1713* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

18 Dimmock, *New Turkes* (see note 17), 162–63.

19 Dimmock, *New Turkes* (see note 17), 163–64.

20 Dimmock, *New Turkes* (see note 17), 168–69.

21 Jonathan Burton, *Traffic and Turning: Islam and English Drama 1579–1624*. (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2005), 56.

22 Maclean, *Looking East* (see note 9), 32–36.

23 Maclean, *Looking East* (see note 9), 56.

demonstrate that English society was intensely aware of the power, wealth, and majesty of the Islamic world, which was unswervingly portrayed in English popular culture.²⁴ Thus, by merging the relatively pure economic, political, and socio cultural histories to create a larger and more comprehensive frame of exploration, a global depiction of reciprocally fortifying acquaintances and connections becomes startlingly ostensible.

After the conquest of Egypt in 1517, the Ottoman Empire attained a commercial and political hegemony that encouraged Ottoman sultans to maintain European and trans-Mediterranean trade with Europe and vice versa. They renewed, for instance, Mamluk Egypt's trade agreements with Venice, Europe's leading commercial entity in the Eastern Mediterranean. Mathilde Alazraki highlights in her article "The Influence of Powerful Eastern Women in England's Relationship with the East during the Early Modern Period (1570–1673)" that

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the Barbary States thus became unexpected allies which could help destabilize the Spanish trade around the Mediterranean. On the private front, some famous English privateers such as John Ward joined the Barbary pirates to keep on plundering Spanish ships along the coast of Tunis, Algiers and Tripoli.²⁵

The Mediterranean was considered "the international marketplace of the old world,"²⁶ which was mainly divided between contending empires such as the Catholic Habsburgs dynasty around the Western coast and the Muslim Ottoman Empire, which controlled no less than three-quarters of the sea along the Eastern coast. Moreover, other powers such as Venice or the Barbary States also engaged in trade around the Mediterranean which was a paramount place of commercial power in the long-distance trade. England's commercial status was substantively weaker than that of Western or Eastern countries. Peter Stallybrass stresses in "Marginal England: The View from Aleppo" that

Western Europe highly valued the silks, dyes, jewels, and spices of the East, but it had little to offer in exchange . . . While England was an important producer of wool and unfinished cloth, it remained incapable of producing the sophisticated dyeing and finishing processes that were established in . . . Italy, Persia, India, and China.²⁷

²⁴ Maclean and Matar, *Britain and the Islamic World* (see note 17), 58.

²⁵ Andrew Barker, *True and Certain Report of the Beginning, Proceedings, Overthrowes, and Now Present Estate of Captaine Ward and Danseker; the Two Late Famous Pirates* (London: William Hall, 1609), par. 20.

²⁶ Games, *Web of Empire* (see note 3), 47.

²⁷ Peter Stallybrass, "Marginal England: The View from Aleppo," *Center or Margin: Revisions of the English Renaissance in Honor of Leeds Barroll*, ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2006), 27–39; here 27–28.

Thus, England was politically and religiously isolated because of the Anglo-Spanish war and commercially incapable of getting a share of the riches that were circulating around the Mediterranean. These conditions provoked Elizabeth I to seek global trading coalitions with powerful rulers outside of Europe, such as Murad III, the Sultan of the Ottoman Empire.

However, there was a conflict between the Ottoman Empire and the Catholic Habsburgs when the Spanish “gained the upper-hand over their Muslim enemies” in the battle of Lepanto in 1571. Alazraki notes that

Starting from the battle of Lepanto in 1571 where the Spanish gained the upper-hand over their Muslim enemies, a new wave of conflict started between the Ottoman Empire and the Catholic Habsburgs. The Ottomans, who were already battling Persia in the East, needed ammunitions in great numbers, and England, eager to enter powerful diplomatic and commercial alliances, stepped in to become the empire’s new supplier.²⁸

The diplomatic engagement of England with the Ottomans was an important moment in English history and exemplifies the first occasion of a wider and more globalized foreign policy beyond the confines of Christendom. This progress in English foreign policy demonstrated a radical change in the diplomatic thinking of Elizabeth and her counselors. Such global commercial expansion was met with resilience from Continental Europe, yet it was part of extra-European English foreign policy leading up to the founding of the Levant Company. Thus, the subsequent section of this chapter will shed light on England’s first global diplomatic engagement with the Ottomans during the reign of Elizabeth I which is considered the first example of an actual and adamant extra-European alignment, developed in opposition to the Catholic hegemony. England’s direct contact with the Ottoman Empire resulted in substantial shifts in diplomacy and commerce and revealed a distinct change in how the Ottomans and the wider Islamicate World were perceived and considered by English society.²⁹ Additionally and more significantly, such encounters fostered the English political and religious identity and developed it as distinct and independent self from Continental Europe.

²⁸ Alazraki, “The Influence of Powerful Eastern Women” (see note 4), 10.

²⁹ The term “Islamicate” refer[s] not directly to the religion, Islam, itself, but to the social and cultural complex historically associated with Islam and the Muslims, both among Muslims themselves and even when found among non-Muslims. See Marshall G. S. Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*. Volume 1: *The Classical Age of Islam* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 59.

William Harborne, the “Luteran Elçisi”

William Harborne, Elizabeth I's first ambassador in Constantinople, succeeded to accomplish commercial privileges for England to sell “powder, and munition.”³⁰ In exchange, English ships would return home with exotic goods from the intra-Asian trade that passed through Ottoman ports, such as currants, malmsey wine, indigo, and raw wool which would fuel the textile industry back home.³¹ The result of these commercial privileges granted by the Ottoman Empire was the Turkey Merchants, the charter company created by Elizabeth I in 1581, which became the more renowned Levant Company in 1592. Accordingly, England had access to expensive Asian goods directly, and had not to go through Venetian or minority merchants (such as Jews and Armenians) who acted as mediators. Hence, this would not only make England richer, but also fortify its position against Spain in the strategic region of the Levant.³²

Almost immediately after Harborne's efforts in Constantinople began to bear fruit in March 1579, roughly one year after he had left England, a flurry of diplomatic activity ensued. The powers that be, notably France, Venice, Spain, and the Holy Roman Empire, used all the resources to disrupt Harborne's increasingly rewarding endeavor and prevent the English from successfully entering the Levant. The reports issued by the ambassadors and representatives of these four states all show a strenuous effort to stop a formal relationship between the Ottoman Empire and England. With the exception of the Venetians who were obviously anxious about commercial competition in the Levant, however, the European diplomats and representatives who were alarmed by England's engagement with the Ottomans were primarily concerned with the political complications of the encounter. All Harborne had accomplished, however, was successfully petitioning for an audience with the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Sokollu Mehmed Pasha.³³ In particular, the Holy Roman ambassador, Joachim von Sinzendorff, and the French ambassador, Jacques de Germigny, persecuted Harborne and threw

30 Richard Hakluyt, “The Letters Patents, or Privileges Graunted by Her Majestie to Sir Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and Certaine other Marchants of London for their Trade into the Dominions of the Great Turke,” *Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), vol. 5, 192–201; here 199.

31 Games, *Web of Empire* (see note 3), 50.

32 Lisa Jardine, “Gloriana Rules the Waves: or, The Advantage of Being Excommunicated (and a Woman),” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 6.14 (Dec. 2004), 209–22.

33 Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey, 1578–1582* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 44.

up whatever obstacles they could in his way.³⁴ Nevertheless, by the end of May, 1580, Harborne's efforts and two years abroad finally bore fruit when Murad III granted full trade opportunity with England which formed the "basis of all subsequent Anglo-Ottoman relations."³⁵

Before Harborne skillfully acquired permission to trade in Ottoman lands, however, Sultan Murad III (1574–1595) and Queen Elizabeth I had already developed an extensive and unique correspondence. After Harborne's petition to Sokollu Pasha, Murad III sent Elizabeth a letter on 7 March 1579 (8 Muharram 987) in which he repeats the basic formula of his claim to universal sovereignty by saying that his court was always open to "friend and foe."³⁶ Furthermore, Murad extended safe-passage and protection, as he and his predecessors had granted to the French, the Venetians, and the Polish, following the same basic patterns and procedures of the Ottomans' diplomatic policy.

Susan Skilliter points out that Murad's letter ends with his wish that, once his letter had arrived in England and was read by Elizabeth, "let not your love and friendship be lacking (and) may your agents and your merchants never cease from coming with their wares and goods, whether by sea . . . or by land. . . carrying on trade (and then) going away [parentheses added by Skilliter]."³⁷

Building on her foreign policy experience in Morocco and Muscovy, Elizabeth developed innovative ways to engage with the Ottomans and achieve her own goals over the course of nine letters between her and Murad.³⁸ As a result of her engaging with the Ottomans, Elizabeth, her advisors, and Harborne ingeniously rebounded and counterbalanced the backlash imposed upon her by Spanish, German, Portuguese, and French diplomats. English merchants' export of ammunitions and strategic materials to the Ottomans was considered unacceptable by all who were aware of it and rapidly became powerful political ammunition for use against Elizabeth and English-Protestantism.

The rapid deterioration in the relations between England and Spain (and Catholic Christendom in general) caused Elizabeth to seek Ottoman support. This is demon-

34 Joachim von Sinzendorff, The Imperial Ambassador reports: "(a) Translation of part of the Imperial ambassador in Constantinople Joachim von Sinzendorff's report of 21 and 24 March 1579 to Rudolf II," as cited in Skilliter, *William Harborne* (see note 33), 60–63.

35 Skilliter, *William Harborne* (see note 33), 89–90.

36 Sultan Murad III, Document Six: "Translation of the Registry copy of Sultan Murad III's command to Queen Elizabeth I, promising security by land and sea to all English agents and merchants trading in the Ottoman dominions, and requesting her friendship in return. [Constantinople, 8 Muharram 987/7 March 1579]," as cited in Skilliter, *William Harborne* (see note 33), 49–50.

37 Sultan Murad III, Document Six, 50; Skilliter, *William Harborne* (see note 33), 50–51.

38 Dahiru Yahya, *Morocco in the Sixteenth Century: Problems and Patterns in African Foreign Policy* (London: Longman, 1981), 78.

strated by the letter delivered by Harborne to Murad III when he returned to Constantinople in 1583 as the first English ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. In particular, the geographical and political information that Harborne presented to Murad is worth noting due to its incredible level of exaggeration almost certainly geared to present the viability of England being a legitimate counterbalance to Spanish hegemony and a strong and natural ally for the Ottomans:

England comprises 1,200 leagues in circumference; it has a great many splendid cities, of which the capital London is the same size as Istanbul; this has 200,000 armed men in readiness. Within the country are 416 fortified towns, apart from castles. . . . its mines produce gold, silver, copper, tin, lead, bronze, iron, steel, saltpetre [sic]. It abounds in wood, both for constructing ships as for the fire, and sustains infinite craftsmen of every kind. . . . From [the islands], when need arises, 830,000 fighting men can be levied with great ease . . . a fleet of ships and galleys larger and better equipped than those of all other Christian princes, so that their strength and power can hardly be described unless seen. The people are quick and ferocious in avenging wrongs, most scrupulous in observing leagues and peace-treaties, and renewing them very generously.³⁹

In order to gain Ottoman support, Queen Elizabeth exaggerated the English strength and portrayed her state as strong and warlike similar in many ways to contemporary representations of the Ottomans. In terms of English foreign policy, Elizabeth's dexterous use of Harborne to represent England to one of the early modern world's superpowers demonstrates a high level of pragmatism. That is, the deployment of an English ambassador to Murad's court had more direct benefits. During his tenure, Harborne continued to pursue an anti-Spanish agenda at the Ottoman court at the will of the English state. For example, in 1585 Harborne received "instructions from Walsingham to incite Turkey to war with Spain" and from 1585 through the end of his appointment in 1588 "he worked energetically to prevent the renewal of the [1581 truce between Spain and the Ottoman Empire] thus obliging Spain to keep forces in the Mediterranean."⁴⁰ Moreover, Harborne was ordered to "persuade the Sultan to provide a fleet to attack Spain or the Spanish dominions of Apulis [sic], Calabria and Catalonia simultaneously with an attack by England from the Atlantic."⁴¹ To accomplish this, Harborne was advised by Sir Francis Walsingham, Elizabeth's Principal Secretary and spymaster, to involve himself in

39 Skilliter, "William Harborne, the First English Ambassador: 1583–1588," *Four Centuries of Turco-British Relations: Studies in Diplomatic, Economic, and Cultural Affairs*, ed. William Hale and Ali İhsan Bağış (Beverly, Yorkshire: The Eothen Press, 1984), 10–25; here 22–23.

40 Skilliter, "The Hispano-Ottoman Armistice of 1581," *Iran and Islam: In the Memory of the Late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C. E. Bosworth (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1971), 491–515; here 503.

41 Skilliter, "The Hispano-Ottoman" (see note 40), 503.

Ottoman foreign policy by urging the sultan to end the long war with Safavid Iran “which had drained Turkish resources.”⁴² Harborne did succeed in preventing the renewal of the Spanish-Ottoman truce in 1587 which “may have helped to prevent the sending of the Armada against England that year” due to the insecurity Philip II faced on his Mediterranean border.⁴³ Furthermore, Harborne was incorporated into the Ottoman *millet* system as “Luteran elçisi, the Lutheran ambassador responsible . . . for the citizens of Protestant states [in Ottoman lands] not yet in treaty with the Sultan.”⁴⁴ Accordingly, unlike any English government preceding it, Elizabeth and her ministers established an English manifestation on the world stage; and, with little experience in global relationships, Elizabeth’s government realized a successful foreign policy that protected English independence through innovative and groundbreaking diplomacy.

Sultana Safiye as a Peripheral Channel for Diplomatic

Anglo-Ottoman Relationships

The religious and naval conflict between England and Spain, in addition to the battle of Lepanto, was the causes of Queen Elizabeth’s excommunication. As a result of England’s initial isolated position and the Ottomans’ ensuing demand for weaponry, England was in need to obtain a preferential relation with the biggest empire around the Mediterranean at the time. However, this special relationship would also rely on the Queen’s initial correspondence with a more inconspicuous but nonetheless main player in Constantinople: Murad III’s favorite concubine, Sultana Safiye. Such correspondence is considered an example of peripheral channel for diplomatic relationships between England and the Ottoman Empire.

After her excommunication, Queen Elizabeth took a bold but lucrative decision to initiate a dialogue with the Sultan. Rayne Allinson points out in her study of Elizabeth I’s and Murad III’s correspondence, “[a]ccording to Ottoman custom, the sultan could not engage in diplomatic relations with a foreign prince – especially a Christian prince – on equal terms”.⁴⁵ That is, according to Allinson, being a *female unmarried*

⁴² Skilliter, “The Hispano-Ottoman” (see note 40), 503.

⁴³ Skilliter, “William Harborne, the First English Ambassador” (see note 39), 23.

⁴⁴ Skilliter, “William Harborne, the First English Ambassador” (see note 39), 12–13.

⁴⁵ Rayne Allinson, *A Monarchy of Letters: Royal Correspondence and English Diplomacy in the Reign of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 132.

ried Christian princess was an obstacle that Elizabeth I had to overcome to be able to contact the Sultan. Edward Barton, the Queen's ambassador solved this problem. Hence, I disagree with Allison's perspective concerning the incapability of Elizabeth I to contact the Sultan because of her gender, for Queen Elizabeth managed before Barton to communicate via letters with Sultan Murad III. I think Barton had other reasons, personal interests, which made him depend on Sultana Safiye's influence.⁴⁶

Edward Barton and the Sultanate of Women

Barton was Harborne's successor as official agent of the Queen in 1588 and was made full ambassador in 1593. Nonetheless, Barton realized that having the Sultan's ear was more difficult than expected. In 1592, Barton's effort to plea with the Sultan in order to obtain his help against Spain was unsuccessful; however, Barton decided to try another channel to negotiate England's interests against Spain, and the channel was Sultana Safiye, Murad III's *hasseki*,⁴⁷ whom Barton asked to act as his intermediary with the Sultan.

To deliver the letter to the Sultana was not an easy task but Barton got the assistance of the *kira* to deliver his letter inside the harem, where the Sultan's concubines resided. A *kira* was the Ottoman equivalent of a lady-in-waiting, acting as the Sultana's contact with the outside world, delivering letters, buying goods, and generally going wherever the Sultana could not.⁴⁸ Sultana Safiye's *kira* at the time was the Italian Jew Esperanza Malchi with whom Barton needed to foster a good relationship in order to keep his informal channel to the Sultana – and accordingly to the Sultan – open.

In a 1595 letter, Barton stresses the importance of the *kira* in his dealings at the court: "because my selfe cannot come to the speech of the Sultana, and all my business passes by the hands of the said Mediatrix [the *kira*], loosing her freindshippe, I

⁴⁶ Barton had his own personal interests which took precedence over the expressed commands given to him by the Queen; it will be explained later in the chapter. See also Jerry Brotton, *The Sultan and the Queen: The Untold Story of Elizabeth and Islam* (New York: Viking/Penguin, 2016). Brotton shows that Sultan Murad III initiated the correspondence in 1579, when the Ottoman Empire faced threats on all sides. Because Murad was in poor health and more interested in religion than statecraft, he was glad to let his chief consort Safiya have considerable political authority. Brotton has also discussed diplomatic relations between the two powers in *The Orient Isle: Elizabethan England and the Islamic World* (London: Allen Lane, 2016).

⁴⁷ *Hasseki* means the mother of the Sultan's heir.

⁴⁸ Maria P. Pedani, "Safiye's Household and Venetian Diplomacy," *Turcica* 32 (2000), 9–32; here 10.

loose the practick with the Sultana.”⁴⁹ By befriending Esperanza Malchi, Barton was able to contact Sultana Safiye. In the letter written in Italian (probably so that the *kira* would translate its contents to Safiye), Barton requested the Sultana “to deign to intercede with the Sultan that he may ask for my memorial from those Ministers, or at least their opinion thereon.”⁵⁰ However, more than simply ask her for the Sultan’s attention, Barton keenly involves her in the matter he wishes to resolve – that is, to fight against Spain alongside Elizabeth I. In order to do so, Barton emphasizes Elizabeth’s gift and strength as a female ruler in order to influence Sultana Safiye and sway her opinion, and subsequently the Sultan’s “[Elizabeth I] is a woman, and yet has fought and harassed for a long time [the King of Spain]. Worthy therefore is she that his Majesty’s power should be displayed in her favour.”⁵¹

Barton’s well-thought strategy of going through the Sultana to sway and influence the Sultan shows Barton’s acquaintance with the inner-working of the Ottoman court at the time. Certainly, Murad III’s reign was part of a period which the historian Ahmed Refik described as “the Sultanate of Women,” a time when the wives, concubines and mothers of Sultans yielded great power at the Porte.⁵² This power enjoyed by Sultana Safiye, first as *hasseki* during the time of Sultan Murad III, then as *valide* (mother of the Sultan) during the reign of her son Mehmet III, had already been acknowledged by other foreign officials in Constantinople. In 1581, the Venetian ambassador Jacopo Sorenzo stated that Safiye and Nurbanu – Murad III’s mother – “governed everyone” and that whoever desired “favours and graces at the Porte” needed to befriend them, or at least “not to cross them.”⁵³

Moreover, when Elizabeth I sent gifts to Murad III a year later, the shipment also included a letter and a series of presents for Sultana Safiye.⁵⁴ In March 1593, the *Ascension* entered Constantinople’s harbour, carrying on board royal presents from the Queen to the Sultan and his *hasseki*. During an elaborate ceremony, Barton presented Elizabeth’s gifts to Murad III: “12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine English cloth of all colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of sattin, 6

49 Edward Barton, quoted in Skilliter, “Three Letters from the Ottoman ‘Sultana’ Sāfiye to Queen Elizabeth I,” *Documents from Islamic Chanceries*, ed. Samuel M. Stern (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1970), 119–57; here 148.

50 Horatio F. Brown, *The Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts, Venice (1592–1603)* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1897), 5.

51 Alazraki, “The Influence of Powerful Eastern Women” (see note 4), 10–11.

52 Leslie Peirce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 289.

53 Alazraki, “The Influence of Powerful Eastern Women” (see note 4), 11.

54 Alazraki, “The Influence of Powerful Eastern Women” (see note 4), 11.

pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value.”⁵⁵ After presenting these customary gifts, Barton kissed the hand of the Sultan to confirm his ambassadorial status to the entire court. However, the ceremony did not end there:

[H]e shortly after presented the Sultana or empress who (by reason that is mother to him which was heire to the crown Imperial) is had in far greater reverences then any of his other Queens or concubines. The Present sent her in her majesties name was a jewel of her majesties picture, set with some rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine case of glasse bottles silver & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland.⁵⁶

The gifts sent to Murad III were rather utilitarian (such as expensive fabrics) and would have been valued for their material worth primarily. However, the presents sent to Sultana Safiye included not only items of material wealth, but also a personalized gift – a portrait of the Queen herself. This special attention already suggests that the relationship between the Queen and the Sultana started in a less formal and more personalized way than her contact with the Sultan. The gift was very well-received, so much so that Sultana Safiye immediately wished to send a favor of her own:

[The Sultana] sent to know of the ambassador what present he thought she might return [which] would most delight her majestie: who sent word that a sute of princely attire being after the Turkish fashion would for the rareness thereof be acceptable in England. Whereupon she sent an upper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an under gowne of cloth of silver, and a girdle of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification.⁵⁷

Thus, the gifts that the Queen and the Sultana sent to each other appear more personal than simply expensive items exchanged by foreign rulers.

The Sultana’s “letter of gratification” reached Queen Elizabeth in 1594. Its translations in Italian and English appear in Hakluyt’s *Principal Navigations*, but the original letter in Turkish is described by Skilliter in her study as “an outstanding specimen of Turkish calligraphy.”⁵⁸ The letter itself was “liberally flecked with gold,” written in “black, blue, crimson, gold and scarlet” ink, and bejeweled with a “valuable jewel-studded seal.”⁵⁹ As Allinson puts it: “Even for those who, like Elizabeth, were unable to read the contents, this letter proclaimed – both visually and rhetori-

55 Richard Hakluyt, “A Description of a Voyage to Constantinople and Syria Begun the 21 of March, 1593, and Ended the Ninth of August 1595,” id., *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), volume 6, 94–113; here 100.

56 Hakluyt, “A Description” (see note 55), 102.

57 Hakluyt, “A Description” (see note 55), 102.

58 Skilliter, “Three Letters” (see note 49), 122.

59 Skilliter, “Three Letters” (see note 49), 121–22.

cally – the supreme magnificence of the sender and the sophistication of the bureaucratic culture in which it was produced.”⁶⁰ Queen Elizabeth and Sultana Safiye did not write or read in the same language. While the letters Elizabeth wrote to Safiye have been lost, her correspondence with Murad III was sent in Latin, which could suggest that she wrote to Safiye in the same language.⁶¹

As for the Sultana’s correspondence, she wrote exclusively in Ottoman Turkish, but each of her letters was sent with an Italian translation, which suggests that Elizabeth read Safiye’s letters in Italian. Safiye’s 1593 Turkish letter, after being delivered by her *kira*, was first translated in Italian by a clerk at the English Embassy in Istanbul, but its appearance was deemed too poor to be shown to the Queen, so another official translation was made by the secretary for the Levant correspondence.⁶² Nonetheless, regardless of these linguistic and physical barriers, the translated letter – as well as that of the gifts that came with it – was the most direct form of communication the Queen and the Sultana could have.

The content of Sultana Safiye’s letter tells that she was willing to do more than simply help the Queen’s ambassador. The letter starts with all the formalities of an Ottoman royal correspondence, with an invocation to God running over nineteen lines and a list of Murad III’s titles stretching over twenty lines – in which Sultana Safiye’s own title as mother to his heir is included: “most worthy Mehemet Can, the sonne of Sultan Murad Can (. . .): on the behalf of whose mother this present letter is written.”⁶³ The language of the letter is rather figurative, close to poetry in its expression of friendship toward the Queen: “I send your Majesty so honourable and sweet a salutation of peace, that al the flocke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to ye like, much less this simple letter of mine.”

The expression “simple letter of mine” is ambiguous, for the visually glorious appearance of the Turkish letter was meant to impress whoever would lay eyes on it. However, this is not the only contradiction present in the Sultana’s letter. After acknowledging the arrival of the Queen’s gifts and letter in Constantinople, Sultana Safiye suddenly switches from courteous poetry to political and diplomatic matters:

I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatsoever may concerne the countreys which are subject to your Majesty, I never faile, having information given unto me, in whatsoever occasion shall be ministred, to gratifie your Majesty to my power in any reasonable and convenient matter, that all your subject busi-

⁶⁰ Allinson, *A Monarchy of Letters* (see note 45), 131.

⁶¹ Hakluyt, “The Answer of her Majestie to the Aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke,” *The Principal Navigations* (see note 55), 171–74; here 172.

⁶² Skilliter, “Three Letters” (see note 49), 147.

⁶³ Hakluyt, “A Letter,” *Principal Navigations* (see note 55), 115–88; here 117.

nesses and affairs may have a wished and happy end. For I will always be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour for your Majesties affaires, that your Majesty at all times may be fully satisfied.⁶⁴

Sultana Safiye, in this letter, offers to act almost as a second ambassador for the Queen in Constantinople. Interestingly enough, she does not offer her diplomatic assistance in the same way she offered her friendship to Elizabeth I. Here, there are no hyperboles, no metaphors, no singing “flocke of Nightingales.” Instead, the Sultana stresses the fact that she will act only on “reasonable and convenient matter[s]” for the Queen.

This sudden return to down-to-earth considerations after a letter overflowing with words of friendship suggests that Safiye was very much aware of the extent of her power at the Porte and that she did not offer her help to Elizabeth frivolously. This first letter from Safiye to the Queen thus offers an insight into the ambivalent attitude of the Sultana who wanted to visibly impress the English Queen with her exotic gifts and colorful letter representative of her high status; but who was also ready to act as an intermediary for the Queen in Constantinople simply because Elizabeth I was thoughtful enough to send her gifts and to correspond with her personally.⁶⁵

Queen Elizabeth I and Sultana Safiye would not write to each other again for the next six years, but during this time, Sultana Safiye seemed to keep her promise of helping Queen Elizabeth I’s representative in his dealings at the Porte. During his delegation, Barton relied heavily on the Sultana to strengthen his influence in Constantinople, so much so that John Sanderson, his secretary at the embassy, writes in his diary:

Many wourthy thinges passed in that my longe aboad at Constantinople. Emongest other I note the extraordinary esteeme [that] was had of the ambassiatour aforementioned with them all in generall, both Christians, Turks, and Jewes. By meanes chefelie of the Turks mother[’s] favoure and some mony, he made and displaced both princes and patriarchs, befriended viseroys, and preferred the sutes of cadies (who ar thier chefe preests and spirituall justisies).⁶⁶

Thus, courting the favour of the Sultana not only allowed Barton to have the Sultan’s ear, but it also fortified his own influence as a foreign ambassador at the Porte.

⁶⁴ Hakluyt, “A Letter,” *Principal Navigations* (see note 55), 115–88; here 117.

⁶⁵ Alazraki, “The Influence of Powerful Eastern Women” (see note 4), 12–13.

⁶⁶ John Sanderson, *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant (1584–1602)* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1930), 61.

Henry Lello and Sultana Safiye's Letters

After Barton's death in 1598, Henry Lello became the new English ambassador and followed Barton's strategy in dealing with the Sultanate. Lello was aware of how Safiye's influence had helped Barton in his ambassadorial mission; accordingly, Lello must have known how beneficial the Sultana's friendship could be to him. However, Queen Elizabeth did not send the Sultana any other gifts or letters for more than six years since Elizabeth had last sent gifts to the Ottomans. The gifts for Murad III's son, Mehmet III, on his accession to the throne were four years late since Murad III had died in 1595. In August 1599, the *Hector* arrived in Constantinople, officially to bring gifts to Mehmet III and unofficially to bring Lello his letter of credentials as the new English ambassador after Barton's death in 1598.⁶⁷

The Queen's wanted the new Sultan to renew the trading privileges, so the gifts sent aboard the *Hector* were considerably more sumptuous than the previous ones that had been sent in 1593. The Queen shipped an organ-clock with its maker, Thomas Dallam.⁶⁸ The Sultana received her own gift, as well, a luxurious coach worth over 600£.⁶⁹ Nevertheless, transporting such large and delicate examples of English craftsmanship by sea was not an easy-going job, and, naturally, the organ was slightly damaged during the journey. Skilliter highlights that the coach was almost presented to the Sultan instead of his mother; in a letter to Secretary of State Robert Cecil, Lello explains that word had gotten out about the Sultana's gift from some Englishman abroad in Constantinople. As a consequence, Safiye was expecting her coach and not receiving it would be a grave diplomatic incident: "The coache must of necessity be given to the Old Sultana because itt hath byn brutted here longe agone by some out of England thatt hir highness had ordained the same, for hir, who longe seince have taken notic ther of."⁷⁰ Luckily, the organ was repaired and then each gift was presented to its original recipient. Lello reports in another letter to Cecil that "The Sultana is very pleased with her present and has promised to be my friend."⁷¹ Just as she had done in 1593, the Sultana wrote back to the Queen and sent some presents of her own. She wrote two similar letters,⁷² and the only difference between them was the descriptions of the gifts sent which are not as personalized as they were when Barton suggested a Turkish dress for the Queen.

⁶⁷ Skilliter, "Three Letters" (see note 49), 149.

⁶⁸ Thomas Dallam, "The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam (1599–1600)," *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant*, ed. Theodore Bent (London: Hakluyt Society, 1893).

⁶⁹ Dallam, "The Diary of Master Thomas Dallam" (see note 68), 63.

⁷⁰ Skilliter, "Three Letters" (see note 49), 150.

⁷¹ Brown, *Calendar of State Papers* (see note 50), xlv.

⁷² Skilliter, "Three Letters" (see note 49), 138–40.

This time, Safiye sent “a robe, a girdle, a sleeve, two golden embroidered handkerchiefs, three towels, one crowne studded with pearls and rubies” with the first letter and “a crown of rubies mixed with diamonds” with the second. Sanderson witnessed the arrival of these gifts at the embassy and describes them in his diary as “none of the finest.”⁷³ Likewise, in a letter to Cecil, Lello designates the gifts as “but trifles (. . .), yet these (. . .) in general esteemed a great matter of freindshypp, because it is not [the Ottomans’] use to send presents to any prynce whatsoever.”⁷⁴ Thus, despite the fact that the gifts are not considered luxurious enough, Lello’s remark still highlights the special relationship between the Queen and the Sultana.

Sultana Safiye’s letters appear much simpler than the visually impressive, one. In her 1599 letter, there is no colored ink, no gold leaf on the paper, and no jewel used as a seal. Instead, Skilliter describes the letters as “crude in appearance,” written in simple black ink with the *valide*’s personal seal on the margin.⁷⁵ Sanderson states that the letters were not written by a scribe at the Palace, but by “som woman in the seraglio.”⁷⁶ This change of hand suggests a shift in Safiye’s correspondence to Elizabeth I. While her first 1593 letter represented the very official and public sphere of the Palace, these two letters seem to convey a more personal and informal feeling. This shows that the Sultana did not care about impressing the Queen anymore, but simply wished to convey her message in a fast and convenient way. Thus, the letters are much shorter, the language in them is simpler and their content is rather straightforward.

The Sultana thanks the Queen for her coach, “it has our gracious acceptance,” and this reaffirms her friendship to her. She speaks of “pure mutual confidence and the abundance of amity” and assures her she has not stopped promoting English interests in front of her son.⁷⁷ Indeed, she keeps telling him to “act according to the treaty,” that is to say, to abide by the capitulations that were first granted by Murad III. These letters were the last correspondence between Safiye and Elizabeth I, but they still highlight the Sultana’s role in the consolidation of the English embassy in Constantinople at the turn of the seventeenth century.

To put it short, Sultana Safiye played a vital role in the global relationship between England and the Ottoman Empire. She appears as a parallel channel of diplomatic communication when the Sultan’s advisors were reluctant to help Christian foreign ambassadors. Safiye was a direct link to the Sultan’s ear and a great influencer which was especially useful. Still, it is necessary to differentiate the role of

⁷³ Sanderson, *The Travels* (see note 66), 185.

⁷⁴ Skilliter, “Three Letters” (see note 49), 153.

⁷⁵ Skilliter, “Three Letters” (see note 49), 133.

⁷⁶ Sanderson, *The Travels* (see note 66), 185.

⁷⁷ Skilliter, “Three Letters” (see note 49), 139.

Safiye's impact in helping England pursue its national interests, and her role in promoting the ambassadors' private interests at the Porte. Before being perceived as a potential ally for England, Sultana Safiye was first and foremost seen as a means for English ambassadors to pursue their own agenda in Constantinople.

Anglo-Ottoman Macro and Micro Level Relationship

The first two English ambassadors at the Porte – William Harborne from 1583 to 1588, and Edward Barton from 1593 to 1598 – were not simply diplomats working for the Queen, they were also agents for the chartered Levant (formerly Turkey Merchants) Company. Thus, Harborne and Barton had two separate missions: “as agent[s] for the Company of Turkey merchants [they were] expected to encourage trade and protect merchants from extortion; as representative of the Queen [they were] charged with a political mission as well, to hamper Spain.”⁷⁸ In spite of this double mission serving two different institutions, the two men's income did not come from the Queen but from the Company's treasury. As a consequence, commercial matters, their personal interests, sometime took precedence over the expressed commands given to them by the Queen. In 1593, the Venetian ambassador remarks that though Barton was supposed to get the Turkish fleet to fight against Spain, the trade between England and Turkey remained his first priority: “Probably the Ambassador used language suited to the inclination of the Turks and the position of affairs [the Anglo-Ottoman trade], rather than expressly ordered by the Queen. He [Barton] is dependent on the English merchants who pay his salary and employ him in the interests of their trade.”⁷⁹

This divided loyalty between the country that dispatched them and the company that actually paid them was made even more difficult by the small salary of the English ambassadors, described by Barton himself as well below that of other countries such as France or Venice. In a letter written to the Company's Lord Treasurer, Barton complains: “Whereas other Ambassadors here resident have most honourable allowance, viz., the French 8,000 or 10,000 crowns, (. . .) and the Baylo of Venice 8,000 ducats of gold (. . .), I am allowed only 3,000 ducats, and yet as much is required

⁷⁸ Brown, *Calendar of State Papers* (see note 50), xxxi–xxxii.

⁷⁹ Matheo Zane in a letter to the Doge and Senate, Brown, *Calendar of State Papers* (see note 50), 110.

at my hands as at theirs.”⁸⁰ While Harborne and Barton had to work for both the State and the Levant Company, they were only paid by one of them.

However, foreign ambassadors usually received another source of income, not from England or its chartered companies, but from the Ottoman Empire. Irrefutably, all ambassadors at the Porte received a certain amount of money from the Sultan himself; but in order to receive it, they first required a royal present from their own country to present to the Sultan. Only after this ceremony were they allowed to kiss the Sultan’s hand and to get their payment. In 1592, Barton asked the help of Sultana Safiye to present his petition to the Sultan specifically because his status as ambassador had not yet been confirmed. Harborne had left Constantinople in 1588 and Barton had stayed behind to take over as ambassador but, despite having the Queen’s letter of credentials, he still required a gift in order to be paid. Only after the arrival of the gifts aboard the *Ascension* in 1593 did Barton receive the payments that were due to him: “[Barton’s] stipend from the Porte, which amounts to about four thalers a day and is now in arrears for many months, is to be paid to him. This sum the Porte is in the habit of paying to the Ambassadors after they have kissed hands.”⁸¹ Moreover, in order to get a decent payment at the Porte, Barton needed to stay in the Sultan’s good favors, otherwise his payment could be suspended. Additionally, he had to encourage the Anglo-Turkish trade, otherwise the Levant Company could lower his salary. These personal interests could explain why Barton was so devoted in fostering a good relationship with the Sultana: she could help him achieve his goals by expediting his relationship with her husband and her son, which in turn would further the interests of both England and the Levant Company and would ensure the ambassador’s financial stability.

Thus, the intricacy of the relationship between the Sultana and England can be fully appreciated. Sultana Safiye fostered a private relationship with Queen Elizabeth I, influenced her son to renew the Levant Company’s trading privileges in 1599, and helped ambassadors such as Barton and Lello have a place for themselves in the unreceptive environment of the Porte. Thus, the Sultana’s impact on the Sultans Murad III and Mehmet III helped English dealings with the Ottoman Empire on the macro-level of the country’s national interests, and on the micro level of the ambassadors’ own personal matters. All of this was made possible by her peripheral position which Barton, Lello and Elizabeth I herself made use of to communicate outside the official channels of the Sultan’s advisors. Moreover, by using Safiye’s subtle influence to make the Sultan support England, the Queen could prevent Spanish advances in the Mediterranean without being openly seen as col-

⁸⁰ Brown, *Calendar of State Papers* (see note 50), xxxi–xxxii.

⁸¹ Brown, *Calendar of State Papers* (see note 50), 110.

laborating with the Ottomans – something that would complicate her relationship with her Christian European neighbors. Sultana Safiye epitomizes the ambiguous role that Eastern women could play in England's eyes. She was considered as an impending ally whose unique peripheral position could be exploited on a variety of public, private and personal scales.

Sultana Safiye thwarts the early modern English perception of Eastern women as monolithic and passive. Contrary to what Said theorized about Eastern women in the eyes of the Westerners, Europeans did not always try to “encompass” the Orient by erasing their ethnic or religious specificities.⁸² English diplomats, merchants, adventurers and writers were decidedly attentive to the religious and ethnic diversity of Eastern empires and they exploited this diversity in order to find associates in these foreign lands. These supporters were powerful Eastern women, whose agency can still be traced back and recuperated from their deflected representations in contemporary accounts.

Deconstructing Said's Orientalism

Edward Said's groundbreaking concept of Orientalism, significantly important for the study of late eighteenth and nineteenth century European Imperialism, is simply too broad to be solely accurate. According to Said, Orientalism is “a Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” and as a “style of thought based on an ontological and epistemological distinction made between “the Orient” [and] “the Occident.””⁸³ In *Creating East and West* (2004), Nancy Bisaha explains that “[w]here Said focuses on colonialism as a key component in the formation of the West–East discourse, the bulk of humanist rhetoric on the Turks and Islam shows a highly developed sense of Europe as the cultural superior to the East – precisely at a time when Europe was fighting for its survival”; additionally, “just as it fails to address more open-minded views of a large number of Orientalists, it does not help explain expressions of relativism among a handful of humanists.”⁸⁴

Moreover, Margaret Meserve argues further in *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (2008) that “detecting an Orientalist discourse in the early Renaissance is more problematic, for the very basic reason that there was no one Oriental

⁸² Edward Said, *Orientalism* (1973; London: Penguin Books, 2003), 65.

⁸³ Said, *Orientalism* (see note 82), 2–3.

⁸⁴ Nancy Bisaha, *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 6.

‘other’ in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.”⁸⁵ Furthermore, Sean Roberts posits in *Printing a Mediterranean World* (2013) that the lack of a stable understanding of the Orient in Renaissance geography renders Said’s concept of Orientalism unhelpful.⁸⁶ Similarly, Jo Ann Cavallo claims in *The World beyond Europe in the Romance Epics of Boiardo and Ariosto* (2013) that her “study is outside the scope of Edward Said’s concept of Orientalism in its stricter sense since the two poems under consideration are not products of colonial-minded imperialist systems.”⁸⁷

Scholars of Renaissance Italy acknowledged Said’s impact on how we perceive notions of difference in the modern world. Nevertheless, they ultimately decide that *Orientalism* is not relevant to the Italian Renaissance because they see the book as a critical analysis of modern imperialism. Additionally, Elizabeth Horodowich argues in *The Venetian Discovery of America* (2018) that Venetians failed to develop a firm concept of alterity regarding the New World, “as Edward Said’s canonical reading of European colonialism would suggest they should have.”⁸⁸ Finally, in the introduction to *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye* (2011), James Harper accuses scholars of having “carelessly categorized as ‘Orientalist’” early modern depictions of Islam, given that *Orientalism*’s evidentiary base is from the modern period.⁸⁹

Orientalism as a “Western style” of the dominance and supremacy of the Occident simply does not connect with the geopolitics of the Mediterranean World in the fifteenth through mid-seventeenth centuries, not even to talk about the early and high Middle Ages. Christendom ignored the political, military, and commercial hegemony of the Ottoman Empire and continued to maintain Orientalist ideologies in their groundless claims to religiously based notions of authority and righteousness. Nonetheless, Harper explains that although

it is true that some aspects of the European curiosity about the Turks fit the traditional models of exoticism or Orientalism, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Europeans were by no means assured of their dominance of the world. On the contrary, this period was defined by the anxiety of being colonized by a powerful enemy Other.⁹⁰

85 Margaret Meserve, *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 10–11.

86 Sean Roberts, *Printing a Mediterranean World: Florence, Constantinople, and the Renaissance of Geography* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013), 148.

87 Jo Ann Cavallo, *The World Beyond Europe in the Romance Epics of Boiardo and Ariosto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 17.

88 Elizabeth Horodowich, *The Venetian Discovery of America: Geographic Imagination and Print Culture in the Age of Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 215.

89 James Harper, *The Turk and Islam in the Western Eye, 1450–1750: Visual Imagery before Orientalism* (Farnham Surrey UK England: Ashgate, 2011), 1–2.

90 Harper, “Turks as Trojans; Trojans as Turks: Visual Imagery of the Trojan War and the Politics of Cultural Identity in Fifteenth-Century Europe,” *Postcolonial Approaches to the European Mid-*

During the reign of Queen Elizabeth I and even before, the Ottomans were the dominant force in the Mediterranean World; moreover, in cross-Mediterranean interactions, business and diplomacy were piloted virtuously on Ottoman footings.

Gerald MacLean's essay "Ottomanism before Orientalism?" questions Edward Said's argument on the Western perception of the Ottoman Empire by claiming that "far from perceiving the Ottoman Empire to be an orientalised space awaiting Western penetration and dominance (. . .), it was necessary that [Europeans] should become capable of recognizing and understanding what was already there, firmly in place."⁹¹ What was already in place at the time were the religious and political peculiarities of Eastern empires, which European powers such as England could not afford to dismiss or look down on. Far from "setting itself off against the Orient,"⁹² early modern England sought support, so it actively needed to find common points and similarities with Eastern kingdoms. This is perceptible through Elizabeth I's and Sultana Safiye's correspondence, where global friendship between royal women transcended barriers imposed by religious, linguistic and cultural differences.

England turned a blind eye to the religious difference in the East and focused on its interests and the particularities of the political systems in the Ottoman Empire. At the end of the sixteenth century, Englishmen abroad needed to understand actively the inner workings of the courts in Constantinople in order to further their personal, commercial and diplomatic determinations there. This led the travelers, scholars, and traders, who are described by Robert Irwin as proto-Orientalists, to explore and write about the Ottoman Empire and the Levant during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹³ The diplomats, merchants, and adventurers saw the harem not as a place of sexual oppression and depravity, but as a political institution of its own. Similarly, the women inside were not yet considered as lustful "exotic beings" guarded by eunuchs as they would later be in the eighteenth century, but as a cosmopolitan female population which had a voice of their own.

Travel narratives elaborate on the Sultan's seraglio in which the Sultan had a separate part called the harem. Nevsal Tiryakioglu describes the harem as a place

dle Ages: Translating Cultures, ed. Kabir and D. Williams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 151–79; here 172.

⁹¹ MacLean, "Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger in the Levant," *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, eds. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna G. Singh (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 85–96; here 94.

⁹² Said, *Orientalism* (see note 82), 3.

⁹³ Rober Irwin, *Dangerous Knowledge: Orientalism and Its Discontents* (Woodstock, NY: The Overlook Press, 2006), 5–6.

[W]here the Ottoman Sultan kept countless beautiful women he captured or enslaved for his own pleasures. Other than the Ottoman Sultan himself, both the rich and privileged men and the administrative elite of the Ottoman Empire, such as the governors, pashas and beys in the provinces, had harems in their private grounds.⁹⁴

None of the Western travelers were allowed to enter the seraglio and harem, yet it became the center of their imagination and portrayals.

The word harem stems from the Arabic root h-r-m, and means “‘sacred’ or ‘forbidden’.”⁹⁵ Unlike European women, Turkish women are supposed to live in harem where they are not allowed to interact with any strange men. They are only allowed to talk to the eunuchs who are responsible of the harem. In the Sultan’s harem, there are haremlik and selamlık parts which are designed specifically to segregate women and men. “Haremlik was the part of the Ottoman houses where husband lived with his wife and children,” whereas selamlık was “the room or rooms where the man of the house received male visitor.”⁹⁶

Ottoman Sultans used to keep women in the harem. Madeline Zilfi highlights in *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire* the strict rules that Sultan Osman III had imposed upon women. “Osman III is said to have ordered the women of Topkapı Palace – five or six hundred at the time – to stay out of sight when he came their way. To prevent accidental encounters, he reportedly had taps attached to his footwear to signal his approach.”⁹⁷ Moreover, Leslie Pierce sheds light upon the importance of the harem and its protection in *The Imperial Harem* and describes the significance of harem for Ottoman sultans:

From the time of Suleyman, the inner palace was increasingly the central arena of government. Its inhabitants – the sultan’s favorites and eunuchs, his mother and his ‘hasekis,’ and the harem’s officers and black eunuch guards – acquired both formal and informal influence over the sultan’s decisions. Far from being isolated from public events, the high-ranking women of the harem lived at the heart of political life.⁹⁸

The life of Turkish women in the harem attracts the attention of European travelers during the sixteenth century. Traveler Jean Dumont describes Turkish women, but

94 Neval Tiryakioglu, “The Western Image of Turks from the Middle Ages to the 21st Century: The Myth of ‘Terrible Turk’ and ‘Lustful Turk’,” Ph.D. diss., Nottingham Trent University, 2015, 129.

95 Asli Sancar, *Ottoman Women: Myth and Reality* (Somerset, NJ: The Light, Inc., 2007), 44.

96 Sancar, *Ottoman Women* (see note 95), 47.

97 Madeline Zilfi, *Women and Slavery in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 73.

98 Leslie Pierce, *The Imperial Harem: Women and Sovereignty in the Ottoman Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 235.

his narrative cannot be considered accurate since men are not allowed to meet Turkish women in person.

The Turkish women are the most charming creatures in the world: They seem to be made for love; their actions, gestures, discourse and looks are all amorous and admirably well fitted to kindle a soft and lasting passion. Since they have nothing else to do the make it their only business to please which they do successfully and in so natural and easy manner.⁹⁹

Dumont's description of Turkish women created a negative consciousness about Turkish women and was well received by the Europeans. Most of the sixteenth century travel narratives and accounts about Turkish women are negative representations portraying their veiling as deception.

Undeniably, by taking the power and status of Eastern women into consideration, Turkish women were not regarded as a monolithic brown, Muslim female "Other" by European diplomats abroad. The French geographer Nicolas de Nicolay, who had been part of the ambassadorial mission sent by Henry II to the Levant in 1551, published his account of the women in the Ottoman harem, which was translated into English in 1585:

Being the most part daughters of Christians, some being taken by courses on the seas or by land, aswel from Grecians, Hongarians, Wallachers, Mingreles, Italians as other Christian nations, some of the other are bought of merchants, and after wardes by Beglierbeis, Baschas and Capitaines presented vnto the great Turke.¹⁰⁰

Thus, early modern European travelers in the Levant were aware of the presence of Eastern Muslims who would complicate their attempt to see the East as a radically different "Other." The interaction between the English and the Levant may well have been the most plural and varied in the period before the great European incursions into the Middle East following Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1798, and this was at least in part due to the influence of trade.¹⁰¹

Thus, the division between the self "us" and the other "them" theorized by Said does not account accurately for multicultural places such as the Ottoman harems, where English diplomats, merchants and adventurers could find allies and support-

⁹⁹ Asli Cirakman, *From the "Terror of the World to the Sick Man of the Europe"* (New York, Vienna, and Oxford: Peter Lang Publishing, 2002), 50.

¹⁰⁰ Nicolas de Nicolay, *The Nauigations, Peregrinations, and Voyages Made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicolay Daulphinois, Lord of Arfeuile (. . .) with Diuers Faire and Memorable Histories, Happened in our Time* (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1968), 54.

¹⁰¹ Daniel Vitkus, *Turning Turk: Theater and the Multicultural Mediterranean, 1570–1630* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2003), 16. Also see G. S. Rousseah and Gary Porter, *Exoticism in the Enlightenment* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 14.

ers. Europe was not “shut in on itself” in this period, as Said theorizes, nor did it always recognize the Orient as fundamentally detached from the Occident.¹⁰² Instead, Englishmen abroad had to take into account all sorts of liminal figures who had been integrated into the Ottoman court for political purposes.

Diplomats such as Edward Barton or Henry Lello could not confirm the monolithic and reductive Western perception of “the Oriental woman” defined by Said, not when they relied on the cosmopolitan court in Constantinople to pursue their ambassadorial duties. They needed the help of the Jewish *kira* Esperanza Malchi to pass on Italian letters to the Sultana, who was herself born in Albania according to some of her contemporaries.¹⁰³

The agency of Sultana Safiye is visible first and foremost through the fact that she engaged in foreign diplomacy and attempted to foster good relationships between the Ottoman Empire and England. This is noteworthy when considering that her very place in Constantinople had started from the kidnapping practices which brought her as white concubines into the Sultan’s harem. Even though she had become part of “Muslim royalty not by birth but through coercion,” her active role in Ottoman foreign diplomacy reflects her “successful appropriation of Ottoman identity.”¹⁰⁴

Additionally, Safiye’s distinct way of conducting diplomacy is visible through the change of style in her letters. Instead of having all of her letters go through the official channel of a royal scribe who would decorate her letters and use flowery prose, her second and third letters to the Queen were written by a woman from the harem in a simpler language. This alteration emphasizes Safiye’s desire to personalize her relations with Elizabeth I by making the correspondence less detached and less formal. Sultana Safiye’s decision to personalize her correspondence shows her exceptional approach to Ottoman foreign diplomacy. All of these rudiments can help us reconstitute her individual voice and challenge the Saidian perspective on the oppression of Eastern women by Western men.

¹⁰² Said, *Orientalism* (see note 82), 71.

¹⁰³ Skilliter, “Three Letters” (see note 49), 144.

¹⁰⁴ Bindu Malieckal, “Slavery, Sex, and the Seraglio: “Turkish” Women and Early Modern Texts,” *The Mysterious and the Foreign in Early Modern England*, eds. Helen Ostovich, Mary Silcox, and Graham Roebuck (Newark, DE: Delaware University Press, 2008), 58–73; here 65.

Conclusion

Overall, England's diplomatic engagement with the Ottomans was a seminal moment in English history and represents the development of a wider, more globalized foreign policy beyond the boundaries of Christendom. Although Elizabeth and her government were initially faced with significant foreign and domestic repercussion as a result of this engagement, the English state responded in innovative ways. Additionally, England's global engagement with the Ottoman Empire introduced English society to the Islamic World resulting in social changes; English society, however, was also perceived differently as a result of the Anglo-Ottoman encounter and the English began to be associated with the Ottomans and Ottoman-ness.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁵ I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Albrecht Classen and Prof. Thomas Willard, both at the University of Arizona, for their valuable comments; without their guidance, the topic of this chapter would have never been investigated thoroughly enough.

Sally Abed

Between East and West: John Pory's Translation of Leo Africanus's *Description of Africa*

Abstract: Al-Hasan al-Wazzan, better known as Leo Africanus, was a sixteenth-century Andalusian diplomat, who moved with his family to Fez, Morocco, after the Spanish Reconquista was completed in 1492. On a diplomatic mission for the Sultan of Fez, he was kidnapped by corsairs near the island of Djerba (off the coast of Tunisia) and presented as a gift to Pope Leo X in Rome. There, he converted to Christianity, was named Leo after the Pope's name, and wrote his *Description of Africa* (1526) for a Western audience while in captivity. In his work, he reintroduced an Africa to his audience that runs counter to their long-held assumptions. Leo Africanus's account assumed a global aspect throughout the different translations. In 1600, John Pory, an English administrator and traveler, translated Africanus's work into English, which remains the only English translation until today. This paper mainly examines the additions Pory made to his translation, as well as the way in which he introduced both text and author to the English audience at the beginning of his book. Pory's interpolations and address to the reader underscore questions of identity, lineage, and ways of charting and imagining the world and its inhabitants in early modern England.

Keywords: Travel, Leo Africanus, translation, globalism, mapping, Africa, monsters, identity, power.

Introduction

Al-Hasan al-Wazzan, or Leo Africanus later on, was a sixteenth-century Andalusian-born geographer, traveler, and diplomat, who enjoyed immense popularity in European circles at a later stage in his life. He relocated with his family to Fez in Morocco after the Spanish Reconquista had been completed in 1492. Going on a

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diplomatic mission for Sultan Mohamed al-Wattasi of Fez (1465–1524), Leo was kidnapped by corsairs near the island of Djerba and presented as a gift to Pope Leo X in Rome. This incident marked a turning point in his life as he converted to Christianity, acquired the name Leo after the Pope's name, and wrote his book *Description of Africa* (1526) for a largely Western audience.¹ The book gained popularity because Leo reintroduced Africa to his audience in a way that differed from their preconceived notion of the continent.

Leo's 1526 manuscript was published in Gian Battista Ramusio's anthology, *Navigazioni et viaggi* (Venice 1550). Throughout the sixteenth century, the printing histories of these two works remained intimate. Ramusio acquired the text "from an unnamed source" and it is not known "if his copy was the same as the one, dated 1526, now in the Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emmanuele in Rome (MS 953)."² Currently, scholarship on Leo relies on Alexis Épaulard's 1956 authoritative French translation of the Rome manuscript that he undertook in 1939.

Despite this entangled history, Leo's text gained a global status with its many translations just as he himself became a global figure with many lives and identities.³ Before the publication of his text, readers commonly drew their information about the East from popular sources like John Mandeville's fanciful *Travels* from ca. 1375. Ramusio's aim was, by contrast, "to reform geography and cartography by selecting and commenting on the best available texts, following the most up-to-date editorial principles" rather than outdated or fictional accounts of places and peoples.⁴ In 1556,

1 There are predecessors of Leo Africanus, who, like him, were taken into captivity and wrote their accounts. One is *Rehlat Harun Ibn Yahia (al-Asir) fi Bilad al Rum* (The Journey of Harun Ibn Yahia (the captive) in the Country of the Rum in 890 C.E.) He was abducted by pirates from Attaleia, today Antalya (southern Anatolia). The other is Muslim al-Jarmi, who is mentioned in Ibn Rusta's writings; see Shamsuddine al-Kilany, *Surat Uruba Inda al-'Arab fi-l-'Asr al-Wasit* (The Arabs' Image of Europe during the Middle Ages (Damascus: Ministry of Culture, 2004). For more on the topic of slavery in the Middle Ages, see Albrecht Classen's seminal work on this issue, "Global Travel in the Late Middle Ages: The Eyewitness Account of Johann Schiltberger." *The Medieval History Journal* 23 (2020): 74–101; and his recent volume, *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: A Cultural-Historical Investigation of the Dark Side in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Rowman & Littlefield, Lexington Books), 2021, and his monograph, *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery in the Pre-Modern World: Cultural-Historical, Social-Literary, and Theoretical Reflections*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 25 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021).

2 Crofton Black, "Leo Africanus's *Descrittione Dell'Africa* and Its Sixteenth-Century Translations," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 65 (2002): 262–72; here 264.

3 The foundations of modern scholarship on Leo were laid by Louis Massignon, *Le Maroc dans les premières années du XVI^e siècle* (Algiers: Typ. A. Jourdan, 1906), and Alexis Épaulard, *Jean-Lion l'Africain: Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. Épaulard (Paris: A. Maisonneuve, 1956).

4 Black, "Leo Africanus's *Descrittione Dell'Africa*" (see note 2), 264.

Jean Temporal (1535–1570) published his French translation. In the same year in Antwerp, Ioannes Florianus translated the *Description* into Latin, and it is his text that formed the basis for John Pory's English translation in 1600.

Pory (1572–1636) was an English administrator, politician, and explorer who traveled throughout Europe and even up to Istanbul, as well to the English colony, Virginia, in the New World. As an associate and protégé of the geographer Richard Hakluyt (1553–1616), he was charged by the latter to translate Leo's account that was published as *A Geographical Historie of Africa* (1600).

Travelogue and Translation

Pory's translation is so far the only English translation. It is worth examining especially because it goes beyond a mere act of direct translation as Pory rewrites Leo's account in the process. In fact, he adds whole sections to Leo's account under the title "Things undescribed by Leo" in such a way that the reader keeps moving back and forth between both writers' accounts and views of Africa. What we see here is an interesting case of a narrative and a counter narrative of the continent. Along with the interpolations and translation, Pory adds a map of Africa that is absent in Leo's text.

In this paper, I examine the additions Pory made to the original, as well as the way in which he introduced both text and author to the English audience at the beginning of his book. Pory's interpolations and address to the reader raise questions of identity, different ways of charting and imagining the world and its inhabitants, and what could be lost or gained in translation.⁵ But first, I want to turn briefly to the narrative structures and travel models both writers followed.

Narrative Structures and Travel Models

There is no consensus as to whether an 'original' Arabic text has ever existed. What we know is that Leo wrote the book in "rudimentary Italian and scarcely punctuated," which appeared in 1526 as *Libro de la Cosmographia et Geographia de Affrica*.⁶

⁵ See the contributions to *Communication, Translation, and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period: New Cultural-Historical and Literary Perspectives*, ed. Albrecht Classen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 26 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2022).

⁶ Sandra Young, "Early Modern Geography and the Construction of a Knowable Africa," *Atlantic Studies: Global Currents* 12 (2015): 1–23; here 10.

Then Giovanni Battista Ramusio, who claimed there was an Arabic original, published the *Libro as La Descrittione dell'Africa* in the third volume of his 1550 compilation *Della Navigationi et viaggi*. All subsequent translations, including Ioannes Florianus's Latin version that Pory used, took Ramusio's text as their basis.⁷

It is crucial when comparing Leo's account and Pory's parts added to the translation to distinguish between the different narrative structures and models that each one follows. Leo divides the *Description* into two sections that comprise nine parts in total. He focuses in parts one through eight on the different divisions of Africa, the cities, provinces, mountains, and peoples' customs and traditions. After providing a general overview of Africa, he describes in detail seven African regions and kingdoms: Marrakesh, Fez, Tlemcen, and Tunis, Numidia, the sub-Saharan regions, and Egypt. In the second section, he describes briefly the main rivers, and diverse African flora and fauna. In emphasizing kingdoms, divisions, cities, social structures, and people's customs throughout the *Description*, Leo follows the *masālik* and *mamālik* (routes and realms or kingdoms) geographical model or tradition. This model was promoted by the geographical school that started in the ninth century when Ibn Khurdādhbih (820–912 C.E.) composed the earliest surviving Arabic book of administrative geography, the *Kitāb al Masālik w'al Mamālik* (The Book of Roads and Kingdoms). His near contemporary Abu Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhi (d. 322/934), the pioneer of the 'Balkhi School,' developed Ibn Khurdādhbih's *al-masālik w-al-mamālik* tradition.

The tradition, sometimes known as the 'Balkhi School,' sets a precedent for subsequent geographers, such as the tenth-century geographers: al-Istakhri, Ibn Hawqal, and al-Muqaddasi, who are believed to have reproduced the lost work of al-Balkhi. Their geographic texts included at times regional maps of territories and world maps and informed the genre of *rihla*, or journey, that culminated in the fourteenth century with journeys, such as the travels of Ibn Battuta. The tradition focuses on the description of countries, kingdoms, and the distances of paths and routes.⁸ Interest in roads and regions continued to flourish in the subsequent works of the prominent twelfth-century geographers al-Bakri and al-Idrissi.⁹

7 Oumelbanine Zhiri, "Leo Africanus's Description of Africa." *Travel Knowledge: European "Discoveries" in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Ivo Kamps and Jyotsna Singh (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 258–66; here 260.

8 Naser Abd el Razek al-Muwafi, *al-Rihla fi al-Adab al-'Arabi* (Travel in Arabic Literature) (Cairo: Cairo University Press, 1995), 85 and 91.

9 In his seminal work, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, André Miquel traces the genealogy of Arabic geographical writing that culminates in what he terms the "al-masālik w-al-mamālik" genre, produced between the ninth to the eleventh centuries that resulted in "a veritable human geography" of the Islamic world. See André Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle: Géographie et géographie humaine dans la littérature arabe des origi-*

Leo's *Description* follows this geographical model but mixes personal anecdotes with the topography of a region, the description of major cities, political conditions, the inhabitants' dress code, customs, and belief system. The importance of the text is such that it was considered the most "exact" and "exquisite description" of Africa by various geographers and publishers, like Ramusio (1485–1557), Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598), John Bodin (1530–1596), Richard Hakluyt (1553–1616), and Pory.¹⁰ For the latter, the text offered new information on Africa, a continent previously little known to his western audience, at a time of growing British expansion ambitions.

Pory kept Leo's narrative structure and travel model. But he threaded this structure with his own interpolations. In the following words, he describes his narrative structure and intention "to make a briefe and cursorie description of all those maine lands and isles of Africa, which . . . [the] author . . . hath omitted" east of the Nile" (9). The additions include a dedication to Robert Cecil, and an address to the reader at the beginning, followed by a general description of Africa, then the description of places and islands not described by Leo. After Pory's address and additions, he presents Leo's account. Pory ends volume three in his voice once more with a relation of the great princes of Africa, his discourse of the religions professed there, and last the fortresses and colonies maintained in Africa by the Spaniards and Portuguese.

In the added parts, Pory's narrative structure differs from Leo's. Following the model offered by earlier medieval European travelers who relied on ancient classical writers, Pory also relied on ancient classical authors in his description of Africa as I will show in the next section. He also resorted to mentioning fanciful monsters and popular legends, a characteristic typical of many earlier medieval travel writers who mix imagination and reality to produce texts that have scriptural, fantastic,

nes à 1050 (Paris and La Haye: Mouton, 1973), 1:28–33, 239–241, 253–57, 35–112, and 267–330. For more on *al-masālik w-al-mamālik*, see Zayde Antrim, *Routes and Realms: The Power of Place in the Early Islamic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 108–25; Gerald Tibbetts, "The Balkhi School of Geographers," *Cartography in the Traditional Islamic and South Asian Societies*, History of Cartography, 2, ed. J. B. Harvey and David Woodward (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992). See also Abdurrahmane Hmeida, *A'lām al-Jughrafiyyin al-'Arab* (Damascus: Dar al-Fikr, 1988), 67–95, and Shamsuddine al-Kilany, *Surat Uruba Inda al-'Arab fi-l-'Asr al-Wasit* (Damascus:

Ministry of Culture, 2004), 281–320. For travel models in the medieval west, see Albrecht Classen, *Tracing the Trails in the Medieval World: Epistemological Explorations, Orientation, and Mapping in Medieval Literature*. Routledge Studies in Medieval Literature and Culture (New York and London: Routledge, 2021).

10 Richard Hakluyt, "An Appropriation of the Historie Ensuing, by me Richard Hakluyt," *The History and Description of Africa and of the Notable Things Therein Contained, written by Al-Hassan Ibn-Mohammed Al-Wezan Al-Fasi, a Moor, Baptised as Giovanni Leone, but better known as Leo Africanus*, trans. John Pory, ed. Robert Brown (New York: Burt Franklin Publisher, 1971), 103. Following, I will embed references to this source within the text.

and mythical elements. Pory's choice of relying on an earlier model that favors the scriptural, the fantastic and the mythical, contradicts the spirit of the early modern age he lived in that favored autopsy and empiricism: "One result of Columbus's startling discoveries was accordingly a new emphasis on the act of eye-witnessing, of seeing for oneself and establishing facts through empirical enquiry rather than through reference to the great authors of the past."¹¹ But perhaps reliance on the familiar "great authors of the past" was after all a strategy to give the needed credibility and familiarity to Leo and his account.

Another point to consider is that unlike other travel texts characterized by double authorship like Marco Polo/Rusticello (early thirteenth century) and Ibn Battuta/Ibn Juzzay (fourteenth century) where the less known authors help organize and polish the texts, Pory does something remarkably different in his translation as he writes what he thinks is a complementary book to Leo's *Description*. He goes beyond merely translating the text as he undertakes "the process of converting it from one culture to another."¹² While doing so, he imposes limitations on Leo's text by bracketing, or putting into parenthesis, the 'original' text. In a way, Pory's text and authority envelop the *Description*. Pory's narrative structure then follows the medieval western tradition and adds to it his own strategy of writing a complementary intertextual account. To proceed with the complementary account, Pory starts with introducing Leo and his text to the reader in a special address.¹³

The Address to the Reader and Reliable Authorities

Perhaps a good start to see how Pory repackages the *Description* for an English readership is the address to the reader at the beginning. The question is how do you introduce a Moor as an authority on Africa and justify the translation of his text to a western audience? Pory's answer is thus: "Iohn Leo the author. . . Who albeit by birth a More, and by religion for many yeeres a Mahumetan: yet if you consider his Parentage, Witte, Education, Learning, Emploiments, Trauels, and his conuersion to Christianitie; you shall finde him not altogether vnfit to vndertake such an enter-

¹¹ Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing: The New Critical Idiom* (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), 40.

¹² Black, "Leo Africanus's *Descrittione Dell'Africa*" (see note 2), 272.

¹³ For more on medieval European travel writing, see Kim M. Phillips, "Travel Writing and the Making of Europe," *Before Orientalism: Asian Peoples and Cultures in European Travel Writing, 1245–1510* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 50–69.

prize; nor vnwoorthy to be regarded.”¹⁴ Pory directs his energy to highlight the positive qualities of Leo's noble birth, extensive erudition, wide travels, wit, and, more important, his conversion to Christianity, a gesture of cultural and religious assimilation. Altogether, those attributes qualify Leo to undertake the enterprise of describing Africa and make him not unworthy to be read.

But to sound more convincing to his readership, Pory compares Leo's wit and erudition to familiar classical authors as he says: “in naturall sharpenes and viuacitie of Wit, he most liuely resembled those great and classicall authours, Pomponius Mela, Iustinus Historicus, Columella, Seneca, Quintilian, Orosius, Prudentius, Martial, Iuuenal, Auicen, &c. reputed all for Spanish writers; as likewise Terentius Afer, Tertullian, Saint Augustine, Victor, Optatus, &c. knowen to be writers of Africa.”¹⁵ Leo's erudition cannot stand alone, but has better be placed within a certain tradition, the same way his text is bracketed between Pory's additions. The final thrust Pory gives in the address is his claim that “as Moses was learned in all the wisdome of the Egyptians; so likewise was Leo, in that of the Arabians and Mores.”¹⁶ The comparison to a well-known religious figure brings Leo closer to the English readership. He follows this argument with another reminder of Leo's conversion story in order “not to forget His conuersion to Christianitie, amidst all these his busie and dangerous trauels” and another one last reminder of his learning that resembles William Camden in the British tradition:

Like . . . our . . . master William Camden in his learned Britannia, hath exactly described England, Scotland, Ireland, and the isles adiacent . . . so likewise this our author Iohn Leo in the historie ensuing hath so largely, particularly, and methodically deciphered the countries of Barbarie, Numidia, Libya, The land of Negros, and the hither part of Egypt, as (I take it) neuer any writer either before or since his time hath done.¹⁷

It is thus the novelty of the text that should merit the readers' attention despite the author's different cultural and religious roots.

However, in writing about Africa and things not described by Leo, Pory gives for the most part a rehashed version of what ancient authorities had said about the continent rather than adhere to Leo's more contemporary account. He clarifies early on: “I haue gathered this store, are, of the ancienter note, Ptolemey, Strabo, Plinie, Diodorus Siculus, &c. and amongst later-writers, I haue helped my selfe out of sundrie discourses in the first Italian volume of Baptista Ramusio, as likewise out of Iohn Barros,

¹⁴ John Pory, “Address to the Reader,” *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 4.

¹⁵ John Pory, “Address to the Reader,” *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 4.

¹⁶ John Pory, “Address to the Reader,” *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 5.

¹⁷ John Pory, “Address to the Reader,” *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 7 and 8.

Castanneda, Ortelius . . .”¹⁸ Pory’s vision becomes largely a revision of what had been said peppered with some later writers. But in doing so, he also debunks Leo’s attempt of correcting flawed European knowledge using Arab rather western authorities. At the onset of the *Description*, Leo presents Africa “D’après les savants africains et les géographes,” a phrase he iterates on several occasions.¹⁹ Among the Arab authorities, he mentions Ibn Khaldūn.²⁰ He also cites Ibn Rakik, Ibn‘Abd al-Malik al-Marra-kochi as well as refers to literary works, such as El Hariri’s *Maqamat*, and al-Dabbag’s poetry.²¹ In Fez, Leo lists the works of several Sufi masters and compares their poetic skills, such as “Essehrauardi de Sehrauard,” and of geographers and travelers, he cites al-Bakri, one of the pillars of *al-masālik* tradition and al-Mas‘udi.²² In contrast to the endless list of Arab authorities included in the *Description*, Leo mentions briefly two Western authorities: Ptolemy and Pliny.²³ He draws on the former’s knowledge of Fez, while he explicitly rejects the latter’s erroneous knowledge of Africa. The different sources the two authors drew from result in different world pictures.

A Different Picture of the World

The Africa Leo and Pory offer their readers is not the same. On the one hand, Leo’s Africa is more real and dynamic, while on the other hand, Pory’s is more stereotypical and static, presenting something like an Africa frozen in time, to use Edward Said’s argument. It is crucial at this point to clarify that Africa meant different things for both the Europeans and the Arabs. The ancient Greeks used the word Libya to refer to the land north of the Sahara, and as a name for the whole continent. The Romans applied the name Africa to their first province in the northern part of Tunisia, as well as to the entire area north of the Sahara, and likewise to the entire continent. Europe inherits this classical definition of Africa that refers to the northern part, while also referring to an entire continent or landmass surrounded by water. The T-O world maps reflect this continental perception of Africa, which the medievals sketched along with Asia and Europe. The Arabs, on the other hand, used the derived term *Ifriqiyyah* (Africa) in a similar fashion, though it originally referred to a region encompassing only modern Morocco, Tunisia, and eastern Algeria.

18 John Pory, “Address to the Reader,” *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 11.

19 Leo Africanus, *Jean-Lion l’Africain* (see note 3), 3, 4, and 10.

20 Leo Africanus, *Jean-Lion l’Africain* (see note 3), 8, 34–35, and 447.

21 Leo Africanus, *Jean-Lion l’Africain* (see note 3), 15, 22, 49, 456, 108, 222, and 372.

22 Leo Africanus, *Jean-Lion l’Africain* (see note 3), 429–30, 461, 552–53, and 565–66.

23 Leo Africanus, *Jean-Lion l’Africain* (see note 3), 419 and 554.

They called this northern region the *Maghreb* (West), a term still in use today. Unlike the Europeans, they did not extend the term Africa to the entire continent. It designated, more specifically, the northern region. Generally, the Arabs organized the world around climatic zones or *aqālīm*, as well as kingdoms, rather than continents. Leo was aware of the discrepancy between the two terms as he took on the categories designated by both Europeans and Arabs in his description of Africa. He combined the concept of *aqālīm*, devoid of the climatic humoral theory, with the European continental view of Africa as he tried to unify and hold together his Africa through "trade relations; political relations . . . and the movement and mixture, including linguistic and sexual mixture, of peoples."²⁴ The difficulty of equating both terms rendered Leo's task more challenging, and resulted in a divergent view when his work underwent translation and when European cartographers sketched Africa.

The core description of Africa goes back as far as antiquity and persists in the European early modern works of Joannes Boemus's *Omnium Gentium Mores, Leges et Ritus* (1520) and, later, Sebastian Münster's geographic treatise *Cosmographia* (1544). In the former's treatise, Egyptians "were [still] worshiping cats, crocodiles, and other animals, and west of Egypt lived Troglodytes [cave dwellers] and Amazons."²⁵ The sources most often quoted in these texts, among many others, are ancient authors, such as Strabo, Ptolemy, and Pliny, whose view of Africa had been transmitted in medieval times, via the work of Isidore of Seville.²⁶ The texts generally conveyed a mythologized place inhabited by wild animals, brutal people, and the Plinian monstrous races.

Pory applies this lingering old view as he describes the place and its inhabitants. He adds monstrous races like the cave-dwelling Troglodytes, who live in the desert between the Red Sea and the Nile to the south.²⁷ Then he weaves a story of how they "yeelde obedience to the great earth to auoide Turke who considering, that the fleets of the Portugales . . . entered very often into the Red sea, and were there receiued by the subiects of Prete Gianni (the mythical Christian ruler Prester John) . . . hath thereupon taken occasion not only to conquer the Troglodytae, but also . . . subdue a great part of Barnagasso . . . of the said Prete."²⁸ Here Pory shows

24 Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim Between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2007), 320. See her entire chapter entitled "Conceiving Africa" for a thorough discussion of the meaning of Africa according to the Arabs, the Europeans, and Leo, 268–325.

25 Davis, *Trickster Travels* (see note 24), 322.

26 Zhiri, "Leo Africanus's Description of Africa" (see note 7), 246.

27 John Pory, "His Description of Places Undescribed by Leo," *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 26.

28 John Pory, "His Description of Places Undescribed by Leo," *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 25.

the turbulent east/west relations as he juxtaposes the ancient Trogloytae, the mythical Prester John to the present-day Turkish/Portuguese competition, underscoring the threat of the Turks. The other monstrous race Pory mentions a couple of times are the warlike Amazons, who live south to the Nile.²⁹ He tells the classic story of how they live independent of men, sear off their left breast, and are warlike. In his account, they are part of the army of a certain African emperor.³⁰

The real people of Africa in Pory's description are monstrous-like and threatening. The reader always encounters "rude barbarous people, [who] are very poore and beggerly, or wilde, lawless man eaters, who live close to the realm of Prester John."³¹ The line of demarcation between man and monster in Pory's interpolations is rather tenuous.

In keeping with the classical legacy the West inherits of the East and the earlier western narrative models, Pory writes extensively about the mythical Christian ruler Prester John rather than about contemporary African rulers. He places him in Ethiopia and propagates the same old notions about him having an empire with "the most ample confines" that contains "a great abundance of golde, siluer, copper, and tinne."³² Significantly, Pory's additions to the English translation do not only foist a Western vision of the world on Leo's *Description*, but also an expansionist vision as he mentions the Spanish and Portuguese fortresses, colonies, and the acquisition of gold.

Leo's Africa and Worldview

By contrast, Leo's Africa in the *Description* is non-Plinian, demythologized, demystified, and inhabited by real people. His first-hand experiences of Africa counter the ancient view of "Africa always [producing] things new and monstrous."³³ He speaks extensively of the history, geography, and culture of Africans, "thereby populating

29 For more on travel in the Middle Ages, see Albrecht Classen, "Traveling to/in the North During the Middle Ages: The World of Northern Europe in Medieval and Early Modern Travel Narratives," *Time, Space, and Identity in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. Albrecht Classen, *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 22 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2018), 285–310.

30 John Pory, "His Description of Places Undescribed by Leo," *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 32, 63–64.

31 John Pory, "His Description of Places Undescribed by Leo," *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 27 and 61.

32 John Pory, "His Description of Places Undescribed by Leo," *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 30 and 45.

33 Davis, *Trickster Travels* (see note 24), 322.

what had previously been an ideascap or, at best, a landscape" and presenting a dynamic rather than static region, whose geography and history bear the marks of successive civilizations.³⁴

More important, he offers a global perspective of east/west relations. Rather than a constantly warring east and west, Leo highlights trade and material exchange between Africa and Europe, especially the Portuguese, the Genoese, and the Venetians, while acknowledging the political fights. This global perspective includes assimilation as he mentions European citizens living in Africa all their life like the Genoese gentleman who lived thirty years in Fez, as well as the cultural exchange between both cultures.³⁵ He speaks, for example, about the Arabs' astronomical skills that derive from Latin sources translated into Arabic and mentions some translated works.

Maps

The maps both Ramusio and Pory use to accompany the *Description* perhaps reflect more poignantly the different views of Africa. To begin with, Leo does not include any maps in his *Description*. In this matter, he steers away from the *masalik and mamalik* books that usually included maps. But Ramusio does when he includes Leo's text in his collection and despite Ramusio's intention to prioritize eyewitness accounts, the maps in his text run counter to his intention. The opposition between the two shows the tension between "the 'autoptic material' Leo advances in keeping with new empirical knowledge privileged during the Renaissance and old hearsay about Africa. Ramusio leaves the task of drawing the few maps in his volumes to Giacomo Gastaldi (1500–1566) – the leading Venetian geographer at the time. He is urged to include them by Girolamo Fracastoro (ca. 1476–1553), an Italian scholar.³⁶

³⁴ Jonathan Burton, "A most wily bird": Leo Africanus, Othello and the Trafficking in Difference," *Postcolonial Shakespeares*, ed. Ania Loomba and Martin Orkin (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), 55–75; here 55–56.

³⁵ Leo Africanus, *Jean-Lion l'Africain* (see note 3), 131.

³⁶ Margaret Small, "Displacing Ptolemy? The Textual Geographies of Ramusio's *Navigazioni e viaggi*," *Mapping Medieval Geographies: Geographical Encounters in the Latin West and Beyond, 300–1600*, ed. Keith D. Lilley (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 152–72; here 166. As to the history of maps in Europe and the Arabic world, particularly their connections, see the contribution to this volume by Karen Pinto.

The map refers to western Africa rather than the African interior. It shows the encounter between Africans and Portuguese ships that underscore the increasing pace of expansion. To the south is prominently featured Castel de la Mina, Portugal's infamous slave fortress in present-day Ghana. The Portuguese fort stands in contrast to what looks like a 'native' dwelling right above it with African inhabitants. Along with naked Africans, there are wild animals, such as elephants, camels, monkeys, and sea monsters around the coast.

Although the map still presents a primitive Africa, it is devoid of the mythical Cyclops that Sebastian Münster, for example, included in his 1540 map of the continent. Contrary to the European knowledge of Africa, which the map manifests, Leo's mental mapping in the *Description* features cities with magnificent architecture, colorful markets, and people dressed in rich fabrics instead (see Fig. 1).³⁷ The Portuguese ship sailing to Castel de la Mina in the bottom right, and the French ship with the *fleur de lis* sailing around the coast to the bottom left signal an Africa that can be reached, controlled, and later colonized despite the presence of the few lurking sea monsters.

In a similar move, Pory's map of Africa that accompanies his English translation of the *Description* covers more than the western part that the Gastaldi/Ramusio map shows. It incorporates the additional places Pory decides to include in his translation. Still the map features a sea monster in the bottom left. The depiction of the sea monster on the map, along with the inclusion of a whole gamut of monstrous races and islands left out by Leo's account in the English translation affirm the audience's expectations of a standardized view of Africa (see Fig. 2).³⁸

Ramusio's and Pory's maps accentuate the common process of corrupting new knowledge "into older images," particularly during translation while at the same time trying to steer away from old stereotypes.³⁹ They both corrupt Leo's down to earth knowledge of an Africa devoid of monsters and uncivilized men into more familiar tropes. This attitude was prevalent during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, as "England remained captivated by the Old World even as it turned with the rest of Europe toward America" and reluctant to include new

³⁷ <https://camillesourget.com/en-15597-ramusio-giovanni-batista-delle-navigazioni-et-viaggi-in-precious-collection-worth-being-very-.html#lg=1&slide=0> (last accessed on Jan. 2, 2023). I am grateful for Camille Sourget Librairie for kindly providing a high-resolution image of the map to include in this article.

³⁸ <https://luna.folger.edu/luna/servlet/detail/FOLGERCM1~6~6~121398~107802:A-geographical-historie-of-Africa,#> (last accessed on Jan. 2, 2023).

³⁹ Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World: Exotic European Travel Writing, 400–1600* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988), 140.



Fig. 1: Gastaldi's map of Parte De L'Africa in Ramusio's *Delle Navigationi et Viaggi* (1556). Public Domain. Courtesy of Camille Sourget Librairie.

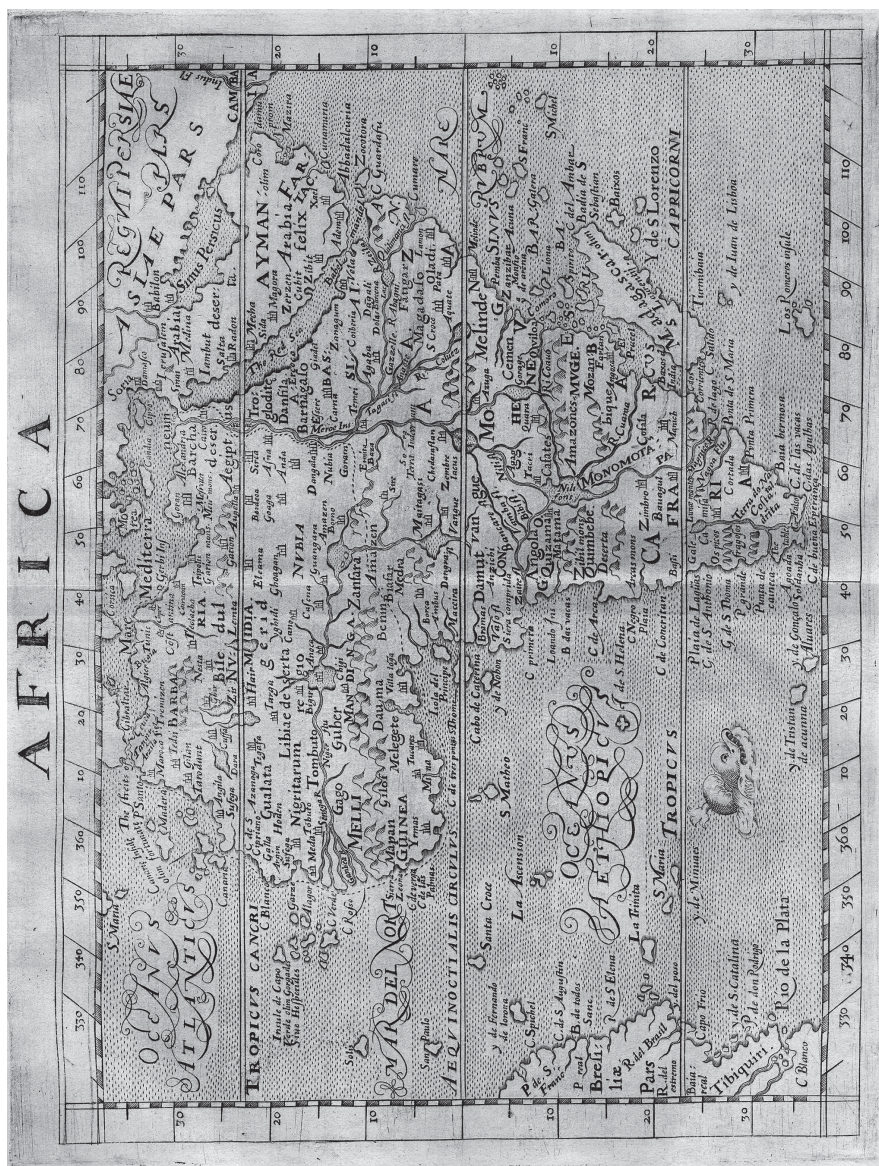


Fig. 2: Pory's map of Africa (1600). Courtesy of Folger Shakespeare Library.

information brought back home by the Portuguese, as well as other explorers.⁴⁰ Such fascination explains the exotic reproduction of Africa in early modern works, such as Shakespeare's *Cleopatra* and *Othello*. It also explains the transposition of Old-World marvels like the Amazons to the New World in Raleigh's *The Discoverie* (1596). The simultaneous corruption and selectivity of new knowledge underline the conflict between the old and new ways of 'world making' that pertains to early modern travel accounts and maps that continued to commit cartographic anachronisms.

Conclusion

Both Leo and Pory engage in a discourse and a counter discourse about Africa through their divergent accounts and voices. Leo attempts a realistic picture of Africa, whereas Pory reverts to a more ancient view while introducing Leo's *Africa* and paradoxically praising the novelty of his description. The ongoing dialogue between both accounts and authors speaks to two different views of place and people. Pory's additions at the beginning and end detract from Leo's authority somehow and give more authority to Pory.

Still Pory's translation and additions added to the global dimension of Leo's text that gained popularity in England to the extent that some scholars see Leo as the basis for *Othello* in Shakespeare's eponymous play, probably written in 1603, three years after Pory's translation.⁴¹ The following lines from Pory's address to the reader on Leo Africanus recall *Othello*'s description of his bravery in dangerous deserts fighting off wild animals:

I maruell much how euer he should haue escaped so manie thousands of imminent dangers. And . . . I maruel much more, how euer he escaped them. For how many desolate cold mountaines, and huge, drie, and barren deserts passed he? How often was he in hazard to haue beene captiued, or to haue had his throte cut by the prouling Arabians, and wilde Mores? And how hardly manie times escaped he the Lyons greedie mouth, and the deuouring iawes of the Crocodile.⁴²

Perhaps what helped Pory the most in translating the *Description* are the multiple cultural ties that Leo enjoyed that turned him into a "cultural palimpsest" where

40 John Michael Archer, *Old Worlds: Egypt, Southwest Asia, India, and Russia in Early Modern English Writing* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001), 15.

41 Burton, "A most wily bird" (see note 34), 72.

42 John Pory, "Address to the Reader," *The History and Description of Africa* (see note 10), 6.

one culture is inscribed over the other the same way Pory's account is inscribed over Leo's.⁴³ To that end, Pory successfully filtered Leo's account through the familiar grids of legend, mythology, and scripture. Still both Pory's and Leo's accounts were equally engaging and popular on the early modern global stage despite any apparent differences.

⁴³ Bernadette Andrea, "The Ghost of Leo Africanus from the English to the Irish Renaissance," *Postcolonial Moves: Medieval Through Modern Postcolonial Moves*, ed. Patricia Clare Ingham and M. R. Warren (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 195–215; here 197.

David Tomíček

The Old and the New – Pepper, Bezoar, and Other Exotic Substances in Bohemian Narratives about Distant Lands from the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period (up to the 1560s)

Abstract: Natural substances with extraordinary properties, used, among others, in medicine, have stimulated Europeans' interest in exotic countries for centuries. The market for these commodities had acquired a kind of global character as early as antiquity. This study examines the discourse on pepper, bezoar, and other substances from distant lands in the Bohemian sources of the late Middle Ages and the early modern period. The first part of the study focuses on the Czech translation of *Mandeville's Travels*, repeatedly published in print during the sixteenth century. This narrative of the marvels of distant lands can thus be seen as a work that petrified the medieval image of India and other countries of the East in the Czech society at a time when reports of the discoveries of Portuguese and Spanish navigators or of new routes of commercial communication had become available. Among the sources studied, the treatises which primarily reflect this altered image of the world are the voluminous *Bohemian Cosmography* and the Czech translation of Mattioli's *Herbal* from the early second half of the sixteenth century. The aim of the study is to analyze the changes in the knowledge of exotic substances and the reflection of the transformations that took place in long-distance trade at the beginning of the early modern period in the Bohemian sources. On the basis of this analysis, I will try to answer the question as to what extent and in what ways the picture of the world in the various sources from the mid-sixteenth century is new compared to that in the late medieval sources.

Keywords: Exotic substances, trade of medicine, Bohemian sources, bezoar, *Bohemian Cosmography*, Mattioli's *Herbal*.

Introduction

As the introductory essay to this volume proposes, the concept of globalism in the pre-modern world offers many thought-provoking perspectives to scholars specializing in medieval and early modern culture and history. One of these is a more careful consideration of the various forms of interconnectivity,¹ which is a characteristic feature of contemporary globalism, although we would also find it in a developed form in the ‘global world’ of ancient Rome. The heritage of this civilization became one of the sources of medieval but also early modern knowledge, as disciplines such as medicine and natural history demonstrate. Natural substances are at the intersection of the interests of these two fields, and exotic spices, in particular, have, since Roman times, stimulated activities aimed not only at exploring the natural riches of the peripheral parts of the world but also at developing networks of long-distance trade.² Knowledge related to exotic substances thus appears to be a suitable research topic in case we decide to examine medieval and early modern sources from the perspective of pre-modern globalism.

In the following essay, I will focus on the status of this knowledge in Bohemian (Latin- and Czech-language) sources of the late Middle Ages and early modern times. The chosen perspective will cover the time between the first half of the fourteenth century and the early 1560s when the Czech edition of Mattioli’s *Herbal* was published. I can thus trace, through the written sources of the Luxembourg era, the formation of the view of exotic substances and the related global networks of long-distance trade and its transformation as a result of the reception of reports of new lands from the period around 1500 and later. Among the early fifteen-century literary works studied, the Czech translation of *Mandeville’s Travels* occupies a special place, as it was repeatedly published in print throughout the sixteenth century. I will therefore approach it as a paradigmatic work describing an imaginary old world. I will be interested in what new things the early decades of overseas discoveries brought to this world, having an impact on natural history and the building

¹ For more about this term, see Geraldine Heng, *The Global Middle Ages: An Introduction*. Cambridge Elements (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 16. See also Albrecht Classen’s Introduction to this volume.

² Vivian Nutton, “The Drug Trade in Antiquity,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine* 78.2 (1985): 138–45; Innes James Miller, *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire: 29 B.C. to A.D. 641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). See also *Medicine and Markets in the Graeco-Roman World and Beyond: Essays on Ancient Medicine in Honour of Vivian Nutton*, ed. Laurence M. V. Totelin and Rebecca Flemming (Swansea: The Classical Press of Wales, 2020); Laurence M. V. Totelin, “The World in a Pill. Local Specialties and Global Remedies in the Graeco-Roman World,” *The Routledge Handbook of Identity and the Environment in the Classical and Medieval Worlds*, ed. Rebecca Futo Kennedy and Molly Jones-Lewis (London and New York, Routledge, 2016), 151–70.

of the trading empires of the two Iberian Peninsula monarchies.³ As readers will soon find out, I will pay particular attention to pepper – an exotic substance that probably represents most clearly the long-distance spice trade;⁴ however, I will not omit other items that have become the focus of the sources studied, especially the bezoar stone.

Late Medieval Travelogues and Chronicles

An unfinished Czech chronicle dating to the early fifteenth century describes the history of the world from its creation to the year 678. It was penned by Laurentius of Březová (ca. 1370/1–after 1433), a master of liberal arts at Prague University, best known as the author of the later Latin-language *Hussite Chronicle* (*Husitská kronika*).⁵ The Old Testament narrative about populating the continents by the descendants of Noah's sons, found in the manuscript of this unfinished world chronicle,

3 Ronald S. Love, *Maritime Exploration in the Age of Discovery: 1415–1800* (London: Greenwood, 2006); here 9–67; David Arnold, *The Age of Discovery: 1400–1600* (London: Routledge, 1994); Carla Rahn Phillips, “The Growth and Composition of Trade in the Iberian Empires, 1450–1750,” *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350–1750*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 34–101. On the reception of exotic natural substances in medicine and natural science, see Vivian Nutton, *Renaissance Medicine: A Short History of European Medicine in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2022), 11–39; Florike Egmond, “Figuring Exotic Nature in the Sixteenth Century Europe: Garcia de Orta and Carolus Clusius,” *Medicine, Trade and Empire: Garcia de Orta's Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India (1563) in Context*, ed. Palmira Fontes da Costa (London: Routledge, 2016), 167–93; Christine R. Johnson, *The German Discovery of the World: Renaissance Encounters with the Strange and Marvelous* (Charlottesville, VA, and London: University of Virginia Press, 2008), 123–65; Lucie Čermáková and Jana Černá, “Naked in the Old and the New World: Differences and Analogies in Descriptions of European and American *herbae nuda* in the Sixteenth Century,” *Journal of the History of Biology* 51 (2018): 69–106; Jana Černá, “A Powerful Antidote, a Strange Camel and Turkish Pepper: Iberian Science, the Discovery of the New World and the Early Modern Czech Lands,” *Early Science and Medicine* 21 (2016): 214–31; Jana Černá, *Očitá svědectví: Španělsko, Nový svět a změna vědeckého komunikačního paradigmatu* (Červený Kostelec: Pavel Mervart, 2012).

4 For more details on the spice trade, see *Spice Trade in the Indian Ocean World*, ed. M. N. Pearson. An Expanding World, 11 (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996). Cf. Andrew Dalby, *Dangerous Tastes: The Story of Spices* (London: British Museum Press, 2000); Charles Corn, *The Scents of Eden: A Narrative of the Spice Trade* (London and New York: Kodansha International, 1998).

5 Marie Bláhová, “Laurentius of Březová,” *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy. Vol. 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 1000–01.

is accompanied by a picture of a simple world map with Czech captions.⁶ The map scheme corresponds to the traditional T-O diagram, whose origins are associated with the earliest copies of the natural history encyclopedia *On the Nature of Things* (*De natura rerum*), written in the first half of the seventh century by Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636).⁷ The world in the form of a circle is divided in this diagram by T-shaped lines into parts corresponding to Isidore's description of the three continents spanning the two halves of the world.⁸

Laurentius of Březová, who in the prologue to his world chronicle proudly declares his membership in the court of the Czech King Wenceslas IV (1361–1410),⁹ was a man of tremendous geographical purview, far beyond the simple T-O diagram featuring the world map. His noteworthy literary achievement was translating the German version of *Mandeville's Travels* into Old Czech, which has survived in seven manuscripts from the fifteenth century. The evidence of its popularity is that it was first published in print as early as 1510 and experienced four more editions by 1600. Thus, it is undoubtedly a work that significantly influenced the manner of how the Czech audience perceived the world at that time.¹⁰ The extraordinary popularity of *Mandeville's Travels* in the late Middle Ages and early modern period was due to their attractiveness resulting from much narrative fantasy.

6 National Library of the Czech Republic, sign. XVII F 47, f. 10v. See also Bohumil Horák, "Světová mapka v rukopise Vavřincovy Kroniky světové," *Sborník československé společnosti zeměpisné* 33.7–8 (1927): 223–26. Cf. Ilona Adamírová, "Mapy světa ve středověkých univerzálních kronikách na příkladu mapy světa ve středověké Světové kronice Vavřince z Březové," *Pomocné vědy historické v současné historiografii a archivnictví*, ed. Marie Bláhová, Mlada Holá, and Klára Woitschová (Prague: Karolinum, 2018), 257–72.

7 Christoph Mauntel, "The T-O Diagram and Its Religious Connotations. A Circumstantial Case," *Geography and Religious Knowledge in the Medieval World*, ed. Christoph Mauntel. *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, Beihefte 14 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 57–82. Cf. Wesley M. Stevens, "The Figure of the Earth in Isidore's 'De natura rerum'," *Isis* 71.2 (1980): 268–77; John Williams, "Isidor, Orosius and the Beatus Map," *Imago Mundi* 49.1 (1997): 7–32; on Isidore's geographical knowledge, see Natalia Lozovsky, *"The Earth is Our Book": Geographical Knowledge in the Latin West ca. 400–1000* (Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, 2000), 103–12.

8 "Unde videntur orbem dimidium duae tenere, Europa et Africa. Alium vero dimidium sola Asia." *Sancti Isidori hispalensis episcopi De natura rerum ad Sibetum regem liber*, ed. J.-P. Migne. *Patrologia Latina* 83 (Paris: venit apud editorem, 1850), 1018. See the contribution to this volumen by Karen Pinto and the respective illustration of Isidore's T-O map.

9 "Já, mistr Vavřinec, teho duostojného krále služebník tuto kroniku z křestianských, z židovských i pohanských kronik s robotnú pilností a pilnú robotnosť sepsal jsem." Quoted from Vojtěch Bažant, "Kronikář ve svém díle. Problematika autora a vypravěče," *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica* 20.1 (2017): 141–58; here 153.

10 *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla*, ed. František Šimek. *Živá díla minulosti*, 32 (Prague: Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění, 1963), 201–02.

As Rosemary Tzanaki has shown in her analysis, the work is open to a multiplicity of readings depending on the social or cultural context, and the forms of its reception correspond to various areas of interest. The work can be viewed as a pilgrim's guide, an encyclopedia of geographical and historical knowledge, a romance, or a treatise on theological subjects.¹¹ The variety of potential motivations why people read *Mandeville's Travels* seems to echo why people actually travel, mentioned in the prologue to the Old Czech text: one acts so to perform heroic deeds, another one for religious grounds, the third one for business, the fourth in a desire to see wonders, the fifth for love or some other reason.¹²

The knowledge of the eastern countries in *Mandeville's Travels* is skillfully pieced together from a wide range of relevant literary sources, adding to the impression of authenticity. Indeed, at times Mandeville seems to have followed in the footsteps of Odoric of Pordenone (1286–1331) or Marco Polo (1254–1324) and, like these travelers, to have observed many incredible facts as an eyewitness.¹³ Quite in keeping with the contemporary understanding of authority, his accounts of distant lands became one of the sources of the geographical knowledge embodied in Martin Behaim's globe of 1492.¹⁴ Via *Mandeville's Travels*, the Czech audience could, among other things, become acquainted in an accessible way with the nodal points of the long-distance trade network.

11 Rosemary Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences: A Study on the Reception of the Book of Sir John Mandeville (1371–1550)* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 2003), 269–79. See also C. W. R. D. Moseley, "The Metamorphoses of Sir John Mandeville," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 4 (1974): 7–25. For reading *Mandeville's Travels* as a travel romance, see Geraldine Heng, *Empire of Magic: Medieval Romance and the Politics of Cultural Fantasy* (New York and Chichester: Columbia University Press, 2003), 239–305; cf. also Albrecht Classen, "Marco Polo and John Mandeville: The Traveler as Authority Figure, the Real and the Imaginary," *Authorities in the Middle Ages: Influence, Legitimacy, and Power in Medieval Society*, ed. Sini Kangas, Mia Korpiola, and Tuija Aionen. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 12 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2013), 239–48.

12 "A protož, kdož vysoké mysli jest, ten nemá dosti na jediné same zemi známosti; pro něžto některž putuje v rytířství ve mnohé země, druhý pro náboženství, třetí pro kupečství, čtvrtý aby divy opatřil, pátý pro milost nebo jinú příčinu." *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 22.

13 Tilo Rentz, "Utopische Elemente der mittelalterlichen Reiseliteratur," *Das Mittelalter: Perspektiven mediävistischer Forschung*, Beihefte 18.2 (2013): 129–52. Cf. Shirin A. Khanmohamadi, *In Light of Another's Word: European Ethnography in the Middle Ages*. The Middle Ages Series (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 113–44. Also cf. Stephen Greenblatt, *Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 27–51; Josephine Waters Bennett, *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*. Monograph Series, XIX (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1954), 15–25; Alena Scheinostová, "Stvoření místa ve středověkém cestopise (Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla)," *Česká literatura* 52.2 (2004): 149–71.

14 C. W. R. D. Moseley, "Behaim's Globe and 'Mandeville's Travels'," *Imago Mundi* 33 (1981): 89–91.

Damascus is described as Europe's nearest center for this trade, situated only a three-day caravan journey from the Mediterranean and five days from Jerusalem. Goods from vast areas of the Middle East, especially Mesopotamia, Persia, and Greater Armenia, are transported to this city.¹⁵ On the coast of the Black Sea, the port of Trabzon is recalled, where goods from Media, Persia, and neighboring wealthy areas are directed. From here these goods travel to Constantinople, and then by merchant ships to Genoa and Venice.¹⁶ The city of Tabriz is described as a kind of world trade center, and in the context of long-distance trade, the island of Hormuz, located in the travelogue to India, is also worth mentioning. According to Mandeville, this island is said to be visited by merchants from Marseilles, Genoa, and Venice.¹⁷ However, merchants from Venice, Flanders, the Near East, and elsewhere could also be found in China, which is depicted as a noble and wealthy kingdom, frequented by extraordinary numbers of people who spend up to a year and a half on the road to buy goods there. They bring precious stones, spices, silks, and other valuable garments from the numerous Chinese cities and then resell them to other cities and countries.¹⁸

In describing the Indian lands, Mandeville mentions an unknown island where ebony trees grow whose precious wood allegedly does not decay and cannot be burnt. He also writes about nuts with shells as large as a man's head, which serve for producing cups that make every wine smell deliciously. He again recalls the long-distance trade route from India to Venice via Trabzon in connection with these commodities.¹⁹ As to the substances used in medicine, Mandeville speaks two times

15 "A jest Damaskus mesto se mnohým kupečstvem, kakžkoli tři dni púti od moře leží a od Jeruzalema pět dní púti; neb od moře nosie ta kupečstvie na velblúdiech a na koních a na dromedářích. A jdeť tam kupečstvie po moři k němu z Perské země, z Kaldejské a z Veliké Armenie." *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 84.

16 "A komuz by to bylo k mysli, ten muož u Benátkách nebo v Janově kupečské barky ptáti, kterážto čelo miení proti moři Tauritskému obrátiti, a na vsada můž plúti do Konstantinopole. A pak musí ptáti sobě tovaryšstva do Trapizoden města. A tu jest port, neo přistavadlo, kdežto pučestvie z Persie a Medie a ze mnohých jiných zemí bohatých přistávají." *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 94.

17 "V Indii jest jeden ostrov, jenž solve Armos, do něhožto někteří kupci z Benátek nebo z Janova anebo z Marsilie přicházejí." *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 103.

18 "Kataj jest ušlechtile a bohaté královstvie, a jest v něm více kupečských lidí nežli kde jinde, a ze všech zemí přicházejí tam drahé kamenie a zlatohlavy a bohaté věci. Protož Babylonští a Benátští, z Flandr a jiní kupci rok aneb puoldruhého léta v nie na cestě bývají, aby tam mohlo dojeti. Neb tu nabereť drahého kamení a kořenie, postavcův a hedvábie a jiného kupečstvie, a přinesúc domov i rozdacie po jiných městech a zemiech." *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 103.

19 "Také v Indii jest ostrov, v němž roste dřevie, kteréžto ani shníti ani spáliti býti může, a solve ebanus . . . A tu rostú take velcí ořechevé vonní jako které kořenie nebo obilé najvonnější. A z toho dělají k pití orudie, v nichžto každé víno dobře vonie. A jáť jsem ty kupce znal, kteřížto

of precious balsam. Pedanius Dioscorides characterized this resinous product as a panacea, and Galen noted its application in embalming.²⁰

According to Mandeville, it is obtained from low growing trees found in a unique field near Cairo and from the Trees of the Sun and Moon. These trees are the subject of *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*, the oldest surviving Latin version of which dates to the seventh century. The letter locates these oracle trees in the furthest reaches of India, in a forest planted with frankincense and balsam trees.²¹ Mandeville admits that he has not personally visited this place as the current ruler of the region, Prester John, has it closely guarded.²² He makes no remark about the trees' divinatory powers but points out that people living near the forest have lived up to four or even five hundred years thanks to using the balsam.²³

Pepper

Mandeville's Travels informed the Czech audience that India is the land of pepper. Pepper had been one of the most crucial commodities in trade between the Mediterranean and the Eastern regions since the Roman Empire. Pepper was explicitly linked to India by Pliny the Elder (ca. 23–79), who commented on its taste that its only quality is pungency, and yet people travel all the way to India to obtain it.²⁴

ty skořepiny kupovají jsú a nesli je do Trapizode i do Benátek . . ." *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 157. On the importance of Trabzon as a traditional center of long-distance trade, see Koray Durak, "The Commercial History of Trebizond and the Region of Pontos from the Seventh to the Eleventh Centuries. An International Emporium," *Mediterranean Historical Review* 36.1 (2021): 3–41.

²⁰ Elly R. Truitt, "The Virtues of Balm in Late Medieval Literature," *Early Science and Medicine* 14.6 (2009): 711–36; here 716–18. On the issue of embalming in the Middle Ages, see also Romedio Schmitz-Esser, *The Corpse in the Middle Ages: Embalming, Cremating, and the Cultural Construction of the Dead Body*, trans. Albrecht Classen and Carolin Radtke (2014; Turnhout: Harvey Miller Publishers, 2020), 177–344.

²¹ Richard Stoneman, *Legends of Alexander the Great* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 14; see also Lloyd L. Gunderson, *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle about India*. Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie, Heft 110 (Meisenheim am Glan: Hain, 1980).

²² ". . . kněz Johan kázal těch stromův pilně stříeci svatým kněžím." *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 160. On the Prester John Legend, see Geraldine Heng, *The Invention of Race in the European Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 363–73.

²³ "A tu jsú lidé živi čtyři sta neb pět set let, nebo moc těch stromův dává dlhý život, protože ti stromové nesú balsam." *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 160.

²⁴ "Sola placere amaritudine, et hanc in Indos peti." Pliny, *Natural History. Books 12–16*, ed. Harris Rackham. The Loeb Classical Library, 370 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1945), 20. Cf. Dalby, *Dangerous Tastes* (see note 4), 89.

Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century mentioned the Malabar Coast as a source of pepper.²⁵ And it was on this coast that Mandeville was to arrive, at least allegedly, specifically in the land of Lombe. In his words, pepper grows there in an “arid place” and also in a forest called Combar. Supposedly, nowhere else in the world does pepper as good as this one grow in such quantities.²⁶ The numerous snakes and worms living in the forest feed on the fruits of the pepper tree, and therefore they also guard them scrupulously. From hearsay, he was told that the local people set fire to the forest before the harvest to drive these snakes and worms away and for this reason, the peppercorns are black and shriveled as if from fire. However, according to the narrator, this is not true since such a fire would burn the precious fruits, which are in demand all over the world. To keep snakes and worms away before harvesting or other work, the local people are said to need only to smoke out the place with mugwort and other fragrant spices.²⁷

The information about the pepper forest burning probably comes from Isidore of Seville. As the literate bishop wrote in his encyclopedic *Etymologies (Etymologiae)* from the first half of the seventh century, Indian pepper forests are guarded by snakes. The inhabitants thus set fires when the pepper ripens to chase the reptiles away, and the pepper turns black by the action of the flames.²⁸ The opponent of this interpretation was the Franciscan friar John of Marignolli (ca. 1290–1358/59), who traveled with a diplomatic message to the court of the Great Khan in China in the late 1330s and early 1340s. Marignolli is not an author of a literary treatise that would fall under the travelogue genre. He embodied his knowledge of the Eastern lands, supplemented by his personal observations, in the Latin-language historiographical work *Chronicle of the Czechs (Chronica Bohemorum)*. He dedicated it to the Roman Emperor and Bohemian King Charles IV (1316–1378), in whose service he was in the 1350s.²⁹ Marignolli’s fragmentary accounts of Asia are of undoubted

25 *The Christian Topography of Cosmas, an Egyptian Monk*, ed. J. W. McCrindle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 119.

26 “Odtad přes more plovúce přijdu do Lunk, země tak řečené, v nížto pepř roste na jedné pustíně a na chrastině, ješto jmenují cobar; a jakž širok jest svět, nikdiež lepší pepř neroste i více, než tu.” *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 104.

27 “Ale oniť berú svatého Jana koření, jenž slove černobýl, a jiné koření, a tiem zakadie a tak ty žížaly zapuzují, a že jim jed neškodí, když jej obřezují, aneb okopávají nebo obdělávají nebo zbierají.” *Cestopis tzv. Mandevilla* (see note 10), 105.

28 “Piperis arbor nascuntur in India . . . Cuius silvas serpentes custodiunt, sed incolae regionis illius, quum maturae fuerint, incendunt, et serpentes igni fugantur, et inde ex flamma nigrum piper efficitur.” Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* XVII, ed. and trans. Barbora Kocánová and Zuzana Silagiová. *Knihovna středověké tradice XXII* (Prague: Oikoymenth, 2019), 180.

29 Marie Bláhová, “John of Marignolli,” *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Graeme Dunphy. Vol. 2 (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 934–35. See also Kateřina Kubínová, “Jan Marignola a

value in the history of the Bohemian reception of knowledge about distant lands, as they were probably known at the Prague court earlier than the accounts of *Mandeville's Travels*.

Marignolli writes that the pepper of the entire world grows around the noble Indian city of Columbum (today Kollam). He considers it worthy of mention that its fruits are cultivated on bushes, similar to vine. At a specific ripening stage, they produce a liquid in the nature of red wine, which he squeezed with his own hand and used as a flavoring. The ripe fruit is dried on the trees with high heat and then knocked down with a stick into sheets.³⁰ In his words, he stayed in the area for fourteen months and therefore had ample time to witness the ripening process. He points out that pepper is not burnt, as writers erroneously say, nor does it exist in deserts but in gardens.³¹ We should recall in this connection that the text of *Mandeville's Travels* quoted above does speak of a wilderness that produces pepper. Of the owners of these pepper gardens, the Franciscan traveler states that it is not Saracens but Saint Thomas Christians who control the global pepper trade by means of weighing scales.³²

However, Marignolli's chronicle is not too helpful in the imaginary mapping of the long-distance trade routes. Of note is the mention of the curious seaport of Zayton (today Guangzhou in China), characterized, for instance, as a commercial center of considerable importance, literally as a "warehouse for all merchants."³³ The author then remarks about the island of Hormuz in connection with the debate

jeho 'cestopis', *Colloquia medievalia Pragensia* 10 (2008): 95–106; Kateřina Engstová, "Jan Marignola a památky doby Karla IV.," *Český časopis historický* 97 (1999): 476–505; Herbert Franke, "Das 'himmlische Pferd' des Johann von Marignola," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 50.1 (1968): 33–40; Brian E. Colles, "Giovanni de' Marignolli. An Italian Prelate at the Court of the South-East Asian Queen of Sheba," *Journal of Southeast Asian History* 9.2 (1968): 325–31; Anna-Dorothee von den Brincken, "Die universalhistorischen Vorstellungen des Johann von Marignola OFM: Der einzige mittelalterliche Weltchronist mit Fernostkenntnis," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 49.3 (1967): 297–339. For an English translation of extracts from Marignolli's *Chronicle*, see Henry Yule, *Kathay and the Way Thither*, vol. III (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 1916), 209–69.

30 "... pervenimus ad nobilissimam civitatem Indie nomine Columbum, ubi nascitur piper tocius orbis. Nascitur autem in vitibus, que plantatur ad modum vinearum omnino ... post facit quasi racemos et est intus vinum rubeum, quod manu mea pro salsa expressi in scutellam. Post maturantur et exsicantur in arbore et arescit pre nimio calore et siccum excutitur parvo baculo, cadeus super lintamina et recollitur." *Kronika Jana z Marignoly*, ed. Josef Emler. *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, tom. III (Prague: Nadání Františka Palackého, 1882), 496.

31 "Ista oculis vidi et manibus contrectavi mensibus XIV; nec comburitur, ut mencitur scriptores, nec nascitur in desertis, sed in ortis ...," *Kronika Jana z Marignoly* (see note 30), 496.

32 "... nec Saraceni sunt domini, sed christiani sancti Thome, qui habent stateram ponderis tocius mundi ...," *Kronika Jana z Marignoly* (see note 30), 496.

33 "Est etiam Zayton portus maris mirabilis ... omnium mercatorum depositorium." *Kronika Jana z Marignoly* (see note 30), 500. Cf. Brincken, "Die universalhistorischen Vorstellungen" (see note 29), 301.

on the existence of monstrous races. In his work, Marignolli tries to prove that people with one big foot and similar monstrous races have never existed. His argument, among other things, is his acquaintance with India and similarly significant countries. To emphasize that his unsuccessful search for evidence of the races of the mentioned kind was thorough, he states that he even visited this island, described fittingly as a meeting place for merchants from all over the world.³⁴

Only one manuscript from the mid-fifteenth century contains a surviving copy of the Old Czech translation of Marco Polo's travelogue, compiled in the early fifteenth century after a Latin draft by the Dominican friar Pipino de Bononia (ca. 1270–1328). The author of the Old Czech text remains unknown, although some lexical concords with the Old Czech *Mandeville's Travels* suggest that it could be the aforementioned Laurentius of Březová.³⁵ It is a tempting hypothesis, linking the origination of the work with the cultural atmosphere of the Prague court of Wenceslas IV. The Old Czech text of Polo's travelogue would thus be the second literary description of the marvels of exotic lands, which in the form of vernacular reading co-formed the idea of the world among the social elites of late-Luxembourg Bohemia.

The Old Czech *Milion*, too, associates pepper mainly with India. The beginning of the third book describes the ships carrying goods across the Indian Ocean and defines their size by the number of baskets of this spice: large ships can hold six thousand baskets of pepper, while smaller ones one thousand.³⁶ Pepper is recalled in connection with the description of several Indian places, but the emphasis is mainly on the Kingdom of Kolyum (today Kollam), where pepper bushes are said to be almost ubiquitous, as they thrive in forests and fields.³⁷ The text remarks that other spices growing in India include ginger and cloves. It talks about the city of Formosa – *civitas Cormos* (today Hormuz) in the Latin version – as a crucial port to

34 "Ego tamen omnium proviciarum Yndorum curiosissimus pergrator . . . ad investigandum mirabilia mundi et transivi per principales mundi provincias, maxime, ubi tocius orbis mercatores conveniunt, scilicet in insula dicta Ormes . . ." *Kronika Jana z Marignoly* (see note 30), 509.

35 Rudolf Urbánek, *Satirická skládání Budyšínského rukopisu M. Vavřince z Březové z r. 1420 v rámci ostatní jeho činnosti literární*. Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk. Třída filosoficko-historicko-filologická, vol. 1951, no. 3 (Prague: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1952), 20–21. For the Czech translation of Marco Polo's travelogue, see also Vladimír Liščák, "Benáček Marco Polo, Čína a středověké Čechy," *Nový Orient* 40.5 (1980): 149–53; here 150.

36 "... y nesa ta lodie obecnie ssest tissiecz kossow peprže . . . na wahu tissycz kossow peprže nese." *Marka Pavlova z Benátek Milion*, ed. Justin V. Prášek. Sbírka pramenův ku poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Group 1, Památky řeči a literatury české. Series 1, no. 3 (Prague: České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1902), 152–53.

37 "Peprže gest tu mnozstwíe, neb y po lessiech roste y po poly wsuddy plno g(es)t . . . A sbieragi pepržs Magie, Czerwencze A czerwna." *Marka Pavlova z Benátek Milion* (see note 36), 178.

which Indian spices, precious substances, and elephant tusks are ferried.³⁸ For the trade in Indian goods, however, the port of Aden is considered more important. In describing it, the Old Czech travelogue gives weighty information about the further transfer of Indian spices to the shores of the Mediterranean. The goods are first transported for seven days by sea and then for thirty days by camel overland to the river course, from where they continue to Alexandria on ships.³⁹

Bezoar

The Latin treatise *Letter on Protection against Poisons* (*Epistula de cautela a venenis*) also mentions natural substances from exotic Southern and Eastern countries. It was written in the early 1330s by the court chaplain and physician, Johannes de Göttingen (ca. 1280–1349), and then dedicated to the Czech King John of Luxembourg (1296–1346).⁴⁰ This work did not enjoy much response, and only the monarch's court was probably familiar with it, as it survived in merely two known copies.⁴¹ The letter warns the ruler of the dangers of poisoning in Italy and reminds him that his father, the Roman Emperor Henry VII (1278/79–1313), was poisoned in the same country. In addition to medicines for the poor, prepared from nuts, figs, or rue and the famous theriac, Johannes de Göttingen discusses two exclusive medications intended for kings in detail – emerald and bezoar.⁴² And, unlike contempo-

38 “Na toho morze brzegu g(es)t myesto fformosa, kteremuzto brzehu przychazegi kupczy z indie, wezucze sebu rozliczne wonie, korzenie, perly, kamenie, pstawcze zlatte, hedwabije, zuby slonowe y gine rozliczne wieczy drahe.” *Marka Pavlova z Benátek Milion* (see note 36), 25.

39 “Aden . . . k nyemuz sie schazie mnoho lodie z yndie korzenie rozliczneho. A kupczy . . . do Allexandrie gie wezu . . . sedm dnij po wodie wezu, potom wkładucze na welbludy trzidczet dnij s welbludy gdu, až rzieky Allexandske gedu, ktezto ge opiet na gine lodie przekładucze, do Allexandrie wezu.” *Marka Pavlova z Benátek Milion* (see note 36), 192.

40 Wolfgang Wegner, “Johann von Göttingen,” *Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte*, ed. Werner E. Gerabek, Bernard D. Haage, Gundolf Keil, and Wolfgang Wegner (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007), 699; see also Arend Mindermann, *Der berühmteste Arzt der Welt: Bischof Johann Hake, genannt von Göttingen (um 1280–1349)*. Göttinger Forschungen zur Landesgeschichte, 3 (Bielefeld: Verlag für Regionalgeschichte, 2001); Karl Wenck, “Johann von Göttingen. Arzt, Bischof und Politiker zur Zeit Kaiser Ludwigs des Bayern,” *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin* 17 (1925): 141–56. Milada Řihová and Martin Steiner, “Gloriosissimo principi: epistola de cautela a venenis ad Johannem, regem Bohemie,” *Acta Universitatis Carolinae. Philologica, Graecolatina Pragensia* 20 (2004): 169–200.

41 Milada Řihová, Dana Stehlíková, and David Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře Karla IV. a Jana Lucemburského* (Prague and Litomyšl: Paseka, 2010), 63–64.

42 For the Latin text and Czech translation, see Řihová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře* (see note 41), 78–110.

rary Arabic treatises, the bezoar treatment was not well known in the Latin medical literature of the High Middle Ages. A brief mention of bezoar is in the *Treatise on Poisons* (*Tractatus de venenis*), attributed to the Italian physician and philosopher Peter of Abano (1257–1316).⁴³ It is not without interest that this work also mentions bezoar in connection with effective antidotes. The author of the *Treatise* claims he had been an eyewitness of the Grand Master of the Knights Templar administering a bezoar stone to King Edward I of England (1239–1307). It reportedly saved his life after an assassin in Acre had wounded him with a poisoned dagger.⁴⁴

Johannes de Göttingen states that, according to Abenguefith, bezoar (*beazar*) is a word of Persian origin and means “against poison” or “freedom from poison.” This meaning has led to other medicines being referred to as bezoraic (*basaraicas*) in Latin.⁴⁵ The author interprets the stone as belonging to the simple mineral products of nature and informs that its deposits are found in the countries of Syria and India. It varies in color from shades of green, lemon, and translucent whitish.⁴⁶ It releases poison from the body, whether taken as a drink, hung around the neck, spread in an ointment, or just sucked in the mouth.⁴⁷ At the end of his treatise on the bezoar, Johannes de Göttingen reminds us that this stone effectively transmits the influence of the heavenly bodies. He includes the story of how an anonymous sage, familiar with the powers of stones and plants, cured an armorer who had been stung by a poisonous scorpion. He did so with wine, in which he had dissolved an incense seal bearing an imprinted figure of a scorpion. The sage explained to a curious onlooker that he would imprint the mark on these seals with a gold ring

43 Bernard D. Haage, “Petrus von Abano,” *Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte* (see note 40), 1131–32.

44 “Et per ipsum dicitur fuisse liberatum regem Angliae dominum Adoardum in civitate Aaron quando vulneratus fuit per passiassinum Soldani, gladio toxicato. Hunc autem lapidem et tribuit generalis praeceptor Templi et ergo consimilem vidi,” Petrus Abano, *Tractatus de venenis* (Rome: Steph. Planck, 1484), f. C₅r.

45 “Sed secundum Abengwefid beazar est nomen Persicum et eis exposocio est ‘contra venenum’ sive ‘libertas contra veneno’ . . . et Latini, sequentes hoc significatum denominatione *bezaraicas* vocant illas medicinas.” Quoted from Říhová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře* (see note 41), 94.

46 “. . . cadit . . . beazar super simplices naturales et proprie minerals . . . minera huius lapidis est in terra Sirie et Indie et in terris in orientis et in meridie habere multos colores nam quidam beazar est citrinus et quidam in colore viridi pulvirilentus et alter participans viriditatem et alter albedinem luminosam.” Quoted from Říhová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře* (see note 41), 92–94.

47 “. . . bibitus aut suspensus super patientem . . . linimentum de eo fit super locum morsus . . . quando ponitur in ore illius, qui sumpsit venenum et sugit eum aliquantulum, confert ei.” Quoted from Říhová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře* (see note 41), 94.

set with a bezoar stone with a representation of a scorpion on it. He carved it at the hour of the auspicious conjunction of the Moon and the zodiac sign of Scorpio.⁴⁸

The *Letter on Protection against Poisons* is a rare example of the early reception of Arabic knowledge about bezoar. Johannes de Göttingen, in contrast to the *Treatise on Poisons* mentioned above, continuously quotes the names of Arab and Jewish authorities, many of which survived in a mangled form. The statement attributed to Benfrisuf, immediately preceding the story of the sage, informs us that the bezoar stone counteracts the scorpion poison when worn in a ring with the relevant signs engraved at the time the Moon is in Scorpio.⁴⁹ Scholarly literature recalls this claim as evidence of Arabic knowledge of the bezoar, associating it with an author named Otharid ibn Muḥammad al-Hakeb,⁵⁰ mentioned by Ibn al-Bayṭār (1197–1248) in his *Compendium on Simple Medicaments and Foods*.⁵¹ The form of the name Benfrisuf suggests that Johannes de Göttingen was probably familiar with a different tradition linking this knowledge to Ahmad al-Tifashi (1184–1253). The latter is recalled as Mahamed ibn Ririfus in a printed edition of the encyclopedia *The Book of Simple Medicaments (De simplicibus medicamentorum historia)* by an Arab author known in the Latin West as Johannes Serapion,⁵² translated to Latin in the late thirteenth century. Johannes de Göttingen likely became acquainted

48 “Quadam autem die, dum cum eo essem, armigerum eius vociferantem audimus, quem scorpio pupugerat, qui statim ex marsubio sigilla odorem incense habencia extrahit eique in vino porrexit unum contritum statimque bibitum armiger requieuit. Tunc ego aspexi ista sigilla et in uno quoque eorum vidi wultum scorpionis impressum. Interrogavit eum . . . tunc iste ostendit mihi annulum aureum, cuius lapis erat bazaar, in quo scorpionis wultus erat suprascriptus. Interrrigavi, qua hora illum lapidem sculserat, dixitque mihi: luna existente in scorpione sculpsit . . .” Quoted from Říhová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře* (see note 41), 96.

49 “De hoc Benfrisuf hoc scribit: lapis bazaar confert veneno scorpionis, si portatur in annulo et sculpte in eo ymagines, luna existente is signo scorpionis.” Quoted from Říhová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře* (see note 41), 94, 96.

50 Marnie P. Stark, “Mounted Bezoar Stones, Seychelles Nuts, and Rhinoceros Horns: Decorative Objects as Antidotes in Early Modern Europe,” *Studies in Decorative Arts* 11.1 (2003–2004): 69–94; here 71. Cf. Hermann Fühner, “Bezoarsteine,” *Janus* 6 (1901): 317–321, 351–356; here 353.

51 *Traité des simples par Ibn El-Beïthar*, tome 1, ed. Lucien Leclerc. Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques, tome 23 (Paris: Imprimerie National, 1877), 197.

52 “Ex Hahamed eben Ririfo. Lapis quod aiunt Bezahar seu Alexipharmacus. Scorpionum ictibus mire aduersatur annulo insertus, ac gestatus, praesertim si in eo insculpta fuerit scorpionis effigies Luna Scorpionis sedem occupante, in eiusque potissimum ascensu: Ad quae summe ualet eciam Thus cum iam sic insculpto annullo ueluti sigillo consignatum, Luna in Scorpionis itidem domicilio commorante, si commorso deinde sic exhibetur in potu friatum.” *Ioannis Serapionis De simplicium medicamentorum historia libri septem* (Venetiis: apud Andream Arrivabonium, 1552), 139v. Cf. Manfred Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Erste Abteilung, Nahe und der Mittlere Osten, 6. Bd., 1. Abschnitt (Leiden and Cologne: E. J. Brill, 1970), 283–84.

with the works of Arab physicians during his time in Montpellier, where historical sources document him as a lecturer (*magister actu regens*) as late as 1314.⁵³ The local university ranked as one of the leading centers of scholarly interest in Arabic writings on theriac and other natural antidotes at the turn of the fourteenth century.⁵⁴ The path of the exclusive and, in its time, exotic iatroastrological knowledge about the properties of bezoar to the court of the Bohemian King John of Luxembourg probably led through this university.

Mediterranean Trade through the Eyes of Czech Travelers

In the early 1490s, the merchant Martin Kabátník (1428–1503) took part in an expedition to the Holy Land to investigate the customs of the early Christian communities. On his return, he penned his experiences at the urging of friends. His small-scale work, *Journey from Bohemia to Jerusalem and Egypt* (*Cesta z Čech do Jeruzaléma a Egypta*), was not published in print until after his death. It enjoyed a positive response and several editions during the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ When in Cairo, Kabátník could not conceal his astonishment at the plethora of goods, foodstuffs, and spices sold there. He was intrigued by the fact that the market was not only held on certain designated days but lasted from morning until night essentially continuously.⁵⁶ He also noticed the host of Christian merchants, subject to a particular judge of Italian origin. Italians, he said, formed the majority of them.⁵⁷ It could not have escaped this

53 Řihová, Stehlíková, and Tomíček, *Lékaři na dvoře* (see note 41), 68.

54 Michael McVaugh, "Theriac at Montpellier 1285–1325," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 56.2 (1972): 113–44.

55 *Martina Kabátníka cesta z Čech do Jeruzaléma a Kaira r. 1491–92*, ed. Justin V. Prášek (Prague: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1894), VII–XXIV. See also Otakar Nahodil, "Místo a význam cestopisu Martina Kabátníka v dějinách české etnografie," *Český lid* 39.7 (1952): 152–164; Petr Charvát, "Můřeníni, Arabi, pohané a Martin Kabátník z Litomyšle," *Pomezí Čech a Moravy* 3 (1999): 13–29; Vojtěch Bažant, "Prostor Svaté země v českých cestopisech 15. století," *Fenomén cestopisu v literatuře a umění střední Evropy*, ed. Jiří Hrabal (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2015), 55–67.

56 "W te uliczy wssieczky wieczi p(ro)dawagi k gedlu y gine wieczi kramske, g(eš)to mi se tak zdalo, czo by sobie czło(vě)k pomysliti, ze tu naygde kupiti . . . W Egiptie trhu dne urczenego zadnego nenie ani jarmarku, nez kazdy den wzdyczky, yakz se den poczne, trh a jarmark az do noczy, a to na wssieczky wiecij." *Martina Kabátníka cesta* (see note 55), 27–28.

57 "W Egiptie g(es)t kupczuow krziescia(n)skych velmi mnoho a hned magi sweho rychtarzie, g(es)to gie saudi a opatruje podle potrzeb gich; a g(es)t wlach ten rychtarz . . . A take kupczow krziescian-skich naywiec g(es)t wlachow." *Martina Kabátníka cesta* (see note 55), 32.

man fascinated with the bustle of Oriental trade that many commodities at the Egyptian bazaar were incredibly cheap. Especially the price of dates and sugar must have been irresistible to the Bohemian merchant. In his travelogue, he stated that four silver coins called *maidin* bought three and a half pounds of candied sugar of the highest quality.⁵⁸ Kabátník was also interested in the famous garden near Cairo, supposedly grown with precious balsam, and he and his companions visited that place. The guarded part of the garden, reserved for the cultivation of balsam trees, was enclosed by a high wall, and the visitors failed to get in even despite their attempt at bribing the guards. As for the accessible parts of the garden, Kabátník remarked about many fruit trees and special spices wafting a lovely aroma.⁵⁹

At the same time as Kabátník, the nobleman Bohuslav Hasištejnský of Lobkowicz (1461–1510) also journeyed to the Middle East. We are partly informed about his course via the letters this humanist writer sent to his friends. He was attracted to Alexandria as a center of long-distance trade, reporting that goods from India, Arabia, and Ethiopia head there to be transported to Western countries, including “our lands.”⁶⁰

As early as the mid-1470s, the Utraquist priest and bachelor of the Prague University, Martin called Wrymouth, made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. His Latin-language travelogue of 1477 survived in a manuscript, and its 1573 Czech translation only remained in this form as well.⁶¹ The intricate journey took the priest to the port of Tripoli, among other places, and especially to Damascus, which makes it exceptional in contemporary Bohemian travel literature. Martin depicts it as largely desolate yet surrounded by beautiful gardens. He was particularly impressed by the abundance of foodstuffs on sale and the many merchants, including Venetians, with whom he had the opportunity to speak.⁶²

58 “Neb sem ho kupil jako puol czwrtzy lybry czeske za cztirzi maydyny, a to przedniego a wybraneho czukru kandy.” *Martina Kabátníka cesta* (see note 55), 27.

59 “... w kteryzto zahradach mnoho g(es)t drzewie rozlicznego a owotczij y korzenij przediwnych, a wonie przeczista z tiech zahrad wonyela.” *Martina Kabátníka cesta* (see note 55), 26.

60 “Indicae, Arabicae, Aethiopicae merces eo confluunt, inde demum occidenti et regionibus nostris inferunt.” *Bohuslav Hassensteinii a Lobkowicz Epistulae*, tomus II, ed. Jan Martínek and Dana Martínková. Bibliotheca scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana (Leipzig: G. Teubner Verlagsgesellschaft, 1980), 22–23.

61 Jaroslav Kolár, “České znění Cesty do Jeruzaléma Martina Křivoústého,” *Strahovská knihovna: Sborník Památníku národního písemnictví* 18–19 (1983–84): 67–95; here 67.

62 “Damašek pak jest město plné kupectví, neb tak mnohé věci se tu prodávají k jídlu, že podivné jest... Ti pak Benátčané, kteří sou tam, praví, že Damašek jest jako dvoje Benátky...” Quoted from Kolár, “České znění Cesty do Jeruzaléma Martina Křivoústého” (see note 61), 78.

The significance of Venice for European trade in the late fifteenth century was enormous.⁶³ From Mediterranean and Black Sea ports, Venetian merchants brought goods of all kinds from Africa and as far afield as Asia. Jan Hasištejnský of Lobkowitz (1450–1517), who, like his younger brother Bohuslav, set out in 1493 on a journey to the holy places of the Middle East, stated in his surviving manuscript travelogue that the entire population of the city participated in trade. According to him, the local merchants travel to pagan, or Turkish, countries for goods, storing them in Venice. He particularly mentions spices and sweet wines. From there, goods travel to the regions of Central Europe, namely Bohemia, Poland, the surrounding German countries, Hungary, and Austria.⁶⁴ The scholarly burgher Oldřich Prefát of Vlkánov (1523–1565), who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1536, also does not fail to mention in his manuscript travelogue that merchants from Venice sail for goods to the Eastern countries and Cyprus, as well as to Syria, Beirut, and Tripoli.⁶⁵

The Old World Transformed

The Venetian dominance of the European trade in spices and other exotic goods was shattered by the Portuguese when they established maritime links with India, Sri Lanka (formerly Ceylon), and the Indonesian islands in the early sixteenth century. Nevertheless, goods from Venice still had a prominent share in the offer of the Prague merchants, and Venetian pepper could easily compete with the Portu-

⁶³ On the commercial network of the Republic of Venice in the fifteenth century, see Francisco Apellániz, “Venetian Trading Network in the Medieval Mediterranean,” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 44.2 (2013): 157–79. It experienced, however, a steep decline since the sixteenth century; see Ludwig Beutin, “Der wirtschaftliche Niedergang Venedigs im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert,” *Hansische Geschichtsblätter* 76 (1958): 42–72.

⁶⁴ “A obyvatelé téhoz miesta wsseczko se kupecztwijn ziwije a obchoduje. A gezdije do pohan, do Turek po kupecztwije. A wsseczka korzenije, teez malwazy i gina mnoha kupecztwije, toho wsseho tu sklad v Benatkach. A odtud sem do nassich zemij dodawagij, do Czech, do Polsky y do wsech ginych okolnijch nimeckych zemj, y teez takee do Uher i do Rakous.” *Jana Hasištejnského z Lobkovic Putování k Svatému hrobu*, Ferdinand Strejček. Sbírka pramenův ku poznání literárního života v Čechách, na Moravě a v Slezsku. Series 2, group 1. Památky řeči a literatury české, no. 4 (Prague: Nákladem české akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1902), 16.

⁶⁵ “. . . někteří benátskí měšťané a kupci, kteří po moři handlují a své kupectví působí, a zvláště ti, kteří na vejchod sluce toho času se plaviti strojí, buďto do Cypru, neb do Surii, do Barutu aneb do Tripoli . . .” Oldřich Prefát z Vlkánova, *Cesta z Prahy do Benátek a odtud po moři až do Palestiny* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2007), 22.

guese spice imported from Lisbon or Antwerp throughout the century.⁶⁶ The commodities mostly traveled via Nuremberg, the hub of long-distance trade for Prague, and to a lesser extent via Augsburg and Leipzig. The three cities were described as trade centers in the Czech edition of Sebastian Münster's (1488–1552) comprehensive work *Universal Cosmography* (*Cosmographia universalis*), which Zikmund of Puchov (d. ca. 1584) prepared for publication under the title *Bohemian Cosmography* (*Kozmografía česká*). The work came out in Prague in 1554.⁶⁷ It particularly emphasizes the role of Nuremberg as the vastest trade warehouse in the German lands.⁶⁸ However, the cardinal importance of the *Bohemian Cosmography* is that it, as a linguistically accessible medium, disseminated near exhaustive knowledge of the entire known world beyond the narrow circle of Latin-oriented experts. In this respect, it became an alternative to *Mandeville's Travels* in the Czech language environment. In the case of long-distance trade routes, this work offered a somewhat modified picture of the world.

The author depicts Alexandria as a port traditionally mediating trade between India and Europe. In his words, precious Indian products, such as spices and other fragrant substances along with silk fabrics, are transported there by the Red Sea and then distributed to European countries, namely Gaul, Italy, and Hispania. However, as the *Bohemian Cosmography* points out, not only Alexandria but also Sicily and Venice have, in the economic sense, suffered from the decline in the collection of customs duties in modern times. It was because most of the merchandise formerly shipped from Alexandria to Europe began to be imported by sea from India directly to Hispania and there resold to the countries of northern Europe.⁶⁹ This new trade route runs from Portugal eastwards to India, redirecting a continuous stream of

66 Marie Buňatová, *Hedvábí, sklo a koření: Obchod mezi Prahou a Itálií (1500–1620)* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2019), 26. See also Josef Janáček, *Dějiny obchodu v předbělohorské Praze. Studie a prameny*, vol. 11 (Prague: Československá akademie věd, 1955), 74–110.

67 Sebastian Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (Prague: Jan Kosořský z Kosoře, 1554). Cf. Oldřich Kašpar, “La Cosmografía Cecha en el context des los trabajos cosmográficos europeos del siglo XVI,” *Iberoamerica Pragensia* 11 (1977): 179–84. Markéta Krejčová, “‘Kozmografía česká’ a její ideové pojetí,” *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků. Miscellanea Department of the Manuscript and Early Printed Books* 19 (2006): 60–72. For Münster's *Cosmographia*, see Matthew McLean, *The Cosmographia of Sebastian Münster: Describing the World in the Reformation*. St. Andrews Studies in Reformation History (Aldershot, Hampshire; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2016).

68 “Normberk město . . . sklad kupecký v Germanii v něm největší.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (see note 67), 400r.

69 “Neb jest mezi Indií a Europau jako nějaký prostřední port. Cožkoli drahého v Indii roste, koření a jiné vonné věci, anobřž které se koli hedbávné věci tam tkají, z Moře Indského po Červeném Moři do Egypta přicházejí . . . z Alexandrie pak dále pocházejí do Syrie, Grecie, Italie, Afriky, Gallie a Hispanie . . . Toho věku našeho netoliko Alexandria, ale take Sicília a Benátky na ujmu cel svých tauží. Poněvadž všeliké kupectví, kteréž prvé skrz Alexandrii do Europy přicházelo, nyníčko

spices of all kinds elsewhere. The transport of goods led around Africa, from Lisbon to Calicut, and back from Calicut to Lisbon.⁷⁰ In the context of the account of India, the work describes the Portuguese maritime trade route in more detail: it goes from Hispania around Africa and Ethiopia to the Arabic's city of Aden, from there to the island of Hormuz, and finally via Cambay to Calicut.⁷¹

The *Bohemian Cosmography* devotes separate chapters to Aden and Hormuz, highlighting the significance of these transport hubs for long-distance trade. It portrays the Yemeni port as a transshipment point for goods, to which the ships of the most prominent merchants from the Indies, Ethiopia, and Persia headed.⁷² Hormuz is allegedly so frequented for the pearl, silk, and spice trade that as many as three hundred ships moor in its harbor at any one time.⁷³

The port of Cambay is described as a wealthy city situated on the Indus River, with an exceedingly fertile landscape. It grows grain and a variety of spices, which pharmacists use to make precious fragrant ointments. The *Bohemian Cosmography* recalls the city as the only stronghold of Portuguese commercial power on the Indian subcontinent. It states that the Portuguese king conquered it and built a fortress here.⁷⁴ It mentions Calicut as the crucial commercial transshipment point of the entire Orient, with valuable goods arriving from almost all parts of the world to its port: the most precious pearls from Hormuz, frankincense and myrrh from Arabia, cinnamon from Ceylon, nard and myrobalans from the Cambay area,

na větším díle z Indie vpřímo do Hispanie po moři jde, a odtud do puolnočních zemí Europy se podává." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 134r.

70 "... Plavení, kteráž se dějí z Portugalie k vejchodu až do Indie, odkudž do těchto zemí rozličné koření bez přestání přichází, točice se okolo vší Afriky, od Lizibonu až do Kaligútu a zase z Kaligútu do Lizibonu." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 118v.

71 "Jedno z Hispanie okolo Afriky a země Mauřenínské až do Arabie z městu Aden, a odtud k ostrovu řečenému Ornum, od Ornu k miestu Kambaji a od Kambaje k Kaligútu." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 82v.

72 "K tomuto mořskému městu jako k nejvzácnějšímu skladu z obojí Indie, Etiopie i Persidy nejznamenitější kupci po moři jedau." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 59r.

73 "Někdy se trefí, že se na tři sta sířův kupeckých k tomuto městu pojednau sjede . . . od věcí hedvábných, od rozličných perel a od koření jest v něm kupectví veliké." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 61r.

74 "Krajina města toho dává rozličné koření, z něhož ušlechtilé a vonné masti se dělají . . . Král portugalský toto mesto sobě podmanil a zámek pevný při něm vystavěl." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 82v. For more about the Portuguese ports in the Gulf of Cambay, see Sadaf Fatima, "The Gulf of Cambay: Port Towns in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Century," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 70 (2009–2020): 354–62.

nutmeg and other spices from the Moluccas.⁷⁵ The area around Calicut is famous for ginger and aloe bushes, but its main farming product is pepper. According to the Bohemian Cosmography, it grows on bushes like vines. However, like hops, these shrubs need support in the form of poles to which they cling to grow. The fruit has the shape of grapes made up of green peppercorns, harvested during October or November and dried in the sun. After three to four days, the grains turn black and thus acquire the form of imported peppercorns.⁷⁶

As part of the geographical world of Asia, the *Bohemian Cosmography* also presents the countries discovered by sailors and conquistadors in the service of the Spanish Crown. Zikmund of Puchov decided to name them “New Islands” or “New World” (*Orbis novus*) and located them on an imaginary globe in places lying between India and Spain.⁷⁷ The knowledge thus conveyed is mainly based on the accounts of the voyages of Columbus, Magellan, Pinzón, and Vespucci. However, the conquest campaign of Hernán Cortés in 1520–1521 also received some space.⁷⁸ Consistent with these sources, the New Islands are portrayed as places abounding in natural riches. For example, the island Hispania (today Haiti) is characteristic of an abundance of mastic, aloe, and a sort of red grains hotter than pepper.⁷⁹ Records of communication with the indigenous people reveal that the Europeans were mainly interested in gold or pearls. However, they also asked persistently about spices, also viewed as a potential source of profit.⁸⁰

75 “Největší a nejhrubější perly podlé ostrovu a města jménem Ormus . . . do Kaligutu jako do předního kupeckého a skladního města ve všem Orientu se posílají . . . kadidlo a mirhu dává Arabia . . . spicanardy a mirobolanus z Kambaji do Kaliguru přichází . . . skořice přichází z ostrovu jménem Zailon . . . muškátové kulky a mácis rostau v Moluchě.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (see note 67), 87v.

76 “Keř pepře jest mdlý, vinnému podobný a bez tyček sám státi nemůže. Pepř jest chmeli podobný, neb se okolo tyče a nebo štěpu obtočuje . . . zrnka tak zelená, měsíce října a listopadu zbírají a ta zrnka na slunci suší, kterážto po třech neb po čtyřech dnech tak sčernají, jakž sem k nám do těchto zemí přichází.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (see note 67), 86v.

77 “Maje vypravovati o Nových ostrových, kteréž nyní jmenují Novum Orbem, to jest Nový svět . . . skoro v prostředku mezi Hyšpánií a Indijí, jakž se to všecko na Kauli světa tohoto gruntovněji každému ukázati může.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (see note 67), 94v.

78 Jaroslav Pánek, “*Encounter z českého pohledu – Amerika v ‘Kozmografii české’ z poloviny 16. století*,” *Cestou dějin I*, ed. Eva Semotanová (Prague: Historický ústav 2007), 187–203; here 190–92.

79 “Tento ostrov dává mastikam, aloe a jiné věci k ním podobné, předkem pak zrna jakási červená, kteráž jsu pernější než pepř.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (see note 67), 95v.

80 “Našli se v lodi mezi našimi dva, kterým se vyjítí a ostrov ohledati líbilo, jaký by to národ byl a měl li by jaké bohatství neb koření.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (see note 67), 103v.

What stands out from the descriptions of the indigenous communities' material culture is the depiction of the wealth of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan, which does not conceal a certain admiration for the life of the local society. The *Bohemian Cosmography* describes a vast plaza, where up to thirty thousand people allegedly gather daily to trade in various raw materials and products. There is a mention of gold, silver, pearls, precious stones, and feathers, but also numerous herbs, spices, wood, and even coal.⁸¹

The *Bohemian Cosmography* is not the first Czech-language work to inform readers about the New World. As early as 1506, the Pilsen printer Mikuláš Bakalář (d. after 1513) published a Czech version of a leaflet about the third voyage of Amerigo Vespucci from 1501–1502. This rather brief work is entitled *Treatise on the New Lands and the New World* (*Spis o nových zemích a o Novém světě*). There is no lack of mentions of various herbs and spices and, in particular, the promising claim that trees on the newly discovered islands smell daintily and emit resin and oil.⁸² However, Zikmund of Puchov's extensive printed book differs in its ambition to place the newly discovered lands in the context of existing geographical knowledge. Only this book provides Czech readers with a view of a world that is indeed global via trade contacts. The link between the worlds of the distant East and West is here – at least as far as the spice trade is concerned – the Moluccas.

These 'new' islands were those which the Spanish reached during their long and arduous voyage southwestward, eight months after the death of their commander Ferdinand Magellan (1480–1521).⁸³ They thus reached an archipelago that the *Bohemian Cosmography* portrays as extraordinary because of the local spices. After all, spices are almost the exclusive focus of the individual island's description. The *Cosmography* mentions groves of dense bushes bearing cloves and nutmeg the size of a walnut and its flower, as well as cinnamon and ginger.⁸⁴ The work also betrays knowing the spices from the Mollucas as a commodity already traded

81 "V tomto městě jest plac aneb rynek . . . každého dne se tu uhledá na třidceti tisíc lidu, kteří kupují neb prodávají . . . než zlata, stříbra, perel, kamení drahého, perí veliké množství mají. Item rozličných bylin, koření, dříví a uhlí." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 109r.

82 "Všichni stromové sú tam vonní a všichni z sebe gumi a olej vypůstějí." *Spis o nových zemích a o novém světě: Faksimile a výklad plzeňského tisku Mikuláše Bakaláře z roku 1506*, ed. Pravoslav Kneidl (Prague: Památník národního písemnictví, 1981), 11. See also Odřich Kašpar, *Nový svět v české a evropské literatuře 16.–19. století* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1980), 57–58.

83 "Hišpanové . . . osmého měsíce k nim se připlavivše, jakž Magellanus gich hejtman zahynul." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 99v.

84 "V Thedorii jest veliká hojnost hřebíčkuov . . . Ostrov Muthil rodí skořici . . . Od tohoto ostrovu nedaleko jiný ostrov leží . . . v němž kulky muškátové rostau . . . zázvor ve všech ostrovích . . . roste." Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmograffia česká* (see note 67), 100r.

by the Portuguese. Although not directly, but via the nearby port of Malacca, on the coast of the Golden Chersonese (today the Malay Peninsula), described as the largest trading depot in the Eastern countries. And the desire to reach the Mollucas and thus profit from the local spice trade was the Spanish motivation beyond the discovery voyage described above.⁸⁵

The physician Jan Černý (ca. 1456–1530) compiled a Czech herbal and printed it under the title *Medical Book (Knieha lékařská)* in 1517. It is an extensive treatise discussing more than four hundred medicinal substances. It is probably not surprising that the author pays primary attention to pepper when writing about exotic ones. The chapter on this spice opens by telling us that it is the fruit of a tree found in India on the sunny slopes of the Caucasus and its leaves look like juniper.⁸⁶ The *Bohemian Cosmography* contains a similar claim. It informs that pepper trees grow on the southern slopes of the Caucasus Mountains and in the same way as juniper in “our lands.”⁸⁷ However, the Latin edition of the *Universal Cosmography* states that the comparison between pepper and juniper comes from Pliny.⁸⁸ The *Natural History (Historia naturalis)* contains such a comparison as well.⁸⁹ Isidore of Seville, too, took up this piece of knowledge for his *Etymologies*, mentioning the similarity between the pepper and juniper leaves.⁹⁰ Černý agrees with Pliny and Isidore that the long and round pepper is the fruit of a single tree. In his interpretation, the first fruit of the pepper tree is the so-called long pepper, called *macropiper* in Latin, which, with gradual ripening, forms grapes containing smooth white grains, called *lencopiper* in Latin. These turn black only as they ripen, at the same time losing some of their original pungent taste. Latin knows this black pepper as *melanopiper*. It shrivels as a result of oven drying. It was probably in this context that Jan Černý

85 “... odtud ad Aurem Chersonézum se dostali, kdež jest Malacha město vzácné a sklad k Vejchodu největší ... Jsau pak nedaleko od města Malachy ostrovové, kteříž Moluje slovau, v nichž všeliké koření roste a odtud do Malachy se podává. Protož vymysleli cestu, aby se i Kastilánští k Ostrovuom moluckým plavili a odtud koření snadněji a s menším nákladem i laciněji do Kastilie voziti mohli.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografia česká* (see note 67), 97.

86 “Pepr̃ . . . zrna nebo ovoce stromu v Indii při huoře, ještě slove Caucasus, rostúcieho, kdežto horkost slunečná pálivá bývá. Strom ten listím podobný jest jalovci.” Jan Černý, *Knieha lékařská, kteráž solve herbář neb zelínář*, ed. Zdeňka Tichá (Prague: Avicenum, 1981), 278.

87 “Pepr̃ roste v horách řečených Kaukazus, a nejvíce v těch místech, kdež se na poledne schyluje. Praví někteří, že tím způsobem roste, jako v našich zemích jalovec.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografia česká* (see note 67), 76r.

88 “Plinius arbores piperi similes dicit iuniperis nostris . . .” Sebastian Münster, *Cosmographiae universalis libri sex* (Basel: Apud Henrichum Petri, 1554), 1089.

89 “Passim vero quae piper gignunt iuniperis nostris similes, quamquam in fronte Caucasi solibus opposita gigni tantum eas aliqui tradidere.” Pliny, *Natural history* (see note 24), 19.

90 “Piper arbor nascitur . . . in latere montis Caucasi, quod soli observum est, folia iuniperi similitudine.” Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiae* (see note 28), 180.

closed his chapter on pepper by explaining that the claims about pepper groves being set on fire to protect them from snakes were mere tall stories since a fire of such a magnitude would burn the pepper trees alone.⁹¹

The Czech translation of the herbal originally published by Pietro Andrea Mattioli (1501–1577) approaches the subject of pepper in a completely new manner. This Italian physician stayed in the Czech lands from 1555 until 1665, when he entered the service of Ferdinand II, Archduke of Austria (1529–1595), second-born son of King Ferdinand I of Bohemia from the Habsburg family (1503–1563). He had published his Italian translation of Dioscoridos's *Materia medica* already in 1544, which appeared in several new editions in the following years. Mattioli later dedicated to Ferdinand his Latin *Commentaries on Dioscorides's Materia medica* (*Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei De materia medica*), printed in 1554 (with 563 woodcuts) – his *Herbal*, as we could say.⁹² The work earned fame for Mattioli and became the foundation for the vernacular herbal published in Prague in 1562.⁹³ The author of its Czech translation was Mattioli's Prague colleague, the physician Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek (1525–1600).⁹⁴ Mattioli's *Herbal*, which was also translated into French in 1561 and into German in 1563 and which included the first depiction of a tomato grown and eaten in Europe, already distinguished various plants, especially in the case of pepper. In describing it, the author refers to the testimony of the Spaniards and Portuguese who sailed first south and then east, as far as Calicut, Taprobana (today Sri Lanka), Java, and other islands in the Indian Ocean

91 “První jeho ovoce dlůhý pepř, a latině macropiper; jmenuje se . . . Dále když roste, z toho dlůhého pepře zrna se dělají jako hrozen . . . a jsou bělavá, hladká, lencopiper latině slovú. Potom když namísto uzrá, tehdy sčernají zrna a jsou méně perná a kúsavá . . . Pepř černý slove melanopiper, zvraskalý jest, neb jej suší v peci. Že by pro hady oheň dělali, to se o něm bájí, však by i stromoví spálili.” Černý, *Knieha lékarská* (see note 86), 278–80.

92 Miroslava Hejnová, *Pietro Andrea Mattioli: 1501–1578* (Prague: Národní knihovna České republiky and Istituto italiano di Cultura di Praga, 2001), 10. The full title of Mattioli's work was *Di Pedacio Dioscoride Anazarbeo Libri cinque Della historia, et materia medicinale tradotti in lingua volgare italiana da M. Pietro Andrea Matthiolo Sanese Medico, con amplissimi discorsi, et comenti, et dottissime annotationi, et censure del medesimo interprete*.

93 Pietro Andrea Mattioli and Tadeáš Hájek z Hájku, *Herbář* (Prague: Jiří Melantrich z Aventýna starší, 1562).

94 Václav Větvíčka, “Tadeáš Hájek z Hájku jako botanik,” *Tadeáš Hájek z Hájku*, ed. Pavel Drábek. *Práce z dějin techniky a přírodních věd*, vol. 1 (Prague: Společnost pro dějiny věd a techniky, 2000), 95–102. See also Lucie Čermáková, “Určování léčivých účinků rostlin,” *Medicína mezi jedinečným a univerzálním*, ed. Sylva Fischerová and Aleš Beran (Červený Kostelec: Pavel Mervart, 2013), 185–96; Lucie Čermáková, “Zielnik Pietro Andrea Mattioliego w Czechach,” *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 57.2 (2012): 1–19; Černá, “A Powerful Antidote,” (see note 3), 220–22. For a good list of Mattioli's works and a helpful bibliography, see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pietro_Andrea_Mattioli (last accessed on Jan. 27, 2023).

that produced a variety of spices, including pepper. The round black pepper grows as grapes on bushes reminiscent of vine. It ripens in October and, harvested, dries on palm mats until it turns black and shrivels. The long pepper, however, grows on a different tree and is similar to hazelnut.⁹⁵ In addition to these two peppers, the *Herbal* mentions another Indian pepper, generally called “Turkish.” It grows on bushes bearing rounded and pointed pods, first green and then red. These contain tiny yellow seeds, described as utmost pungent.⁹⁶

Mattioli's *Herbal* is also the first Czech-language printed work providing detailed information about guaiac wood. In the early sixteenth century, this finely grated substance became a sought-after remedy for the so-called French disease, and it is improbable that it was unknown in the Czech environment.⁹⁷ Mattioli himself dedicated a separate treatise to this disease in 1533, entitled *A New and Very Useful Treatise on the French Disease (Morbi gallici novum ac utilissimum opusculum)*, in which he discussed the guaiac treatment minutely.⁹⁸ News of guaiac undoubtedly spread throughout the Prague court of the Bohemian Governor Ferdinand II, Archduke of Austria,⁹⁹ and via trade connections to Nuremberg and especially Augsburg, where the Fuggers established a social asylum for the treatment of

95 “Vypsali nám jej Hyšpanové a Lusitánové, kteříž vydavše se na moře s několika lodími velikými, najpr ku poledni, potom na východ do Kalekutu, Tamprobany, Jávy a do množství jiných indického moře vostrovuov (kdež mnoho pepře i jiného koření roste) se připlavili, a tam jej spatřivše: takto o něm napsali: Pepř černý a okrauhlý roste (prý) na jakémś mdlém rívoví . . . Roste také pepř hroznatě jako plané víno a hauštějí. Potom měsíce října, když uzrá, zbírají jej a rozkládají na rohože palmové a na slunce vystavují, až zčerná, uprahne a svraská se . . . Dlauhý pak pepř, jakž titěž vysvědčují, obzvláštní svůj strom má a jest ten pepř podobný k řáse lískového ořechu.” Mattioli and Hájek z Hájku, *Herbář* (see note 93), 155r-v. For more on the debate on pepper, see Hugh Cagle, *Assembling the Tropics: Science and Medicine in Portugal's Empire, 1450–1700*. Studies in Comparative World History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 97–103.

96 “Pepř Indiánský, kterémuž vůbec Turecký říkají . . . z něhož potom lusky vycházejí okrauhlé a špičaté . . . Semeno v těchto lustičkách malé, tleskaté, barvy nažlutlé a náramně perné.” Mattioli and Hájek z Hájku, *Herbář* (see note 93), 155v.

97 On the early discussion of guaiac wood at the imperial court, see Max H. Fisch, *Nicolaus Pol Doctor, 1494* (New York: Herbert Reichner, 1947), 37–48.

98 Pietro Andrea Mattioli, *Morbi gallici novum ac utilissimum opusculum* (Bologna: Impressum per haeredes Hieronymi de Benedictis, 1533), L₂v–M₂v.

99 For more on the Archduke's court in Prague, see Jaroslava Husenblasová, “The Court of Archduke Ferdinand II: Its Organisation, Function and Financing,” *Archduke Ferdinand II of Austria: A Second-Born Son in Renaissance Europe*, ed Sylva Dobalová and Jaroslava Hausenblasová. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Sitzungsberichte, 909. Band. Veröffentlichungen zur Kunstgeschichte, 21 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Science, 2021), 47–72. See also Václav Bůžek, *Ferdinand Tyrolský mezi Prahou a Innsbruckem: Šlechta z českých zemích na cestě ke dvoru prvních Habsburků*. Monographia historica VII (České Budějovice: Historický ústav Filozofické fakulty Jihočeské Univerzity, 2006), 68–96.

the sick, aptly called the “Wood House.”¹⁰⁰ The Bohemian Cosmography only briefly mentions guaiac in two places. First, it states that wood called guaiac is brought from the island of Hispania in the New World and is used to cure the sick during a dietary treatment.¹⁰¹ It also notes that ebony wood from Libya is sometimes mistaken for guaiac.¹⁰²

Mattioli in his *Herbal* was aware of the possible confusion between the two kinds of wood. Indeed, the author states that the real guaiac trees grow in the West Indies, as reported by those who have seen them.¹⁰³ However, the trade in guaiac wood, the work claims, spans a much wider area. It is allegedly imported from the West and East Indies. The Spaniards ship it from their newly discovered lands, the Portuguese from Calicut, Taprobana, and Java. In addition, African, Egyptian, Arab, and Persian merchants are involved in the trade, transporting it across the Red Sea from Alexandria. European ports of call for the guaiac trade include Venice and Antwerp, from where the precious wood is distributed to other places, including Prague.¹⁰⁴

In 1561, Prague became the scene of an unusual experiment, which Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek recalled in the preface to the Czech edition of Mattioli's *Herbal* from 1562, and also the imperial surgeon Claudius Ricardus mentioned it in a Latin letter addressed to Nicholas Olah, archbishop of Esztergom, Hungary, in 1563.¹⁰⁵ The experiment consisted of administering an antidote to a death row inmate who had previously volunteered to take a lethal substance. As Alisha Rankin notes in her monograph on the poison trials, this was not a unique event in the European context. Sources inform us of over a dozen cases of experimental administration

100 Mark Häberlin, *The Fuggers of Augsburg: Pursuing Wealth and Honor in Renaissance Germany* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2012), 82. See also Benjamin Scheller, *Memoria an der Zeitenwende: Die Stiftungen Jakob Fuggers des Reichen vor und während der Reformation (ca. 1505–1555)*. Stiftungsgeschichten, 3 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2009), 225–30.

101 “V ostrově Hišpánie . . . odtud také přichází dříví jménem gvajakum, kterýmž se nemocní skrze velikú střidmot uzdravují.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (see note 67), 104v.

102 “Mnoho mají štěpí, jenž hebénus solve, dřeva černého. Jiní praví, že jest gvajakum.” Münster and Zikmund z Puchova, *Kozmografía česká* (see note 67), 139r.

103 “Strom gvajakový roste v Západní Indii, jakž zprávu dávají, kteříž jej viděli.” Mattioli and Hájek z Hájku, *Herbář* (see note 93), 48r.

104 “Přináší s k nám gvajakum z západních i východních Indií. Nebo i Hišpanové z svých krajin nedávno nalezých, i Lusitanové z Kalekutu města, z Taprobany a Jáva vostrovoov, i Mauritanové, Egyptští, Arabští a Perští přes Červené moře, a potom na velbloudích do Hišpánii, do Lusitánii a do Alexandrii egiptské to dřevo přinášejí. Odtud potom po moři dodává se do Benátek, do Antorfu a do jiných měst až i k nám také do Prahy.” Mattioli and Tadeáš Hájek z Hájku, *Herbář* (see note 93), 48v.

105 Alisha Michelle Rankin, “On Anecdote and Antidotes: Poison Trials in Sixteenth-Century Europe,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 91.2 (2017): 274–302; here 274–76.

of antidotes to poisoned convicts between 1524 and 1600.¹⁰⁶ However, there can be no doubt that such a spectacle aroused an extraordinary stir in Prague, even if just because the convict survived the experiment. Probably not only at the court, the natural substance that literally snatched him from death – the bezoar stone – became the subject of debate as well.

Hájek's testimony shows that in Prague, the effectiveness of bezoar from the personal possession of the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I was tested.¹⁰⁷ By the mid-sixteenth century, various bezoars were present in Europe more considerably due to the increased volume of goods arriving from the Eastern countries,¹⁰⁸ nevertheless, owning a 'real' bezoar was still exclusive. Bezoars of many sizes and shapes thus supplemented diplomatic communication between the royal courts in the form of gifts and became admired objects in collections of art and natural curiosities.¹⁰⁹ Various rumors about their origin could spread even in Prague in the early 1560s. For example, even Mattioli noted in his *Commentaries* on Dioscorides' *Materia medica* that, according to some authors, bezoar was a fossilized tear of deer feeding on venomous reptiles somewhere in the Eastern lands.¹¹⁰ Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek, in his preface to Mattioli's *Herbal*, limited himself to stating that according to some interpretations, bezoar originates in different ways in Syria and India.¹¹¹ However, a letter by Claudius Ricardus to Nicholaus Olah, published in print in

106 Alisha Michelle Rankin, *The Poison Trials: Wonder Drugs, Experiment, and the Battle for Authority in Renaissance Science* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2021), 3.

107 “. . . a ten má jeho milost císařská, pan Ferdinand, pán náš všech najmilostivější, kteréhož nevelmi dávno zprobovati a zkusiti poručil doktruom svým zde v Praze . . .” Tadeáš Hájek z Hájku, “Předmluva na Herbář,” Mattioli and Hájek z Hájku, *Herbář* (see note 93), B₆r.

108 Peter Borschberg, “The Euro-Asian Trade in Bezoar Stones (approx. 1500 to 1700),” *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 29–43.

109 Barbara Karl, “Objects of Prestige and Spoils of War: Ottoman Objects in the Habsburg Networks of Gift-Giving in the Sixteenth Century,” *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, ed. Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello. *Studies in Comparative World History* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 119–49; here 147. See also Stark, “Mounted Bezoar Stones” (see note 50).

110 “Aiunt enim in orientali plaga cervos longo senio confectos serpentes devorare, quorum esu (si vera scribunt) reiuvnescent . . . humorem quendam lentum ab eorum oculis deflui, qui tandem solis ardoribus in lapillos inibi concrevit, glandis imaginem referentes. Hic itaque lapis ipsis e fluminibus egredientibus, ab eorum oculis (ut aiunt) statim decidit in humum.” *Petri Andreae Matthioli Commentarii in libros sex Pedacii Dioscoridis Anazarbei, De materia medica* (Venice: Apud Vincentium Valgriseum, 1554), 609. Cf. Christopher J. Duffin, “*Lacrimae cervi*: Stag's Tears in *Materia Medica*,” *Pharmaceutical Historian* 51.3 (2021): 76–87.

111 “Roste, jakž někteří chtějí, v Syrii a v Indii, rozličným způsobem.” Hájek z Hájku, “Předmluva na Herbář” (see note 107), B₆r.

1576, illustrates that at least the circle of the court physicians promoted a new and more realistic explanation of the origin and properties of this exotic substance. Ricardus writes that bezoar is produced during the autumn and winter months in the stomachs of wild goats of the juices of the plants that these animals graze in spring and summer. Traders import it from Persia via Constantinople and from Calicut to Portugal.¹¹²

The description of bezoar in Tadeáš Hájek's preface to Mattioli's *Herbal* deserves attention in yet another context. The author conceived it as a short treatise on the importance of medicine and the effects of various natural substances. In his exposition, he concludes that it is impossible to rationally explain some of them by the action of the four natural qualities. Therefore, physicians infer these effects from the general form (*a forma*) of a specific substance, i.e., from its specific and more perfect nature, or attribute them to the influence of the heavenly bodies.¹¹³ And as one example of such a substance, he names the bezoar stone; he writes that it has the power to counteract all poisons. In support of the claim that in this respect, bezoar surpasses all other medicinal plants and any theriac by its peculiar occult power, he refers to the experience of Arab medical authorities, namely Rhazes and Serapion.¹¹⁴

Tadeáš Hájek of Hájek was probably at least indirectly acquainted with the Arabic medical tradition, probably with Serapion's printed treatise *The Book of Simple Medicaments* (*De simplicibus medicamentorum historia*).¹¹⁵ He could also have been familiar with the treatise on poisons by Johannes de Göttingen since, like this author of the first half of the fourteenth century, he notes that bezoar originates in Syria and India. And the correspondences do not end there. Hájek, too, writes about making a ring with an embedded bezoar stone with the figure of this sign engraved in it at the time of the favorable celestial position of the Moon and

112 "Adfertur ex Persia Constantinopolim, et per Callicuth in Portugaliā . . . Siquidem affirmant alii in ventriculo silvestris caprae veris ac aestatis tempore ex herbarum succo, quibus illae victitant congregari. Accedente vero hyeme ac autumnū ubi alia sibi defecerint pabula, hunc ruminare et pro pabulo uti." *Bezoar lapidis descriptio ad Reverendissimum et Illustrissimum Archiepiscopum Strigeniensem, Thomae Iordani medici Pestis Phaenomena* (Frankfurt a. M.: Apud Andreā Wechelū, 1576), 621.

113 "Protož dobře lékaři takové moci *a forma*, to jest od zvláštního a dokonalejšího přirození a bytnosti počítají . . . ty pak a takové moci od náchylností a vlévání nebeských těles pocházejí." Hájek z Hájku, "Předmluva na Herbář" (see note 107), B₅v.

114 ". . . vysvědčují učitelé lékařští, jako Rasis a Serapio . . . ten kámen všeckny jiné byliny i dryák všelijaký převyšuje, a to obzvláštní tajnou svou mocí." Hájek z Hájku, "Předmluva na Herbář" (see note 107), B₆r.

115 *Ioannis Serapionis De simplicium medicamentorum historia* (see note 52). See also the contribution to this volume by Chiara Benati and Marialuisa Caparrini.

the zodiac sign of Scorpio. Such a ring can subsequently help produce effective antidotes from mastic or white incense if the sign engraved on the bezoar stone at the time of the respective celestial constellation is imprinted in pastilles made of them. At the closing of his explanation, he adds that he has prepared one such ‘sealed medicine,’ attributing its extraordinary power to act as an antidote to the influence of the celestial bodies described above.¹¹⁶

Conclusion

The early 1560s can be viewed as the imaginary culmination of the first stage of new knowledge about the natural wealth of the distant lands penetrating Czech writings and hence into the awareness of the Czech society. Czechs were increasingly familiar with the world, which was becoming global in the modern sense. But what was actually new in works such as the *Bohemian Cosmography* and particularly the Czech translation of Mattioli's *Herbal*? Through the lens of the Bohemian sources of the period under study, we can say that it was the emphasis on recently available knowledge based on the experiences gathered by the representatives of the Iberian trade powers, whether seafarers, merchants, or naturalists, usually referred to as the Portuguese or Spaniards in the sources studied.

It is not without interest that this newly discovered world immediately became very much a world of long-distance trade and therefore remains embedded in the contours of the old world. Despite its new findings, the *Bohemian Cosmography* does not overthrow the world of medieval travelogues and world maps or the geographical paradigm of *Mandeville's Travels*; in fact, it only makes it more elastic and open to new realities. Even late medieval Bohemian travelogues draw readers' attention to the importance of Alexandria, Hormuz, or Aden and introduce the space of the ancient trade artery leading to the Indian Ocean. This trade artery has not lost its importance. It just received new ports and islands and, in the first place, Portuguese and Spanish merchant ships sailing along new routes.

The example of pepper can well demonstrate this fact. Jan Černý, in his *Medical Book*, feels the need to stress that the claims about burning pepper groves belong to the sphere of fable, thus repeating the knowledge reminded by medieval travelogues.

¹¹⁶ “A kdyby na takovém kamenu vyřezal obraz Štíra, tehďáz když Měsíc jest na Štíru, maje k ascendentu své patření . . . pečtil ním na mastyxu aneb na bílém kadidlu . . . rovněž tak odpírá jeduom jako sám bezoár. A já mám jeden lék v zpuosob syrečkuov udělaný . . . a tu moc má z nebe od hvězd sobě danou.” Hájek z Hájku, “Předmluva na Herbář” (see note 107), B₆r.

Mattioli's *Herbal* is already silent on this point, but, referring to Spanish and Portuguese testimonies, it states that the long and the round pepper are different species. In a way, bezoar, which was 'recognized' through the writings of Johannes de Göttingen at the Prague court in the first half of the fourteenth century and 'discovered' at the same court more than three hundred years later, fits into this scheme. If Hájek's testimony about its origins does not tell us anything new, the testimony of the imperial surgeon Ricardus undoubtedly does bring new knowledge. Ricardus's bezoar is also closely linked to the countries of the East. However, the route from Calicut to Portugal, one of the contemporary routes for disseminating information about the distant world, is explicitly mentioned in its description.

This kind of qualitatively new information, based on an unprecedented degree of immediate experience, initiated the gradual transformation of pre-modern globalism into a way of thinking about the global world that increasingly left little to the imagination, which is so characteristic of medieval source.¹¹⁷

¹¹⁷ See also the contribution to this volume by Albrecht Classen; the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) represents the very same epistemological transition from learned knowledge based on traditional teachings to empirical investigations. The author, however, does not demonstrate any interest in medicine, as much as he introduces the local fauna and flora.

Thomas Willard

John Dee and the Creation of the British Empire

Abstract: The British polymath John Dee (1527–1608/09) was a valued advisor of Queen Elizabeth I (she ruled 1558–1603). She supported his European travels and benefitted from the intelligence he provided. A skilled mathematician and technician, Dee collected maps and navigational equipment and made his copies of them available to England’s navigators and explorers as well as to its merchants in overseas trade. When his influence at court was near its peak, in 1577, he produced both printed and manuscript books urging the queen and her chief advisors to think about strengthening the country’s navy so that it could defend the British Isles and extend the reach of what he was the first to call the British Empire.

Keywords: British Empire, British mythology, cartography, John Dee, Queen Elizabeth I (of England), Gerard Mercator, navigation, North American exploration and settlements

Introduction

On November 25 and 29, 1577, the British polymath John Dee (1527–1608/1609) had two private meetings with Queen Elizabeth I (1533–1603; ruled 1558–1603).¹ Earlier that month, he had been summoned to attend the queen’s court at Windsor Castle in his then-familiar capacity as a famed astronomer and astrologer. A comet had been looming over England – a nonrecurrent comet observed all over the world and said to be a “blazing star” like the celestial portents before the death of Julius Caesar and the birth of Christ.² Many feared for the safety of both the nation and the queen herself. Dee was able to address their concerns and calm them down, while

1 John Dee, *The Private Diary of Dr. John Dee*, ed. James Orchard Halliwell (London: Camden Society, 1842), 4. Dee was at Windsor Castle from Oct. 22 to Nov. 1, 1577.

2 David A. J. Sergeant, *The Greatest Comets in History: Broom Stars and Celestial Scimitars* (New York: Springer Science, 2009), 104–09. Also see T[homas] T[wyne], *A View Of certain wonderful effects, of late days come to passe: and now newly conferred with presignifications of the Comete, or Blazing Star, which appeared in the Southwest vpon the X. day of Novem. the yere last past. 1577* (London: Richarde Jhones, 1578). Twyne was a physician in Kent and an admirer of Dee’s writings.

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the queen maintained that she was under God's protection. When he met privately with the queen, and then with her chief advisor for domestic security, he spoke in the newer capacity of a mathematician, geometer, and mapmaker who consulted merchant companies involved in foreign trade and navigators who sailed in search of new lands.

Dee had recently completed a book on British shipping. The book included both an urgent call to upgrade the national navy and a general vision of the British Empire as a distinctly maritime achievement. Dee was the first person to use the term British Empire in the way that became a source of pride in centuries to come. Previously, the term had been used for lands where dialects of the Breton language were spoken.³ (Breton or Brytannic was a subset of Celtic spoken in Brittany, Cornwall, and Wales.) Dee used the term "British Empire" at different points in the new book to identify the British Isles as a whole⁴ and to describe what he considered to be their geographic limits based on historic records.⁵ Widely travelled in his youth, Dee owned a library of almost four thousand manuscripts and printed books. He drew from them to promote British exploration of the northern lands of Europe and the New World.⁶

Before turning to Dee's book of 1577, I must insert a brief note on globalism and global thinking such as there was in the sixteenth century. I do this as a supplement to the editor's introduction, which mentions scholarly debate about the extent of globalism and nationalism in centuries before those terms began to be used.

As I write these words, there is a widespread view in the United States that one cannot be a globalist and a nationalist at the same time – that American politicians who involve themselves in international treaties and economic cooperation are not "real Americans." This view has developed from the realization that globalization during the last forty years has brought unequal benefits to corporations with international ties and to the rank-and-file workers who once made up the middle class.

However useful this may be as an opinion clip on television or in a newspaper, this view seems dangerous in historical writing where more nuance is required. It is certainly necessary in writing about Dee. From his interest in his Welsh ancestry, to his long relationship with the first Queen Elizabeth, and to his concern for the

³ *Oxford English Dictionary*, "British Empire, n.1," www.oed-com (last accessed on Aug. 30, 2022). Hereafter *OED*.

⁴ *OED*, "British Empire, n.2."

⁵ *OED*, "British Empire, n.3."

⁶ For a recent biography of Dee, see Benjamin Wooley, *The Queen's Conjurer: The Science and Magic of Dr. John Dee, Advisor to Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Henry Holt, 2001). Also see R. Julian Roberts, "John Dee," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, www.odnb.com (last accessed on Aug. 29, 2022). Hereafter *ODNB*. For other contemporary 'globalists,' on the Continent, see the contribution to this volume by Reinhold Münster.

safety and prosperity of the British Isles; through all this, Dee was deeply nationalistic. He was, however, equally fascinated with the theoretic space of Euclid's *Axioms* and with the unknown spaces on a world map or a terrestrial globe. He had great ambitions for his island nation, but insofar as we may apply the modern English words to premodern times, the global reach of his plans for British exploration, discovery, and settlement was motivated by his nationalism and was kept safely inside it.

Dee's new book offered *General and Rare Memorials of the Arte of Navigation* – and more, as the long title detailed.⁷ These were memorials in the sense of memoranda, things to be remembered by those making policy decisions and by Elizabeth first of all.⁸ It was a slender volume, with less than ninety pages, including the fly-sheets and paste downs, but a handsome production by the queen's favored printer; John Day was best known for the large volumes documenting the martyrdom of English Protestants during the reign of Elizabeth's older sister Mary (1553–1558), a staunch Roman Catholic who is known to history as Bloody Mary.⁹ Elizabeth had been protected through her childhood by nobles who favored the Protestant cause, and Dee had evaded persecution during Mary's reign only by dint of his famous scholarship. After the death of the boy-king Edward VI (reigned 1547–1553), whom he had tutored, Dee tutored Elizabeth in Greek and mathematics. When he later gave her a copy of his most esoteric book, which applied devices from books on Kabbalah to Euclidian theory and the magical arts, she asked him to explain the book's difficult Latin theorems. He obliged, after which she said she was still in the dark.

Elizabeth surely asked Dee to explain the engraving on the new book's title page (see Fig. 1). The engraving was prepared from a design that Dee drew on a large sheet of parchment, and it gave Elizabeth the place of honor.¹⁰ It was labelled "ΙΕΡΟΓΛΥΦΙΚΟΝ ΒΡΥΤΑΝΙΚΟΝ," Greek for "British Hieroglyphic," and it requires some description here. It shows six sailing ships, four of them unrigged and standing by while two are fully rigged. Of those two, the one in the lower left is flying what seems to be the Dutch flag,¹¹ suggesting that the two men extending hands at the bottom left are engaged in trade or diplomatic negotiations. The larger ship at the upper right has Elizabeth seated at the helm, under a banner with her name.

⁷ Dee, *General and Rare Memorials of the Arte of Navigation* (London: J[ohn] Daye, 1577), 1.

⁸ *OED*, "memorial, *adj.* and *n.*," 3A.

⁹ See Andrew Pettegree, "John Day," *ODNB*.

¹⁰ See the photographic reproduction in Peter French, *John Dee: The World of the Elizabeth Magus* (London: Routledge, 1972), plate 14. Dee's pen-and-ink drawing is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

¹¹ For a good discussion of the engraving, see French, *John Dee* (see note 10), 182–85.

The ship itself has the name EYPOΠIE (Europe), and to leave no doubt it has the mythic figure of Europa, riding atop the bull (Zeus) who abducted her in the classical legend.¹² Dee did offer a partial explanation of the engraving, but it occurred on page 53; clearly, he hoped readers would puzzle out the message.



Fig. 1: Titlepage engraving of the “British Hieroglyphic,” from Dee’s design, in *General and Rare Memorials* (1577). Courtesy of the Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.

¹² Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 2.837–75. See Ovid, *Metamorphoses, Books I–VIII*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. G. P. Gould, 3rd ed., Loeb Classical Library, 42 (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1977), 114.

The woman kneeling on the shore and addressing the queen, as her ship weighs anchor, delivers the gist of Dee's message: "Send a strong fleet (στόλος) to build a strong fortress (φρούριον)." (The message on the banner beginning on the kneeling woman's right extends to the banner wrapped about the fortress on her left.) England had yet to build a settlement north of the equator, but Dee was calling for just that. He also suggested that God was on Elizabeth's side. The figure flying above the fortress is identified on a banner as the archangel Michael (מִיכָאֵל). The Hebrew *mi ka'el* asks the question, "Who is like God?" (see Psalm 113:5). The airborne figure carries a flaming sword, as though it were a thunderbolt or the two-edged sword of God (Hebrews 4:12). Finally, the light streaming down onto the ship Europa comes from the Hebrew letters that form the name of God: יהוה, the Tetragrammaton JHWH, which English Bibles of the time rendered as Jehovah. The Spanish king Carlos V (1500–1558; ruled 1516–1556) encouraged the symbolism of a universal empire after he had become Holy Roman Emperor in 1519. Dee's emblem makes Elizabeth the ruler of a universal empire because she represents the Protestant states of Europe and the Protestant cause overseas.¹³ There is also a warning, for beside the banner with kneeling woman's plea there is the image of a partial human skull, directly adjacent to the K in "Hieroglyphikon."

There is one more important figure in the engraving: the largely unclad figure beneath Michael. Dee identifies it as Occasion (53), the Roman equivalent of Kairos in Greek myth, who represents luck, good fortune, and opportunity. The figure stands with his left foot on a rock of the mountain where the fortress has been erected and his right foot on a pyramid composed of two uppercase Greek deltas (ΔΔ). We may guess that this somewhat androgenous figure is also the messenger Doctor Dee. In fact, Dee often signed notes with one or two deltas.

The *Memorials* is made up of several documents. The longest, covering sixty-four numbered pages, concerns "The Brytish Monarchie." Those words appear in the running heads, with the first two on the verso page and the third on the recto. This seems to be the earliest, most insistent portion of the book. Dee dated this portion to the year 1576.¹⁴ The document is preceded by a twenty-one-page "Aduertisement to the Reader," with these words in the running head. By "advertisement" Dee meant a warning. The reason for this insertion is offered on a two-page introduction that follows immediately after the title page. Dee calls it a "Brief Note Scholastical, for the better vnderstanding of the *decorum* observed" in the book. Using a double tree diagram, such as was used in academic books, this note explains that an "Vnknown

¹³ On the cult of Elizabeth as empress of a maritime empire, see Frances A. Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1963), 29–87.

¹⁴ Dee, *The Private Diary* (see note 1), 3, note f.

Freend” read the manuscript text on the assessment of British shipping and feared that it would not be taken seriously, given Dee’s reputation as a magician and conjurer. The “Scholastical” or academic side of his note draws a comparison between the threefold nature of the human being (divine, mental, and animalistic) and the three voices in the book: the philosopher, the “mechanician” (i.e., technician), and the friend. What is perhaps more helpful, the note states that the philosopher has prepared “the *Hexameron* Plat Politicall, of the Brytish Monarchie.” The *Hexameron* (“six days”) was a common term for the creation story in the first chapter of Genesis, while the plat often referred to the plan for structures on a piece of land; the phrase may be taken to promise a six-part work on the creation of British rule over a maritime empire.

We cannot know exactly what these parts were to include, but we may make some guesses. Dee had already begun a book about “Famous and Rare Discoveries” by British explorers going back to John Cabot (1450–ca. 1500), who sailed as far west as Newfoundland under the commission of Henry VII, the older but short-lived brother of Henry VIII. Dee continued his work on it during the next year.¹⁵ He had also announced a second part of the *General and Rare Memorials*, in a subtitle shown above the engraving on the title page: his description of “the Paradoxal cumpas in playne, now first published: 24 yeres, after the first Inuention thereof.” This was not a gadget as a replacement for the magnetic compass; it was rather a method of using the geometer’s compass to map a ship’s course so that it crossed meridians at a constant angle. The text, now lost, was accompanied by extensive tables that proved too difficult and expensive to print.¹⁶

The “British Monarchie” section of *General and Rare Memorials* is a good bit less than its sixty-four numbered pages. It opens with a dedication to the young Christopher Hatton, captain of the queen’s guards and a member of her privy chamber. On page 2 it transitions into a defense of Dee, also written in the third person. The defense leads up to the assertion that Dee should be considered “an exact *Hyrdographer*, *Pylot Maior* [master pilot], *Arche Pylot*, or *Grand-Pylot-Generall* of such an Incomparable *Islandish Monarchy I*, as this Brytish Impire hath bene, yea, as it, yet, is: or rather as it may, and (of right) ought to be” (2). The defender reveals himself as the technician responding to the philosopher’s six-part vision, saying:

I haue head him [Dee], often and most heartily Wish, That all manner of persons, passing or frequenting any [of] our Seas appropriate: in many wayes, next enuironing *England, Ireland, and Scotland*, might be, in conuienient & honorable sort (at all tymes,) at the Commandement

15 William H. Sherman, *John Dee: The Politics of Writing and Reading in the English Renaissance* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), 171–81.

16 Wooley, *The Queen’s Conjurer* (see note 6), 118.

and Order of A Pety-Nauy-Royall, of Three score Tall Ships, (or more:) but in no case, fewer: and they, to be very well appoynted, thoroughly manned and vittailed. (3–4)

The technician then produced the arguments in favor of a Royal Navy to protect all of the British Isles and the fishing waters surrounding them as well as smaller islands off the mainland. England itself had an admiralty, established during the reign of Henry VIII, but it was limited by statute to twenty-two ships. Under Elizabeth, the country had relied on privately held ships to conduct its trade and even to defend its waters. Her so-called privateers were effectively pirates whom the state recognized as allies as long as they surrendered a portion of their loot. Other countries had larger, state-owned fleets. When Spain sent its much-feared armada to the British Isles eleven years later, with the design of replacing Elizabeth with her Roman Catholic cousin Mary Queen of Scots, there were more than hundred state-owned vessels, as well as supporting naval forces from Italy and Portugal. A smaller plot in 1571 with similar objectives had been foiled by England's network of spies, but there were fears of a more concerted effort.

Discussion of the strengthened navy continues through page 53. Between this and a concluding poem to the book's dedicatee, Christopher Hatton, there are supplements of historical interest. Whether Dee prepared them in the capacity of philosopher or technician is not clear, but he drew enthusiastically on documents he had collected. First, there was an account of King Edgar the Peaceful, who ruled England at the end of the tenth century, taking care of its naval defenses (54–64). Then there were Latin translations of two Greek epistles by Gemistus Plethon (ca. 1360–ca. 1452), a Greek scholar who influenced Italian Platonists with his call for a new empire built on ancient ideals (65–79).¹⁷

At the time when Spain posed a major threat to Britain's security, based on its opposition to the new Protestantism and its own great wealth in gold from mines in Central and South America, Dee urged the expansion of British holdings in the north as a source of much-needed revenue. He knew from medieval documents that British kings, notably Arthur in the sixth century C.E. and Madoc in the twelfth century, were said to have conquered lands overseas. He had studied Civil Law at the University of Louvain, where he had also assisted Gerard Mercator, the mathematician and cartographer. He thought he had good enough reason to say that the queen still had claims to lands from Sweden to Iceland and Greenland, based on conquests of four to ten centuries earlier. On the visit to Windsor in November 1577, he was able to try out his ideas on Francis Walsingham, the queen's principal

¹⁷ Plethon's dialogues are directed to a Byzantine emperor and his son regarding the status of the Greek islands and Peloponnese; for their significance in Dee's book, see Yates, *Astraea* (see note 8), 48–49.

secretary and the spymaster who foiled the 1571 plot on her life. The two met on November 28, presumably in the evening after Dee and Elizabeth had met privately at 5:00 p.m. Their conversation probably focused on the first part of a book that Dee had prepared in manuscript for the eyes of Elizabeth and her close advisors.¹⁸

Referring to the manuscript's first section, Dee noted in his diary, "I declared to the Quene her title to Greenland, Estiteland and Friesland."¹⁹ This must have astounded her. Greenland had been explored by the Norwegians Erik the Red and his son Leif Erikson shortly before the Normans invaded England. No one had told her about what he called Estotilant and Friesland. He included a map with later parts of the manuscript (there were four parts in all). However, he could only tell her that he worked from an Italian map he had seen and discussed with Mercator. Friesland was allegedly a large island between Ireland and the New World, while Estotilant was a rich country south of Greenland, in the approximate location of Baffin Island.²⁰ The English navigator Martin Frobisher had sailed there in 1576, funded by the Muscovy Company of merchants. Frobisher had studied navigational equipment and maps with Dee and shared Dee's belief in the existence of a Northwest Passage to the Orient. Baffin Island near the north end of James Bay in Canada, seemed to open onto seas that might be navigable. What is more, Frobisher thought he had found gold there, and his backers were running assays of samples he brought back to England. Walsingham took interest in the prospect, and Dee was later summoned to give advice on the assay.²¹ In future years, Walsingham would prove an important patron of Dee's travels and research.

Dee's map from the 1570s has been lost, but his 1582 map of the earth's northern lands has survived and is now on display in Philadelphia.²² The map is a polar projection, showing lands and seas north of the Tropic of Cancer. Because the map is quite large (19" x 24"), one can discern only the general portions in a reproduced image (see Fig. 2). Like Mercator's polar projections, it shows the earth's North Pole at the center, surrounded by four islands. The Atlantic Ocean is below the Arctic Circle and the Pacific Ocean above it, with Japan occupying the position where one might now place the Philippines and Hawai'i. Directly above the North Pole on Dee's map is Cathay (China), the ultimate goal of British merchants. The eastern

18 John Dee, *The Limits of the British Empire*, ed. Ken MacMillan and Jennifer Arbeles. Studies in Military History and International Politics (Westport, CT, and London: Praeger, 2004).

19 Dee, *The Private Diary* (see note 1), 6. "Estiteland" may be a mistranscription of Estotilant.

20 Dee, *The Limits of the British Empire* (see note 18), 39–40.

21 Wooley, *The Queen's Conjurer* (see note 6), 114.

22 For a discussion of the map in the context of English exploration, see Ken MacMillan, "More Plainly Described": Early English Maps of North America," *Journal of British Studies* 42.4 (Oct. 2003): 413–47; here 419–22.

passage through the White Sea north of Russia seems almost impassible compared to the Arctic Ocean north of modern-day Canada. However, Dee's map offers the enticing prospect of a more southerly route to the Pacific.

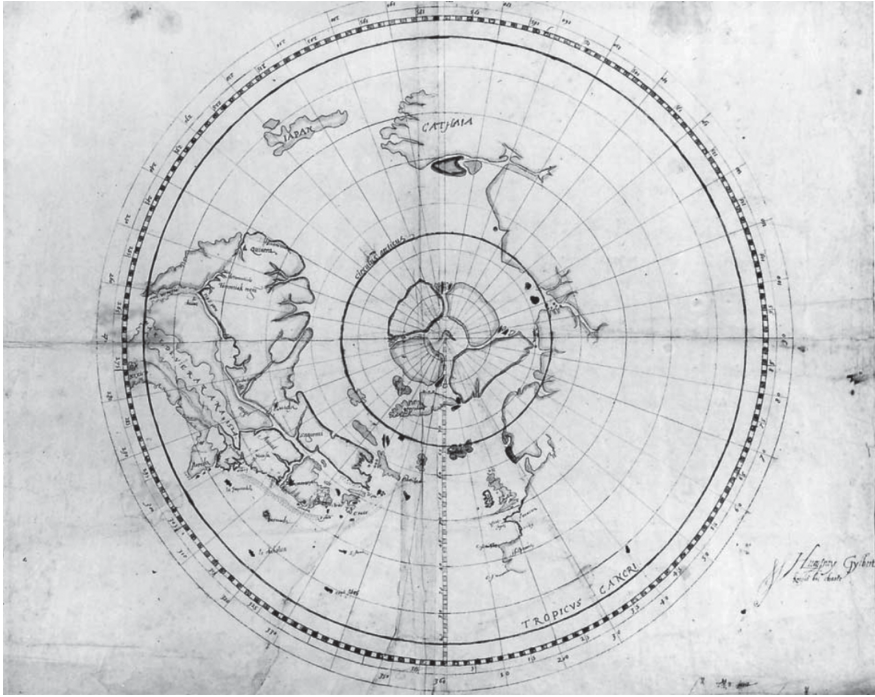


Fig. 2: John Dee's polar map (1582). Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia.

The French navigator Jacques Cartier (1491–1557) had explored the Gulf of Saint Lawrence (1535–1536). In Dee's map, this major inlet lies on the same parallel as the south of England, two circles down from the Arctic Circle. Later French explorers traveled as far into the interior of North America as the Great Lakes, which Dee's map shows as a single Lake in the western part of the continent and to which Dee adds a river reaching conveniently to the Pacific. Moreover, the Italian navigator Giovanni da Verrazzano (1485–1528) had led an exploration for France that reached the site of New York in 1524 and put in for repairs in the Narraganset Bay in today's Rhode Island. He explored rivers in the area, and Dee's map shows a Sea of Verrazzano reaching halfway across the continent, again with a convenient connection to a river that flows west to the Gulf of California. To his credit, Dee

probably knew a Dutch *mappamundi* of the early 1540s, with a Mar de Verrazzano that crosses a foreshortened North America.²³

As for Friesland and Estotilant, which are labelled on the map near the Arctic Circle, Dee had a recent source in an Italian map and supporting book published in 1558. The book was prepared by a Venetian nobleman and senator with access to family documents that he wished to make public. They were taken to be genuine at the time of publication and were used in period maps. However, their authenticity was later questioned because the documents were said to date from the 1390s and to support the senator's claim that his famous ancestors, Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, had reached the New World a full century before Columbus.

Historians continue to debate their authenticity.²⁴ The chief difficulty with the documents is that more than 150 years separate the supposed voyages of two celebrated Venetian navigators and the additions prepared by their descendant. A second problem lies with the tale of a commission from the king of Friesland to bring valuable Oriental goods to him, and not just to the northwest corner of Holland or to the Frisian Islands offshore, but to a large island said to lie west of Ireland. Those who support the tale suppose now that Friesland was a name for the Faroe Islands west of Norway. Even then, they accept the claim that the brothers sailed from the Faroe Islands to Iceland, Greenland, and to a fabulous land farther south. On the Zeno map, this land is called Estotilant.

In the first part of his manuscript book on "The Limits of the British Empire," Dee described Estotilant as a sort of Shangri La, "about a thousand miles, at least, to the west of Friesland."²⁵ He added that the territory had "various different regions." In those along the coast, there were allegedly cannibals who went naked

²³ Also to Dee's credit, he was a celebrated geometer, and geometrical symmetry was important to early modern European mapmakers. See Amir Alexander, *Geometrical Landscapes: The Voyages of Discovery and the Transformation of Mathematical Practice* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2002). Dee's reputation as a geometer was based in part on his long "Preface" to the first English translation of Euclid's *Elements*. See *The Elements of Geometrie of the Most Ancient Philosopher Euclide of Megara* (London: John Daye, 1570), unpaginated (signatures ii–A3J). The English translation was long attributed to Henry Billingsly but is now known to be that of Billingsby's former tutor at Cambridge University, David Whytehead.

²⁴ Richard Henry Major, "Introduction," *The Voyages of the Venetian Brothers, Nicolò and Antonio Zeno, to the Northern Seas in the XIVth Century: Comprising the latest known Accounts of the Lost Colony of Greenland; and of the Northmen in America before Columbus*, ed. Richard Henry Major. The Hakluyt Society (1873; Farnham, Surrey: Routledge, 2016), i–cii. The nineteenth-century introduction gives evidence to support the documents' authenticity; other claims are often based on a redrawn map of the eighteenth century, when it was possible to insert numbers of longitude.

²⁵ Dee, *The Limits of the British Empire* (see note 18), 37. Passages quoted are translated from Latin in the edition cited.

despite the extreme cold. In the interior, the land was more temperate. People grew crops and brewed beer. They also read; indeed, the letters attributed to the Zeno brothers reported finding “a famous library containing many books in Latin.” As an added attraction, the Zenos reported “mines of all metals . . . especially rich in gold” (37–38). Walsingham, who was interested in the metallic rock that Frobisher brought from Baffin Island, took special interest in Estotilant and helped to finance Frobisher’s third and final voyage in 1578. Walsingham took more interest in Dee’s far-reaching plans than did the queen,²⁶ who stopped with the improvement of the royal navy. The queen’s other principal advisor, William Cecil, took more interest in the supposed conquests of King Arthur and the possible claims in northern Europe.²⁷

Dee advised Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who in 1578 received letters patent to explore the New World and stake claim to riches discovered there. For his assistance, Gilbert granted Dee rights to discoveries north of the 50th parallel, which included Newfoundland and Labrador.

Dee had special hopes for Newfoundland, where he may have dreamed of becoming the ruler.²⁸ The dreams came to naught, of course. Gilbert managed to raise the necessary funds for a voyage in 1583 when he sailed with five vessels in June. He reached St. John’s, Newfoundland, in late July. He was prevented from landing there because one of his commanders was a well-known pirate, but he managed to dock on the Grand Banks to the west and from there to lay claim to the whole island in August. He died in a storm on the return voyage, after refusing to leave his favorite vessel for a larger one. However, one member of his expedition made use of the remaining year in the letters patent. In 1594, Walter Raleigh, who had turned his ship back for lack of supplies well before Gilbert’s other ships reached Newfoundland, began his plans to establish a colony in Virginia, named after the Virgin Queen of England. Failing to raise the necessary funds, he was granted a new charter for the seven years beginning in 1584. In 1585, he established a colony

26 Dee’s diary mentions “Secretary Walsingham” and members of his family as late as 1590, the year Walsingham died.

27 These claims rested on accounts of Arthur and later British kings in Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain: The De gestis Britonum* [Historia Regnum Britanniae], ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright. Arthurian Studies, 49 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2007), bk. 9, 204–14 and bk. 11, 254–55, bk. 9, 204–14, and bk. 11, 254–55. On these claims, see Glyn Parry, *The Arch-Conjurer of England: John Dee* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2011), 93–94. Also see Caitlin R. Green and Thomas Green, “John Dee, King Arthur, and the Conquest of the Arctic,” *The Heroic Age: A Journal of Early Medieval Northwestern Europe* 15 (Oct. 2012): 1–12.

28 Wooley, *The Queen’s Conjurer* (see note 6), 120–21. Gustav Meyrink develops this idea in *Der Engel vom westlichen Fenster* (Leipzig and Zürich: Grethlein, 1927); *The Angel of the West Window*, trans. Mike Mitchell (Sawtry, Cambridgeshire: Daedalus, 1991).

on Roanoke Island off the shore of modern-day North Carolina. By then Dee had left England for extensive travels on the Continent, reporting to Walsingham from Germany, Poland, and Bohemia. When Dee returned in 1589, his house and library had been ransacked. Most of his former allies died soon after, including Walsingham and Hatton. Dee spent his final years in poverty. He received less support from Elizabeth I and still less from her successor, James I.

Perhaps the best view of globalism as Queen Elizabeth understood it, and wanted her people to understand it, can be found in the Armada Portrait at Woburn Abbey (see Fig. 3). Painted in 1588, the year in which an English fleet of public and private ships defeated the Spanish Armada, it shows the queen at her most powerful. In the life-sized portrait, she is covered with pearls from her dress to her headdress. She also wears an elaborate pearl necklace that once belonged to Mary Queen of Scots (1542–1587), sentenced to die after having been convicted of treason in another foiled plot to replace Elizabeth. The pearls symbolize Elizabeth's purity as the Virgin Queen; they also represent the sea over which she rules. The queen's right hand rests on a globe, where it covers North America, while the defeat of the Armada is visible through windows or paintings on either side of her head. On her right, English warships sail away from the Spanish fleet, as smoke rises over it; on her left, a Spanish vessel sinks in the waves under a stormy sky.



Fig. 3: Queen Elizabeth I in the Armada Portrait (1588). Courtesy Wikimedia Commons.

Directly above the globe in the allegorical portrait sits a gem-studded crown. The crown is large enough to rest atop the globe, were not the queen's right hand already there. The suggestion of the painting is that England's global dreams are part of its national pride. Though England liked to think of itself as a land civilized by Romans back to Julius Caesar and perhaps even to a grandson of Virgil's Aeneas, who was named Brutus, it had long had an inferiority complex as a people "cut off" from the European continent – in Virgil's words "toto divisos orbe Britannos" ("the Britons wholly sundered from all the world").²⁹

During the early Elizabethan age, England developed a new sense of national pride. Dee was among the first to dream of increasing its "limits" as the British Empire. He wrote "Brytish Impire," based on Old English adjective "Brittisce" in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the post-classical Latin word of "imperium."³⁰ We may smile at his spelling, well before the first English dictionary was produced, for indeed there is something impish about his sense of empire when seen from a twenty-first-century perspective; and there is almost something brutish in his assumption that Britain was named after an ancient Roman soldier and thus inherited Rome's imperial powers. Dee liked to think of North America as Atlantis, and of England as a remnant of the lost continent that gave the Atlantic Ocean its name. Indeed, and this to his credit, historians of geology now know that there is a connection between the mountains of Newfoundland and those of northern England.³¹

Dee's global vision for Britain was impracticable for the times, however much his technical skills might have helped bolster the argument. However, it had a basis in both mythology and cartography, and thus contributed to England's global vision for the next three centuries.

²⁹ Virgil, *Eclogues*, 1.66. See Virgil, *Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I–VI*, trans. H. Fairclough, rev. G. P. Gould. Loeb Classical Library, 63 (1916; Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 1999), 48–49.

³⁰ *OED*, "British, *adj.* and *n.*" and "imperium, *n.*"

³¹ Richard Fortey, *The Earth: An Intimate History* (1994; London: Folio Society, 2011), 159–64.

Reinhold Münster

Eberhard Werner Happel: A Seventeenth-Century Cosmographer and Cosmopolitan

Abstract: In this article, I investigate the ideas about a globalizing world as developed by Eberhard Werner Happel. His description of the world through an impressively factual and objectifying cosmography by way of a selection of cultural, political, economic, and generally human aspects will be discussed through an analysis of special themes in Happel's *Relationes Curiosae* (1683–1691). Being a writer and newspaper editor, Happel was deeply connected with the city of Hamburg and its harbor, from where ships were launched to voyage all over the world and where other ships arrived from many different directions and harbors. His open-mindedness and his cosmopolitanism empowered him to conceive of a new, at times even already Enlightened concept of culture. His interests were focused on nature, culture, and the human being in his/her holistic existence. Deeply engaged in the well-being of all people, he sharply criticized the inhumanity across the globe; for instance, he strongly objected to the institution of slavery as it was practiced in virtually all cultures.

Keywords: Eberhard Werner Happel, cosmopolitanism, cosmography, slave trade, infotainment

Globalization in the Seventeenth Century: Case in Point: Hamburg

Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690) lived in a harbor city which was part of a global trade network. He worked there as an author who composed voluminous novels. He participated in the public discourse and published a new kind of supplement newspaper that enjoyed great popularity. The global connection of this city offered him the opportunity to embrace, as a cosmographer, the cosmopolitical ideas as they emerged at his time. His contribution to these new concepts will be the center of attention in this study, but first we need to present the concept of globalization in short terms.¹

¹ This article was translated by Albrecht Classen (University of Arizona) and Cara Scheibe (Göttingen University; she earned her B.A. in World Literature at the University of Arizona as part of

The term 'globalization' can be defined or described in different ways. Often, it remains rather opaque. One example proves to be the *Handbuch Globalisierung*, a second one will be the introduction to global history by Sebastian Conrad. As he comments, "Denn mit dem Begriff der Globalisierung werden Diskurse strukturiert und Phänomene in ein Verhältnis zueinander gesetzt, die ansonsten (relativ) unverbundenen gesellschaftlichen Bereichen zugerechnet würden" (With the term of 'globalization' discourses are structured and phenomena are placed next to each other which would otherwise be associated relatively loosely to various social areas).² And: "Das Konzept der Globalisierung ist theoretisch vage und relativ unbestimmt" (The concept of globalization is theoretically vague and relatively indeterminate).³ Such theories use various sets of categories for the analysis of economy and politics, technology, religions, sciences, but also gender issues. Michael Reder calls it "einen schillernden Begriff" (an oscillating term) which generally pertains to the intensification and acceleration of politics, economy, and culture within a global framework.⁴ A global-historical approach normally considers a long-term process involving many social transformations. Hence, the question proves to be relevant from when on and how we could talk about the globalization of society, politics, economy, and culture.

Christopher A. Bayly and Anthony G. Hopkins have proposed to divide the process of globalization into four phases: a) the period of an archaic globalization until 1600; b) a proto-globalization until 1800; c) a modern globalization up to 1970; and d) a postcolonial globalization.⁵ As relevant for the second phase, the two authors suggested a number of elements: establishment of internationally operating trading companies and naval forces, the transfer of specific goods and work forces (slaves), the conquest of new economic zones and colonies, but also the acceptance of cultural values and attitudes. They also added the possibil-

a partnership between both universities in 2021/2022). I would like to express my gratitude for all their great efforts. All remaining errors are, of course, my own.

2 *Globalisierung. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch*, ed. Andreas Niederberger and Philipp Schink (Stuttgart: Metzler, 2011), 1.

3 Sebastian Conrad, *Globalgeschichte: Eine Einführung* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2013), 19.

4 Michael Reder, *Globalisierung und Philosophie. Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2009), 7.

5 Christopher A. Bayly, *Die Geburt der modernen Welt. Eine Globalgeschichte. 1780–1914*, trans. from the English by Thomas Bertram and Martin Klaus (Frankfurt a. M. and New York: Campus, 2006); Christopher A. Bayly, "Archaische und moderne Globalisierung in Eurasien und Afrika, ca. 1750 – 1850," *Globalgeschichte: Theorien, Ansätze, Themen*, ed. Sebastian Conrad, Andreas Eckert, and Ute Freitag (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus, 2007), 81–108; Anthony Hopkins, *Globalization in World History* (London: Pimlico, 2002). See also the extensive discussion of the notion of globalization in the pre-modern world by Albrecht Classen in his introductory essay.

ity of marriage across different continents and the foundation of families, or the spread of religious teachings in the hybrid, modern world. The crucial factor for the phase theories was the establishment of networks across the world (transfer of goods, transfer of knowledge, technologies undergirding the spread of information, expansion of infrastructure, and entertainment industry). Happel belongs to the second phase of globalization. But let us first examine the social context, that is, the lively city of Hamburg with its international relationships and its rich cultural life during the early modern age.

The crossing of the Atlantic Ocean by Christopher Columbus in 1492 expanded geographically western people's mobility; once he had discovered the passage to America, he opened the window toward the New World. We might say that this voyage was the origin of multiple processes of globalization. Mariners, traders, dissenters, and soldiers, adventurers and settlers, officials, and missionaries followed that path to America. The harbor city of Hamburg later became important in this context.

The countries bordering the North Sea (England, France, the Netherlands, and the Scandinavian countries) immediately fought over the dominance of this sea route across the Atlantic. The kingdom of Denmark proved to be a strong competitor with Hamburg because it controlled nearby Altona just north of Hamburg for a long time and hence the access route from Cuxhaven into the ports of the Elbe estuary. The political conflicts made it difficult for the former Hanseatic cities like Bremen and Hamburg to overcome military blockades.

Since 1683 the two harbors offered sea voyages for emigrants to America, which were organized by the "Pietistische Pennsylvanische Compagnie" in Frankfurt am Main.⁶ In 1672 Hamburg owned already 277 mercantile ships, along with several navy ships which protected the large convoys across the Atlantic.

Italy and the Iberian Peninsula were important trading partners. Hans Pohl notes, for instance: "Hamburg errang im Spaniengeschäft noch im 16. Jh. eine Vorrangstellung [. . .]" (Already in the sixteenth century, Hamburg gained the dominance in the business with Spain).⁷ Pohl demonstrates the extent to which those relationships were complex by way of pointing out where Hamburg had established consulates: Cádiz (1668), Alicante (1675), Málaga (1678), Sanlúcar (1679), Sevilla (1680), San Sebastián (1688), the Canaries (1690), and La Coruña (1703). Spanish traders and mariners lived in Hamburg. By way of the trade with Spain and Portugal, the city profited considerably from the intermediate trade with colonial

⁶ Walter Ried, *Deutsche Segelschiffahrt seit 1470* (Munich: Lehmanns, 1974), 97.

⁷ Hans Pohl, *Die Beziehungen Hamburgs zu Spanien und dem spanischen Amerika in der Zeit von 1740 bis 1806*. Beiheft der Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, 45.1. (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1963), vol. 45, 1.

products from America.⁸ This required the expansion of the harbor on the river Elbe. Many craftsmen and sailors immigrated to the city, but also many intellectuals arrive who wanted to enjoy the urban liberty, among them especially people from Netherlands and England.

Gottfried Christian Bohn offers a good survey of the history of the sea port at that time: “Hamburgs Handel wird von keiner Stadt in Europa, London und Amsterdam ausgenommen, übertroffen und weicht an Mannigfaltigkeit selbst diesen nicht” (Hamburg’s trade is not superseded by any other city in Europe, except for London and Amsterdam, and is equally manifold as those two).⁹ Moreover, financial businesses and the trade with silver were carried out via the sea passage. Other trading goods were fashion articles and luxury products. The “Company of Merchant Adventurers” from London, which at that time was one of the most important one in terms of textiles and fashion, had an office in that harbor since 1611. It achieved a fifth of its entire profit in the harbor on the Elbe.¹⁰ Its ship captains and officers delivered with their stories not only fanciful material, but also many new ideas to Hamburg. Books and newspapers from foreign countries, especially from England, reached the city via its harbor.

This specific open attitude toward the world and the rich cultural scene, such as the opera and the theater, attracted many intellectuals to Hamburg already in the late seventeenth century. Let me mention just a few of them in the next paragraph in order to illustrate the social contexts and the global connections of the artists during the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth century.

Christian Heinrich Postel (1658–1705) composed many libretti for the opera, some of which take place in the foreign world (Africa, the Middle East, and of course, India). The pastor Johann Balthasar Schupp (1610–1661) enjoyed writing spiritual songs, but he also drafted the report *Ein Holländisch Pratzen* (1659). Georg Greffinger (ca. 1620–1677), known under the pseudonym Seladon, was successful not only as the composer of erotic songs, but especially as the editor of the newspaper *Der Nordische Mercurius* (1664–1730). This newspaper was dedicated to informing the public about events in Europe. Jacob Schwieger (ca. 1620–ca. 1663) from nearby Altona published several volumes of pastoral poetry, but also numerous songs that were set to music in Hamburg and from there reached many enthusiasts across the continent. Aegidius Gutbier (1617–1667) taught Oriental languages at the Hamburg *Gymnasium* (advanced High School). The novelist Philipp von Zesen (1619–1689)

⁸ Arnold Kludas, Dieter Maass and Susanne Sabisch, *Hafen Hamburg: Die Geschichte des Hamburger Freihafens von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart* (Hamburg: Kabel, 1988), 15.

⁹ Gottfried Christian Bohn, *Der wohlerfahrene Kaufmann* (Hamburg: Bohn, 1789), 2.

¹⁰ https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Merchant_Adventurers (last accessed on Feb. 25, 2022).

spent quite some time in Hamburg, but then left the city because he did not have, in contrast to Happel, local citizenship.¹¹

Newspapers were particularly important for Hamburg. They attracted since the last third of the seventeenth century a large audience and filled their pages with new themes from the empirical-descriptive natural sciences and the cultural life not only in Hamburg, but also in distant regions. At the same time, they offered opportunities for journalist to gain a regular income and to spread information concerning topical themes. Already in 1618, the first documented newspaper appeared in Hamburg, which later was called the *Wöchentliche Zeitung auß mancherley örther*. It appeared in print until 1674. Another newspaper, the *Post-Zeitung*, appeared between 1630 and 1669, and a little bit later the *Nordische Mercurius*. Even a newspaper in the French language appeared in print, the *Journal de Hambourg* (since 1694). In Altona, Johannes Frisch (1636–1692), pastor in Hamburg, published a newspaper, *Erbauliche Ruhestunden oder Unterredungen, darin allerhand nützliche und erbauliche Materien abgehandelt werden* (1676–1680), which Happel used as a source for his supplements.

The Dutchman Thomas von Wiering (1640–1703) founded in 1673 the *Relations-Courier*, later renamed as the *Hamburger Relations-Courier*.¹² The *Courier* reported in its first preserved edition from June 30, 1674 about events in many European cities, such as Amsterdam, Paris, Warsaw, Vienna, Cologne, Frankfurt, and also from Prussia.¹³ Most of the newspapers appeared weekly and referred to information which was of relevance for merchants. In addition, they offered mixed reports about interesting themes. By way of the sea trade, the newspapers quickly reached many parts of the world, but the sailors also brought with them newspapers from other countries. Thomas von Wiering, Happel's editor, issued the *Relations-Courier*, which was enriched with images, which made this newspaper one of the most prominent ones. Happel's *Relationes curiosae* were conceived as supplements to this newspaper.

¹¹ For the biographical background of all authors, see *Lexikon der hamburgischen Schriftsteller bis zur Gegenwart*, ed. Hans Schröder et al. 8 vol. (Hamburg: Perthes-Besser and Mauke, 1851–1883); cf. Also Eckhart Kleßmann, *Geschichte der Stadt Hamburg* (Hamburg: Hofmann und Campe, 1981), 137–214.

¹² Klessmann, Hamburg (see note 11), 187–88.

¹³ *Hamburger Relations-Courier* (July 10, 1674), no. xx. *Vom 30 Juny*. Hamburg. Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Bremen, <https://brema.suub.uni-bremen.de/zeitungen17/periodical/titleinfo/1163916> (last accessed on Feb. 25, 2022).

Eberhard Werner Happel: Cosmographer and Cosmopolitan

We know rather little about Eberhard Werner Happel's biography, which can be summarized briefly as follows: He was born in 1647 in Kirchhain (near Marburg in modern Hesse) and went to the university in Marburg, later in Kiel. He worked as a private teacher in Gießen, until he decided to move to Northern Germany. Happel remained in Hamburg for the last ten years of his life, before his death in 1690. After his time working as a teacher, he earned his income as a free writer, who produced a number of novels.¹⁴

Already the titles of those novels show the author's interest in the broader world. Here follow some examples: *Der Insulanische Mandorell* (Hamburg und Frankfurt a. M.: Thomas Ross für Zacharias Hertel und Matthes Weyrauch's Erben, 1682), *Der europäische Toroan* (Hamburg: Naumann und Wolff, 1676), *Der Africanische Tarnolast* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1689), *Der Ungarische Kriegsroman* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1685–1697, 6 vols.), *Der italienische Spinelli oder so genannter Europäischer Geschichts-Roman auf das 1685 Jahr* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1685–1686, 4 vols.), *Der spanische Quintana oder so genannter Europäischer-Geschichtsroman auf das Jahr 1686* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1686–1687, 4 vols.), *Der französische Cormantin oder so genannter Europäischer-Geschichtsroman auf das Jahr 1687* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1687–1688, 4 vols.), *Der ottomanische Bajazet oder so genannter Europäischer-Geschichtsroman auf das 1688 Jahr* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1688–1689, 4 vols.), and *Der teutsche Carl, oder sogenannte Europäische Geschichts-Roman auf das Jahr 1689* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1690, 4 vols.). Happel's first novel titled *Der Asiatische Ogno-bambo* (Hamburg: Naumann, 1673), is mainly set in a fictionalized version of China.¹⁵

¹⁴ Gustav Könnecke, *Lebensbeschreibung des Eberhard Werner Happel (1647–1690). Anlässlich des 300. Todestages*, erweiterter Nachdruck, Nachwort von Gerd Meyer (1908; Kirchhain: Kreissparkasse Marburg, 1990).

¹⁵ For the interpretations of Happel's work, see Gerhild Scholz-Williams, *Mediating Culture in the Seventeenth-Century German Novel. Eberhard Werner Happel. 1647–1690* (Ann Arbor, MI: Univ. of Michigan Press, 2014); Uta Egenhoff, *Berufsschriftsteller und Journalismus in der Frühen Neuzeit. Eberhard Werner Happs'Relationes Curiosae' im Medienverbund des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Bremen: Edition Lumiere, 2008); Flemming Schock, *Die Text-Kunst-Kammer: Populäre Wissenssammlungen des Barock am Beispiel der 'Relationes Curiosae' von E. W. Happel* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2011); Flemming Schock, "Weltwissen durch Neugier: Hamburg und die ersten populärwissenschaftlichen Zeitschriften Deutschlands," *Hamburg: Eine Metropolregion zwischen Früher Neuzeit und Aufklärung*, ed. Johann Anselm Steiger and Sandra Richter (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2017), 417–30; Günter Damman, "Fakten und Fiktionen im Roman bei Eberhard Werner Happel. Schriftsteller in Hamburg," *Hamburg: Eine Metropolregion zwischen Früher Neuzeit und Aufklärung*, ed. Johann Anselm Steiger and Sandra Richter (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2017), 461–74; Nicolaus Detering,

Volker Meid suggested to group Happel's novels in three categories.¹⁶ In the first group of novels there would be the heroic story and the love story, where the author gives information on foreign countries and cultures through the extensive travels of the story's hero. The books of the next group would focus on contemporary history, emphasizing recent military history and events. Happel's last novel *Der Academische Roman, Worinnen Das Studenten-Leben fürgebildet wird* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1690) uses the structure of the picaresque novel and the student novel. The scholarly community developed the term "Buntschriftstellerei" (infotainment) for this style the mixes fiction with facts and several digressions.¹⁷

During his time in Hamburg Happel published two volumes titled *Mundus mirabilis tripartitus, oder wunderbare Welt in einer kurtzen Cosmographia für-gestellet* (Ulm: Matthäus Wagner, 1687). Cosmography as a genre turned into a long-standing tradition in Germany. The most popular works before Happel's are surely those of Hartmann Schedel (*Liber chronicarum*, [Nürnberg: Koberger, 1493]) and of Sebastian Münster (*Cosmographia, Das ist: Beschreibung der gantzen Welt* [Basel: Heinrich Petri, 1544]). The three parts of Happel's *Cosmographia* deal with a) the description of the heaven and the sky and also the entire Earth, with new insights in nature, mostly referring to the ocean; b) the animals and humans, their traditions, religions, languages, politics, law practices, and fashions; and c) the universities, harbors, forts, residences, landscapes, money, and trade. Happel dedicated the book to German tradesmen, who travelled locally and globally to acquire their goods: "Der unverdroßne Handels-Mann wagt sich in fremde Land / Damit er sich selbst Haab und Guth in Menge bring zur Hand" (The persistent tradesman dares

Krise und Kontinent: Die Entstehung der deutschen Europa-Literatur in der Frühen Neuzeit (Cologne and Vienna: Böhlau, 2017), 409–64; Lynne Tatlock, "Selling Turks. Eberhard Werner Happel's *Turcica* (1683–1690)," *Colloquia Germanica* 28 (1995): 305–55; Marília Dos Santos, "Writing the New World. Eberhard Werner Happel and the Invention of a Genre," *Turning Points: Concepts and Narratives of Change in Literature and Other Media*, ed. Ansgar Nünning and Kai Marcel Sicks (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2021), 351–60; Lynne Tatlock, "The Nove as Archive in New Times," *Daphnis* 37.1/2 (2008), 351–73. Gerhild Scholz-Williams, *Ottoman Eurasia in Early Modern German Literature. Cultural Translations (Francisci, Happel, Speer)* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2021).

¹⁶ Volker Meid, *Die deutsche Literatur im Zeitalter des Barock. Vom Späthumanismus zur Frühaufklärung* (Munich: Beck, 2009), 568–71.

¹⁷ Christian Meierhofer, "Allerhand Begebenheiten. Happls so genannte Europäische Geschichts-Romane als Wissensfundus," *Polyhistorismus Buntschriftstellerei: Populäre Wissensformen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Flemming Schock. Frühe Neuzeit, 169 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 230–51.

to go to foreign countries / So he himself brings back many goods and chattel for himself).¹⁸

For the amusement and benefits of his readership he wanted to select “Denkwürdigkeiten” (remarkable/memorable events) which would concern the “gantze Welt” (whole world).¹⁹ Like many of his contemporaries he referred to Horace’s aesthetics of “delectare et prodesse” (to please and educate).²⁰ Happel offered a mixture of interesting and entertaining facts, among which one can find an amusing or captivating scheme of realistic and fictional themes and views from all over the world. According to media studies Happel’s proceeding can be called infotainment. The intention of this approach is to convey rational information in a “munter und fröhlich” (light-hearted and cheerful) way and not to report in absurdities in order to frighten the readership.²¹ On the contrary, it was one of Happel’s aesthetic intentions to send a slight shiver down the spines of his readership.²² He wanted to present the constantly changing and in no way static world. This he aimed to present in a slightly skeptical fashion because he deemed not every report he received to be believable.

Regarding the fields of astronomy, physics and geography Happel examined the constellations, mentioned the calculations of the number of stars by different astronomers but he also listed the words for star signs that are commonly used in India. He relativized some statements of the Christian Bible, because his book was in his opinion directed toward common people. Already the statement that new stars are forming would contradict the idea of a static, one-time creation. Happel probably referred to the observations of Johannes Kepler (*Gründtlicher Bericht Von einem ungewöhnlichen Newen Stern . . .* [Straßburg: Johann Carolo, 1604]). The astronomer had described a super nova in this text. The exciting question, whether

18 Eberhard Werner Happel, *Mundus mirabilis tripartitus, oder wunderbare Welt in einer kurtzen Cosmographia fürgestellt* (Ulm: Matthaues Wagner, 1687), Dedicatio. Below always abbreviated as *Cosmographia*.

19 Happel, *Cosmographia* (see note 18), preface.

20 Horaz, *Sämtliche Werke*, ed. Hans Färber (Munich and Zürich: Artemis, 1982), 250.

21 Happel, *Cosmographia* (see note 18), preface.

22 Jörg Wesche, “Glücksschmied und Schiffbruch. Reflexionen des Scheiterns zwischen Heinrich v. Kleist, Johann Gottfried Herder, Eberhard Werner Happel und Adam Olearius” *Fiasko – Scheitern in der Frühen Neuzeit. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Misserfolgs*, ed. Stefan Brakensiek and Claudia Claridge. *Histoire*, 64 (Bielefeld: Transcript, 2015), 197–220. In the *Relationes*, Happel tells the adventurous story of the sailor Volquard Iversen, which had been passed down by Adam Olearius. He streamlined the narrative and wrote a sentimental ending to it. See now Albrecht Classen, “Global History in the Middle Ages: A Medieval and an Early Modern Perspective. The *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350) and Adam Olearius’s *Vermehrte New Beschreibung der Muscowitischen vnd Persischen Reyse* (1647; 1656),” *Philological Quarterly* 100.2 (2021): 101–34.

or not the moon is inhabited by creatures or even humans, was left undecided by Happel. He described comets as natural “Ausdünstungen” (perspirations) of planets. Their influence on the earth would be natural processes, which would be evaluated differently by humans. Following the most recent scientific developments, Happel stated that the Earth has an atmosphere and moves in empty space. His view of the earth turned the reader’s attention to winds and their currents, which influence sea travel and trade. In the afore-discussed parts of the book, Happel looks at the world as a globe and also as a cosmos.

The third part of the book is dedicated to the element of water. The sea is described as the origin of all water; it surrounds all coasts and shores on Earth. Happel asks how the sea can be salty although rivers contain freshwater; he explained the reason for low tide and high tide with the hypothesis that the magnetic force of the moon impact the sea. These points show the author’s rational attitude and his scientific interests. He was interested in islands, especially in Greenland, whose discovery and colonization he portrays in detail. “Die allerbeste Waaren / so von Grünland gebracht worden / sind die Einhörner gewesen / ohnerachtet sie nur Zähne waren eines gewissen Fisches” (The very best goods / which have been brought from Greenland / have been unicorns/horns / although they have belonged to a certain kind of fish [. . .].)²³ Happel only referred to divine providence when he could not find scientific explanations. God was filling the gaps for which there were no physical explanations yet.

Bodies of water are not only spaces for observations of nature but also spaces of human actions (pearl harvesting, coral diving, retrieval of amber, or fishing). Happel orderly lists how much money has been made with fishing of whales and herrings. He reports in detail of the discovery of America, sea travel, and the stories of specific seafarers. The author also pays attention to nature’s attacks on human civilization by giving examples of natural disasters caused by water as the most important and global element. By this he means causality and not esoteric or eclectic holism.

The fourth part of the book offers a generalized description of the Earth (volcanos, earthquakes, types of rocks, sand and earth, mountains, and other types of landscapes) which also includes the presentation of concrete facts, countries and political empires. At the same time, the author admires nature in its beauty and diversity: “Sehet! So mannigfaltig ist die Erde in der That / und nach ihrer unterschiedlichen Betrachtung. Diese Erd-Kugel ist ein rechtes Wunder-Gebäu des Höchsten / darauf man die grösseste Schönheiten antrifft” (Look! So varied is the earth

23 Happel, *Cosmographia* (see note 18), 139.

in fact / and after different observations. This globe is a real miracle of construction by the highest / on which one can find the greatest beauties).²⁴

Those varied appearances are described on the next pages of this *Cosmographia*, with a focus on empirical science. Happel reported on relatively exact measurements of the circumference of the earth taken by the Greek Eratosthenes of Kyrene. He estimated the number of people living on earth to be one billion.²⁵ Then the instructions of how to draw a map or a globe are followed by a detailed description of the continents and their civilizations.

Happel connected the view of the Earth with a moral contemplation: He says that the theologians and lawyers of his time would misuse their position by saying that it is justifiable to seek one's own benefit even if that would harm others. Happel criticized egoism and praised altruism.²⁶ Even the international law was said to be abused in order to legitimize wars and exploitations.

The author often used a method that sociologically could be called 'anecdotal empiricism'. Morally reprehensible actions like the one just mentioned could not only be found in Europe but also in African despotisms. As an example for this claim, Happel used an observation from the Kingdom of Guinea: "Ein Herr eines Dorfs nennet sich hier einen König / sie kriegen stäts wider einander / und schlagen ihre Gefangene auf die grausamste Weise todt / oder verkaufen sie an die Holländer zu Slaven" (The owner of a village calls himself a king here / they are at war with each other constantly / and slay their prisoners in the cruelest manner / or sell them to the Dutch as slaves).²⁷ The human merchandise would be transported to the coasts and bought by the Dutch, the English, or the Danish. Much gold, ivory, and other goods changed owners here. The critical view does not only refer to Guinea but also shows Happel's moral inclination, which is also prominent in his critique of the exploitation of Latin America, here exemplified by the mines in Potosí.

Happel dedicates the second volume of the *Cosmographia* (1688) to human institutions worldwide: politics, military, police, religion, fashion, science, and education, again languages, but he also mentions interesting and amusing stories. This volume should be useful and entertaining, like the first one. In the foreword he emphasizes that the following statement should be observed throughout: "Wann ich / wie jener Weltweise / gefragt würde, wie mein Vatterland hiesse / würde ich ihm antworten: Die Welt" (If I / like this world-wise person / would be asked

²⁴ Happel, *Cosmographia* (see note 18), 482.

²⁵ Happel, *Cosmographia* (see note 18), 540.

²⁶ Happel, *Cosmographia* (see note 18), 493.

²⁷ Happel, *Cosmographia* (see note 18), 759.

what the name of my fatherland / would I answer him: the World).²⁸ This statement refers to a letter of Seneca to Lucilius.²⁹ No one should be satisfied with staying in the small part of the world where he was born. One could travel the whole world or learn a lot of it from other sources. One of these sources would be the *Cosmographia* in which the author follows Cicero's invitation to see the world as a town and shared home of humans and gods the like.³⁰

Happel includes both Latin quotes in a central place in the foreword. Seneca's statement refers to the teachings of stoic moral philosophy (cosmological view of the world, society, and nature, the unity of logic, physics, and ethics) and Cicero's statement is a justification of the natural law. All people are, so the roman philosopher, connected to each other which is why it is important to not use subjective opinions but to recommend the objective nature as measurement for moral and customary behaviors. Reason would help people to find good laws and moral standards of behavior. This is one of the reasons for Happel to not only include nature in his observations, but also cultures form around the world, beginning with civilized states and ending with wild tribes of remote parts of the world. Happel found the instruction for this in Seneca's and Cicero's ideas. Alongside his contemporary Christian Thomasius, Happel criticized torture in trials as inhumane and unjust.

Happel concludes by stating that he, as an author, wants to observe the world as a flower garden and would like to present each plant growing there. This also a fact that the readership can gain benefits and entertainment from. More aspects of this will be elaborated in the next part of this paper, so here will only be mentioned that the second volume ends with the Christian prayer *Our Father*, translated in 48 languages. Apparently Happel did not want to present the universal right of Christianity to intellectual superiority, even though he himself was Christian, but he wanted to show the differences in the languages.

28 Eberhard Werner Happel, *Everhardi Guernerii Happelii Mundi Mirabilis Tripartiti, oder wunderbaren Welt / in einer kurtzen Cosmographia fürgestellet Anderer Theil / welcher handelt von den Menschen auf der Welt* (Ulm: Matthaeus Wagner, 1688), preface.

29 L. Annaeus Seneca, *Ad Lucilium. Epistolae morales, Philosophische Schriften*, ed. Manfred Rosenbach (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1974), vol. 3, 236 (letter 28).

30 M. Tullius Cicero, *Über die Gesetze / De legibus*, ed. Elmar Bader and Leopold Wittmann (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1969), 16 (cap. 1, 23).

***Relationes Curiosae*: Cosmopolitical Explanations of the Global World**

During his time in Hamburg, Happel published *E. G. Happelii gröste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt Oder so genannte Relationes curiosae* (1683–1691), which is a poly-historical work in five volumes. He wrote about the interesting world, its curiosities, myths and stories, but also about scientific developments that were spoken of in the contemporary discourse. He incorporated funny stories, entertaining anecdotes, murder ballads and descriptions of the diversity of the Earth. Happel himself only travelled in Germany and that not very often. He stayed a traditional in-house researcher. However, he was very well read, put an effort in cross-referencing other's reports, selected important and interesting information and published them with a rational and clear view of the world. He states: “Weites Reisen darff er nicht / er kan in der Stube bleiben / Und mit Nutz erfüllter Lust / seine lange Zeit vertreiben” (Travelling far he is not allowed / he can stay at home / And with benefit filled pleasure / pass the long time).³¹

In the foreword to the *Relationes*, Happel listed many German and European sources, which formed the basis of his reports and works. Among these were the *Journal des Scavans* (since 1665) or the writings of Athanasius Kircher (1602–1680) and Adam Olearius (1599–1671). Happel mentions on the title page that all events and stories that are told have to be under the control of reason, should enlighten the mind and promote science but they should also bring delight by showing the wonders of the god-made world. (Later, Barthold Hinrich Brockes [1680–1747] from Hamburg praised not the heavenly but the earthly pleasures in his poetry *Irdisches Vergnügen in Gott*.) Happel used the German language to make the memorable events and scientific insights from all over the world accessible for his readership. In this approach he also preceded Thomasius and his demand to teach in German at German universities. The contemporary *Acta Eruditorum*, written in Latin and published by Otto Mencke in Leipzig, are directed toward scientist whereas the

³¹ Eberhard Werner Happel, *E. G. Happelii Gröste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder so genannte Relationes Curiosae* (Hamburg: Wiering, 1683), vol. 1, preface, The collection of the supplements was published in five volumens (1683, 1685, 1687, 1689, 1691). For links to the digitized volumes, see <https://www.ds.uzh.ch/wiki/Karidol/index.php?n=Main.HappelBilder> (last accessed on Feb. 11, 2023). For a modern edition, see Eberhard Werner Happel, *Gröste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt oder Sogenannte Relationes Curiosae*, ed. Uwe Hübner und Jürgen Westphal (Berlin: Rütten and Loening, 1990). Unfortunately, the edition lacks the list of sources.

Monatsgespräche by Thomasius are meant to be read by a broader audience. This magazine also intended to entertain and inform its readership.³²

In the *Relationes*, one can often find the author's pleasure in storytelling but also his slight journalistic skepticism. In some reports, so Happel, he felt forced to consider the "poetische Intervention" (poetical interventions).³³ He wrote, for instance, about a merchant who had seen the fanciful figure Rübezahl in the Riesengebirge (Giant Mountains). The story was embellished but at the end it was called a "Gedichte" (poem) and not a depiction of reality.³⁴ In a different context, Happel notes:

Man hat die Welt lange Zeit mit uhralten Märlein geöffet / [. . .] Aber solche thörichte Erfindungen haben heut zu Tage allen Glauben verlohren / und wer etwas schreiben will / hat Materie genug / an wahrhafften Begebenheiten / dass er nicht nöthig hat / sich mit dergleichen erdichteten zierlichen Lügen zu behelffen.

[The world has been deceived for a long time with ancient stories / [. . .] But such foolish inventions have fortunately lost all credibility today, / and he who wants to write something / has enough material available / concerning true events / so that it won't be necessary / to draw from such invented, petty lies.]³⁵

But not only the tribunal of reason but also the universal validity of norms is of importance. In the *Relationes*, slavery is condemned as inhumane, like it is in the *Cosmographia*. Two reports can illustrate that. One of them is about two European women who were sold at the Oriental slave market, the other one reports of the triangular trade and its requirements.

Sie heiße Anna Agrippa / sey D. Leuterichs von Leipzig Tochter / und D. Alexandri Camerarii Haußfrau / und habe nicht weit von Neuhausel gewohnet / Als aber Ao. 1663 die Türcken einfelen / ist sie, nebst ihrem Mann / einen Sohn [. . .] und einer Tochter von 10 Jahren gefangen nach Smirna geführt / daselbst einem Moren von Salee verkauft / von dannen ihr Eheherr und Kinder nach Mamora / Agrippa aber nach Algiers gebracht / und einem Seidenhändler verkauffet worden.

[Her name was Anna Agrippa / she was the daughter of D. Leuterich of Leipzig / and the housewife D. Alexandri Camerarii / and she lived not far from Neuhausel / But when the Turks attacked in 1663 / was she, with her husband, / a son . . . and a daughter of 10 years old captured and brought to Smirna / where she was sold to a negro from Salee / and her husband

32 Jürgen Wilke, *Literarische Zeitschriften des 18. Jahrhunderts (1688–1789)*. Vol. 1: *Grundlegung* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1978), 54–63.

33 Eberhard Werner Happel, *E. G. Happeli Grössester Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt Oder so genannte Relationes Curiosae* [. . .] *Ander Theil* (Hamburg: Wiering, 1685), vol. 2, 188.

34 Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 2, 141.

35 Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 2, 458.

and her children were brought to Mamora / Agrippa, however, was brought to Algiers / and sold to a silk tradesman.]³⁶

And:

In Negros-Land Kongo / Angola und daherumb werden alle Jahr viel tausend Slaven von den Holländern auffgekauft / und hinüber nach West-Indien in die Spanische Dienbarkeit geführt. . . . Die Mohren verkaufen den ankommenden Holländern und andern Nationen / aus Mangel an Lebensmittel . . . / oftmahl ihre eigene Kinder / Schwestern und Brüder / insgemein aber ihre gefangene feindliche Nachbarn / mit welchen sie Krieg geführt / Das Christliche Mohrenland, Abasia . . . muss auch jährlich viele Slaven hergeben / dann die benachbarten Mahometanischen Könige zu Abel, Zeila etc. fallen / wanns ihnen beliebt und am bequemsten deucht . . . ins Land / und führen diese armen Leute bey gantzen Heerden weg. Es werden derer auch von den benachbarten Türcken / streiffenden Arabern und andern Feinden und Menschen-Dieben jährlich sehr viele gefangen.

[In the Negro countries of Congo / Angola and around there, thousands of slaves are being bought by Dutchmen every year / and brought to the West-Indies in the employment of the Spanish. . . . The Negroes sold to the arriving Dutchmen and other nations / for a lack of food / often their own children / sisters and brothers / but secretly their captured enemy neighbors / with whom they were at war / the Christian Negro country Abasia . . . has to give many slaves annually / because the neighboring Mahometan kings of Abel, Zeila etc. invade / the country whenever it pleases them and is most convenient for them . . . / and take crowds of these poor people with them. Many are also captured by the neighboring Turks / roaming Arabs and other enemies and man hunters every year.³⁷]

The slaves were working hard in the production of sugar, in the mines, or in the fishing for pearls in Latin America. “Einem jeden Christen möchte das Hertz im Leibe weinen, wann er diese elende Leute in so blut-saurer Arbeit begriffen siehet” (Every Christian’s heart would break when he sees those wretched people forced to do this bloody hard work).³⁸

To sell slaves was a common and global practice when Happel wrote his critique of it. The abolishment of the scandal considering humans as objects that can be disposed of easily, took a long time worldwide. Only in 2007, for instance, was slavery finally forbidden in Mauretania (Northwest Africa). The slave trade brought in a lot of money which is the reason why slave traders were using all their means to capture as many people as possible in order to send them into forced labor, pros-

³⁶ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 2, 443.

³⁷ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 2, 375. The original text uses this archaic and pejorative term, ‘negro,’ which is, of course, today very inappropriate and demeaning, but we have to keep in mind Happel’s cultural and intellectual context, the specific use of this term at his time, and the difference in valuation from the seventeenth to the twenty-first century.

³⁸ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 2, 376.

titution or to demand high ransom. Not just the slave traders in the sea trade but also the aristocracy in different countries benefitted greatly from slavery.³⁹

Happel did not only criticize the slave trade but also its global connections. The slave trade in the east of the Mediterranean Sea was organized and controlled by the Ottoman Empire and African rulers. The triangular trade was controlled by Northern European countries that profited from the maritime trade. Regardless of which skin color or religion those rulers and traders had, their greed was boundless. Happel emphasized in his accusation a Christian worldview that was based on human dignity as a norm.

Happel identifies the invention of money as one of the important prerequisites for the trade. Money is supposedly a “Mittelding” (intermediary means) for the trade.⁴⁰ “Nachdem aber weitentlegene Völcker miteinander die Commerzien zu treiben angefangen [. . .]”, wurde das Geld erfunden” (Now that countries far away started to trade with one another [. . .] money was invented).⁴¹ The minting of coins required the mining of the necessary precious metals. Happel saw money as the barter which allowed the global circulation of goods as well as greed as a lifegoal of the bourgeoisie. This is the reason for the increasing willingness to accept the risks in maritime trade because dangerous sea routes had to be used in order to reach the distant treasures (resources) of the Earth. Happel reports of shipwrecks but also of failed missions to find faster and shorter sea routes.

He describes, for instance, the collapse of the Tulip mania – which had started in 1634 – in February 1637 in the Netherlands as a deterring example. Many people had invested their whole capital, desiring to become rich quickly through speculations. Some of the investors made a lot of money: Happel claims that one single rare tulip bulb was sold for several thousand Dutch guilders. He recognized the scandal in the fact that the tulips did not directly benefit the people; they could not be cooked or roasted, and eaten. On the contrary: Many people were living in poverty and hunger in order to be able to gamble on the stock market.⁴² Happel did not distinguish the different types of capitalism, as one can do today. His reports make clear that a form of capitalism existed which was based on the exploitation of laborers and natural resources, a capitalism that realized its profits in trade and a capitalism that was based on the use of capital in order to speculate.

39 Michael Zeuske, *Handbuch Geschichte der Sklaverei. Eine Globalgeschichte von den Anfängen bis heute* (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2019), 2 vols.

40 Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 1, 756.

41 Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 1, 755.

42 Eberhard Werner Happel, *E. G. Happelii Vierter Theil. Grösste Denkwürdigkeiten der Welt Oder so genannte Relationes Curiosae* (Hamburg: Viering, 1689), 88.

Happel had presented nature in detail as wild or cultivated in the *Cosmographia* and he continued to do so in the *Relationes*. He introduced the readership to snakes, spiders, marine animals and other creatures such as the “Ouran Outang” (Orangutan).⁴³ He also dedicated several paragraphs of his book to volcanos, ranging from Nicaragua to Etna in Sicily.

Most important for Happel was, however, which was already implied by the stories about animals, the human culture. Some of the described cultures and civilizations were similar to various European cultures, others were exotic or repugnant. Among these was the cult of mummification in ancient Egypt. Mummies would be brought to Europe by collectors or trades men and presented to the public.⁴⁴ The custom of burning Indian widows alive enraged Happel, who also spoke up against the burning of alleged witches in Europe.⁴⁵

One can get the impression upon reading Happel’s works that he was spreading racist ideas and views. “Die wilden Menschenfresser in America / haben in Ermangelung der Schreibe-Kunst / mit allerhand verschiedenen Knoten / die sie an einem Strick zu knüpfen wusten / ihre Geschichte im Gedächtnüs bewahret” (The wild cannibals in America / have in lack of the art of writing / with many different types of knots / which they knew how to tie to a stick / kept their history in their minds).⁴⁶ While Europeans and Chinese used paper of different qualities to write on, the American cannibals used a knot technique to express scripture. Culture and inhumanity were not mutually exclusive in Happel’s description.

On the other hand, Happel viewed libraries as a feature of highly developed cultures: “Man muss nicht meinen / daß ausser den Europäern alle Leute Barbaren sind” (One should not think / that all peoples besides Europeans are barbaric).⁴⁷ He introduces the big libraries around the world in great detail and praises the British library, which contained an Arabic Qur’an with explanations in Turkish. There would be collections of works in Hebrew, Syrian, Arabic, Turkish, Armenian, Ethiopian and Chinese in Germany, there would be big libraries in the Arabic speaking countries around the Mediterranean Sea but also in Asian countries. The conclusions offered by Happel: The existence of books and libraries at different places around the world would speak not only for a worldwide existing culture, but also for a close cosmopolitan connection of different cultures at the end of the seventeenth century.

⁴³ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33) 1, 15.

⁴⁴ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 1, 697.

⁴⁵ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 1, 689.

⁴⁶ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 2, 342.

⁴⁷ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 2, 338.

That means that it is not always necessary to travel the world in order to satisfy an interest in different cultures. The *Relationes* would be a way to share information about foreign countries but also to learn to appreciate one's own home country.

Aber ausser allem Zweifel ist es billig / daß wir unserm Vatterlande die Ehre des Vorzugs gönnen. Und es wäre eine Schande, wann wir uns jedesmahl in entlegenen Ländern auffhielten / alles gebühlich zu beobachten / da wir hergegen dasjenige / so in unserm eigenen Lande merckwürdig / oftmahlen zu unserm schlechten Ruhm übergehen. Welches dennoch von vielen geschiehet / denen alles stincket, was in Teutschland ist.

[But in spite of all doubt it is correct / to give our fatherland the privilege of the first. And it would be a shame to be in foreign countries / and observe everything closely / while we are, on the contrary / that what we see in our own country / disregarding. This however, many people do / who despise everything that is in Germany.]⁴⁸

Who travels the world in thought and reads open-mindedly and critically, is a cosmopolitan, even if they cannot leave their home. One is allowed to appreciate one's home country, without having to despise foreign countries.

Conclusions

In reference to the *Cosmographia* and the *Relationes* one can find facts concerning the depictions of the globally understood world that were important to Happel. The author understood himself to be a cosmopolitan and a citizen of the world. In the center of this thought process is a view of humankind that is defined by norms that deviate from the ideas of the late Baroque period. Happel supported a slightly skeptical humanism that spoke against the estrangement of humans from their nature and from themselves, but that also recognized general human patterns that are valid all over the world. On the base of this view of humanity Happel criticized the development of capitalism and colonialism, without negating the differences between the different presented countries. His criticism was especially aimed at the circulation of goods, among which were human slaves, and the crude financial capitalism that had been established already.

The cultures of the world differ from each other; they were and are heterogeneous. The standards of humanism were used for their evaluation. Humans could prevent terrible actions within their culture but they could also perfect themselves (perfectibility as idea of the philosophy in the seventeenth century). This was shown with the example of writing but also with libraries as containers of the knowledge

⁴⁸ Happel, *Relationes* (see note 33), 1, 140.

of the world. Happel was of the opinion that cultures were connected to each other just like societies were realistically connected in global spaces. For Happel, important ways of discovering this phenomenon were travel (mobility) and, for those who could not physically travel the world, travel literature, scientific literature, books, and supplements that Happel himself wrote. In fact, for Happel literature was an important medium for the understanding a globalized world.

Albrecht Classen

Globalism Before Modern Globalism

A Brief Epilog with an Outlook Toward the Future

To state it bluntly, we would become victims of a profound historical fallacy if we assumed, as has actually happened many times until today, that the Middle Ages and the early modern age were far removed from globalism as we know and experience it today. First of all, for much too long, we have examined the Middle Ages as a primarily European culture, whereas the concept of a medieval culture really applies to all other continents as well. Ironically, as we know today only too well, in many parts of the world the material, technical, cultural, scientific, literary, and medical development was often much more sophisticated and advanced than in the West.¹ The paradigm shift occurred only since the late fifteenth century due to numerous technological inventions and social-economic transformations in early modern Europe providing it with a decisive edge.

Second, we continue to suffer from the highly myopic perspective that the European Middle Ages were completely dominated by the Christian Church and by feudalism as the all-dominant forces subjugating the vast majority of people holding them down to their locale and locking them within narrow political, economic, religious, and social concepts. The hierarchy of feudal society allegedly made it impossible for most individuals on the lower rungs to establish their own identity and to determine their political position in time, which hence also would have blinded them to the wider world around them or in the distance. Recent research has shed much new light on that phenomenon, forcing us to reconsider the entire situation once again, although it seems to have been highly unlikely that the rural population had any significant opportunities to travel far and wide.² Moreover, as we are realizing increasingly, medieval kingship was not a form of government with absolute power held by the king, or the queen; instead, the social structure especially since the late Middle Ages experienced a curious democratization process, often expressed in revolts, riots, and protests, and it could also happen that a king was ‘impeached’ and removed from his throne. Political unrest, however, was not limited to Europe;

¹ Michael Borgolte, *Die Welten des Mittelalters: Globalgeschichte eines Jahrtausends* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2022).

² See the contributions to *Rural Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age: The Spatial Turn in Premodern Studies*, ed. Albrecht Classen, with the collaboration of Christopher R. Clason. *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 9 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2012); cf. now Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Negotiation and Resistance: Peasant Agency in High Medieval France* (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2022).

instead, it occurred in many other parts of the pre-modern world as well, and it continues until today.³

In fact, the more we investigate the past, the less we can trust historical and cultural studies that have conveyed certain ideas about the past frozen in time. A more careful reading of the old and new sources, the inclusion of heretofore ignored data, and drawing from innovative theoretical and methodological approaches regularly force us to rewrite history as we know it at regular interval. The current volume represents this process as well and pushes it forward, probing globalism before modern globalism, focusing on numerous special examples, research areas, narratives, and art works to confirm this notion.

At the beginning, there was an idea; that idea translated into conversations, and those transformed into a scholarly symposium held at the University of Arizona, Tucson, in April/May 2022, online (<https://aclassen.faculty.arizona.edu/content/2022-international-symposium-medieval-and-early-modern-studies-globalism-and-meeting>). On the basis of the presentations, most of the speakers then translated their papers into fully fleshed articles. Those were subsequently submitted to me and other scholars for critical comments and subsequently substantially and rigorously revised, probably more than in most other scholarly projects, with a number of colleagues assisting in the peer-review process. The contributors come from all over the world, from China, Mali, Algeria, Egypt, Italy, Germany, the Czech Republic, the USA, Saudi Arabia, and Spain. Thus, the symposium itself proved to be a successful effort to practice what we are 'preaching,' globalism. Of course, the purpose was to detect and identify forms of globalism prior to the modern age, and to cooperate in a very cross-disciplinary fashion to achieve the collectively shared goal.

Numerous scholarly disciplines were involved, beginning with literary history, metallurgy, history of medicine, geography, comparative history, and art history. What transpired both in the symposium and in the process of compiling the edited articles was the realization that to study the phenomenon of globalism really requires accepting that human culture is highly composite, complex, also contradictory, if not paradox. We also recognized more than ever before that the traditional notion of an isolated, self-sufficient medieval and early modern Europe, or Asia and Africa, is far away from the truth, or reality, if we consider such major economic hubs as London, Bruges, Ghent, Cologne, Barcelona, Venice, Alexandria, the entire

3 Samuel K. Cohn Jr., *Lust for Liberty: The Politics of Social Revolt in Medieval Europe, 1200–1425* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008); Charles W. Connell, *Popular Opinion in the Middle Ages: Channeling Public Ideas and Attitudes. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture*, 18 (Berlin and Boston: Walter de Gruyter, 2016); *Bringing the People Back In: State Formation from Below from the Nordic Perspective ca. 1500–1800*, ed. Knut Dørum, Mats Hallenberg, and Kimmo Katajala. Routledge Research in Early Modern History (London and New York: Routledge, 2021).

Black Sea, Damascus, Baghdad, Samarkand, the fabled Silk Road, the kingdoms of Ghana and Mali, and many other places, harbors, and routes.⁴ Especially intellectuals, including scientists and medical doctors, were by nature inquisitive and rather open to foreign ideas, observations, concepts, and also to materials from abroad, such as the steady stream of Arabic knowledge and both Near and Far Eastern luxury goods and other artifacts into medieval Europe since the twelfth century. Several papers in this volume draw from this insight and refine it further through careful case studies.

In previous scholarship, the focus often rested on well-known travelogues (Marco Polo, Odorico da Pordenone, John Mandeville, etc.), and this genre also plays a significant role in the present volume, though the focus is shifting to a previously less considered group of texts that provide quite different perspectives. We learn, for instance, from diplomats who crisscrossed all of Europe in the name of various rulers, or who worked in Istanbul on behalf of the British crown, to Chinese emissaries who reached the Western courts. And there was the fairly large group of rogues, vagrants, charlatans, thieves, pirates, robbers, and entertainers who roamed the world and did not care about any of the traditional boundaries determined by religions, languages, cultures, or military and political structures.

Altogether, in this volume the interest is more specifically directed toward the element of exchange in the form of translations, sharing of ideas, knowledge, and products. Muslims, Jews, and Christians recognized, whether they liked it or not, that they were neighbors and overlapped many times in their interests, values, and concerns, such as in the case of mapmaking and philosophy. Neither medicine nor philosophy, neither literature nor the arts have ever existed in complete 'national' or 'cultural' isolation, as hard as it might be to recognize the particular modes of exchange. But the export of pepper and bezoar, for instance, the handing over of gifts among the high and mighty, the selling of weapons, tools, gadgets, and the like from England to Egypt, for instance, the transmission of literary motifs, themes, and specific narratives across languages, religions, ethnicities, and political and social statues, the dissemination of ideas, values, and insights across the world, all that contributed to a new picture determining the pre-modern past, already deeply influenced by globalism.

Weapons that were welded by European swordsmiths, for instance, might have used Wootz ore from Sri Lanka and India. Many artworks today kept in cathedral museums, for instance, reveal that they often contained valuable jewels and orna-

⁴ Most prominent was surely the position of Venice, the crucial intermediary trading center between East and West, North and South. See now Hans-Jürgen Hübner, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte Venedigs*, only online at <http://www.geschichte-venedigs.de/wirtschaft.html>, Version 1.876 (Oct., 2019), yet it is a very valuable contribution (now also in French, Danish, and Spanish).

ments imported from very distant lands, so they mirror quite an active trade across the globe already since the early and high Middle Ages.⁵ This trade, however, was not, as we might have assumed in the past, a one-way street, with exotic objects or products reaching the European markets as luxury items (silk, pepper, bezoar, pearls, etc.). Instead, many European products, including tools, weapons, iron, but also maps, made their way to Asian and African markets in turn.⁶

Rulers over kingdoms and empires situated very far apart knew about each other and tried to reach out to the other side with precious gifts and letters, as the remarkable exchange between the Mongol khans and the papacy, for instance, indicates. We should also not forget the trade between sub-Saharan kingdoms such as Ghana and Mali with the region bordering the Mediterranean and hence also the countries north of the Alps, and, vice versa, the curious fact that numerous Icelandic Vikings served the Byzantine emperors in the Varangian Guard. Diplomatic connections existed between the Caliph of Córdoba and the Ottonian court of Magdeburg.

Once we pay more attention to those contacts, we begin also to understand better how literary, scientific, and artistic exchanges could happen since the members of embassies were normally highly learned and were also familiar with their own cultural traditions which they then shared with the new political environment, as best illustrated by the religious narrative of “Pelagius” composed by the tenth-century canoness Hrotsvit of Gandersheim who had learned about the young man’s martyrdom from the Cordoban ambassadors visiting the Ottonian court.

Not every author in this volume specifies a concrete example of trade, gifting, translation, adaptation, or modification. Globalism also means, from a more theoretical perspective, that certain phenomena in politics and/or narrative traditions proved to be amazingly parallel to each other. None of the authors went so far as to resort to the teachings of C. G. Jung concerning archetypes. However, in a number of cases we hear of shared fears of the apocalypse, dread about the workings of

5 Though I have referred to it already in the Introduction, it is worth pointing out again the excellent contributions (in German) to *Islam in Europa 1000–1250*, ed. Claudia Höhl, Felix Prinz, and Pavla Ralcheva (Regensburg: Schnell & Steiner, 2022). We also would have to consider the extensive trade in textiles from Asia to Europe, for instance; see Kathrin Müller, *Musterhaft naturgetreu: Tiere in Seiden, Zeichnungen und Tapisserien des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts*. Neue Frankfurter Forschungen zur Kunst, 21 (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2020); again, see also my discussion of this topic in the Introduction.

6 See the excellent contributions to *Artistic and Cultural Exchanges between Europe and Asia, 1400–1900: Rethinking Markets, Workshops and Collections*, ed. Michael North (Farnham, Surrey, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010); see also *Global Gifts: The Material Culture of Diplomacy in Early Modern Eurasia*, ed. Zoltán Biedermann, Anne Gerritsen, and Giorgio Riello. Studies in Comparative World History (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

the underworld, of values and ideals (fables) and recognize the same respect for valuable objects, such as the sword with its quasi-religious qualities, hence its aura. The Middle Ages and early modern period were deeply suffused with a sense of the auratic quality of individual products or works, and this all over the world. What is the situation today, however? As Andy McLaverty-Robinson, in his critical assessment of Walter Benjamin's famous critique of objects in the modern world as lacking in authenticity, or aura, notes,

The aura is an effect of a work of art being uniquely present in time and space. It is connected to the idea of authenticity. A reproduced artwork is never fully present. If there is no original, it is never fully present anywhere. Authenticity cannot be reproduced, and disappears when everything is reproduced. Benjamin thinks that even the original is depreciated, because it is no longer unique. Along with their authenticity, objects also lose their authority. The masses contribute to the loss of aura by seeking constantly to bring things closer. They create reproducible realities and hence destroy uniqueness. This is apparent, for instance, in the rise of statistics.⁷

Auratic objects, by contrast, have always been met by profound approval, respect, even admiration, so precious objects in the past have regularly been traded, gifted, preserved, or shared, whether swords or goblets, hauberks or chalices. Both the Grail and the sword Excalibur embody this perception most dramatically, which hence explains their universal relevance until today. One interesting approach toward the search for this international trade or collections of admirable or astonishing objects would be to examine the so-called royal “Wunderkammern” mostly from the sixteenth century onwards which contain regularly a wide range of odd curiosities and unsystematic collections of exotica, all compiled by royal collectors as an expression of their intrigue with the extraordinary, miraculous, and wondrous within their own

7 Andy McLaverty-Robinson, “An A to Z of Theory | Walter Benjamin: Art, Aura and Authenticity,” *Ceasefire*, June 14, 2014, online at <https://ceasefiremagazine.co.uk/walter-benjamin-art-aura-authenticity/> (last accessed on Jan. 26, 2023). Of course, Walter Benjamin, in his famous essay “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (originally in German as “Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit,” 1935 [Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*. Band I, *Werkausgabe* Band 2, ed. Rolf Tiedemann and Hermann Schweppenhäuser (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp, 1980), 431–69, was not specifically interested in medieval object in contrast to modern objects. Instead, he intended to analyze how the massive reproducibility of objects through modern technology has deeply affected, if not destroyed, their aura. For the English translation, see online at: <https://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/ge/benjamin.htm>. For an excellent overview of the difficult process for Benjamin to get his essay published and the many public debates involving cuts, changes, translations, reprints, critical comments, see https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Das_Kunstwerk_im_Zeitalter_seiner_technischen_Reproduzierbarkeit (both last accessed on March 31, 2023).

world and abroad.⁸ As a side note, individual texts, such as the romance of *Barlaam and Josaphat*, which migrated from India to China, and then also all the way to the West, were similarly determined by this auratic character, so to speak. The huge impact of the Indian *Panchatantra* globally has already been discussed numerous times, and so as well in the present book. We face, in other words, both literary and artistic, both economic and philosophical *Wunderkabinette*.

Globalism prior to the early modern age was thus already well in place if we keep this complex flow of objects and ideas in mind, and this both on the more mundane level of economic bartering from East to West and South to North (and vice versa), and on the most sophisticated level of pharmacy (medical drugs and objects), architecture (mutual influences, such as in the case of ‘mudéjar’ style in the Christian world), literature (the spread of the fable as an international genre, or, part of world literature in the true sense of the word). The rise of more precise and effective surgery in Europe since the fifteenth century was only possible because of translations of medieval Arabic treatises into Latin and then various vernaculars, and much of swordsmithing and similar technologies proved to be intimately tied to trade in Wootz ore from India, for example, which then was used by blacksmiths all over Europe. Technology tends to migrate and create a global network, as much as the experts try to keep their knowledge a secret.

Of course, by the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, global perspectives became more widespread and accepted, as is well indicated by the famous and highly popular encyclopedic writings by the Hamburg author Eberhard Werner Happel or the Schleswig ambassador Adam Olearius who journeyed so far as to Isfahan in Persia, not to forget the English cartographer, mathematician, and technician John Dee (all seventeenth century). Well before them, however, numerous travelers had already crossed the continents, as best documented by the famous Marco Polo and the heretofore little-known anonymous author of the *Niederrheinische Orientbericht* (ca. 1350). The Turkic Chinese ambassador Rabban Sauma (ca. 1220–ca. 1294) visited numerous European courts, and the Armenian prince Hayton of Corycus (ca. 1240–ca. 1310/1320), living in exile in Poitiers, France, shared with his western audiences the history of his home country.

The global merchant Niccolò de’ Conti (ca. 1359–1469), who originated from Chioggia in the vicinity of Venice, traveled for decades, both in Africa and in the

⁸ See the contributions to *Von der Weltkarte zum Kuriositätenkabinett: Amerika im deutschen Humanismus und Barock*, ed. Karl Kohut. Americana Eystettensia. Serie A, 14 (Frankfurt a. M.: Ver-vuert, 1995); Jeffrey Chippis Smith, *Kunstkammer: Early Modern Art and Curiosity Cabinets in the Holy Roman Empire* (London: Reaktion Books, 2022). Cf. also Flemming Schock, *Die Text-Kunst-kammer: populäre Wissenssammlungen des Barock am Beispiel der “Relationes Curiosae” von E. W. Happel*. Beihefte zum Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, 68 (Cologne, Weimar, and Vienna: Böhlau, 2011).

Middle East, if not even further to the Far East. His accounts might have influenced the creation of the world map by Fra Mauro and his collaborator Andrea Bianco (between 1448 and 1450). And Conti was not at all the first or the last one to go on such extensive mercantile journeys, as we know from Bonaiuto di Albano (ca. 1460–first half of the sixteenth century), who also explored Persia and India, traveling by means of Portuguese ships going around the southern tip of Africa.⁹

The Andalusian Leo Africanus composed the first major treatise on Africa when he published his *Description of Africa* in 1526, which profoundly changed the European perception of that continent. And Ludovico di Varthema offered the first comprehensive narrative account of India when he published his *Itinerario de Ludouico de Varthema Bolognese* in 1510. By that time, the New World had also attracted huge interest among Western readers and spectators, as in the case of the report by the Hessian Hans Staden (ca. 1525–ca. 1576), while English scholars and diplomats such as John Dee (1527–1608/1609) explored, with specifically nationalist interests, the regions of northern Europe and America as potential parts of the British Empire.

Other aspects of globalist knowledge addressed here pertain to the intellectual, legal, and religious exchanges between the Islamic and the Christian countries, the influence of Islamic philosophy (especially by al-Kindī) also in the West, the exchange of geographic knowledge in mapmaking (Isidore of Seville and al-Bakrī'), and to significant parallels in dealing with a memorial culture for political purposes both in post-Carolingian Francia and Post-Tang Wuyue China. Many more aspects would have to be considered here, such as the rich, complex, and often deeply troubled relationship between Christians and Jews throughout the early modern age, but a vast number of those have already been addressed in the Introduction to this volume and in the individual contributions.

To conclude, the theoretical concept of globalism prior to modern globalism proves to be most productive and insightful for the further exploration of the pre-modern world and its history, literature, sciences, medicine, architecture, and also music, the latter of which still being in great need of further examinations (here not represented, unfortunately). This also allows us to make some 'political' remarks that might come as a surprise for many. Although medieval Europe

9 Uwe Israel, "Grenzüberschreitungen am Rande und in der Welt: Das dreifache Leben des venezianischen Fernhändlers Niccolò de' Conti aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Von Aachen bis Akkon: Grenzüberschreitungen im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Hubert Houben zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. Francesco Panarelli, Kristjan Toomaspoeg, Georg Vogeler, Kordula Wolf. Online-Schriften des DHI Rom. Neue Reihe, 9 (Heidelberg: Heidelberg University Publishing, 2023), 63–86.

was also plagued by Antisemitic sentiments,¹⁰ Islamophobia and racism, especially directed against blacks, were much less present, though certainly already in existence.¹¹ There are numerous dignified depictions of black people in medieval sculptures (Magdeburg cathedral) and manuscript illustrations (King Alfonso X the Wise's *Libro de ajedrez, dados, y tablas*, 1283; Conrad Kyesser's *Bellifortis*, 1405), and medieval poets did not shy away from including dignified images of black people (Wolfram von Eschenbach, *Parzival*, ca. 1205; see also the thirteenth-century Dutch *Romance of Moriaen*¹²). Negative sentiments and hostile actions against racial minorities certainly also existed, especially in contact zones such as the Mediterranean, but we have learned to differentiate considerably.¹³

The relationship between the western and eastern powers was rather complex and often determined more by mutual respect (or fear) than by a form of Orientalism, as Edward Said in his famous study with the same title (1978) had still argued. Nineteenth-century imperialism and colonialism were typical phenomena of their

10 See now the fascinating and well-documented study by Luis X. Morera, "Performative Subjugation and the Invention of Race: The Danzas de Judios y Moros, Festivals, and Ceremonies in Late Medieval Iberia," *Mediaevalia* 43.1: Special Issue: *Medieval Unfreedoms in Global Context* (2022): 205–38; DOI:10.1353/mdi.0.0007 (last accessed on March 31, 2023). While Jews and Muslims were seemingly welcomed and included in the Christian ritualistic procession, the very opposite was the case since they were forced to perform their dances as expression of humiliation and denigration. Cf. also Katherine Lindeman, "Fighting Words: Vengeance, Jews, and Saint Vicent Ferrer in Late-Medieval Valencia," *Speculum* 91.3 (2016): 690–723. Christian triumphalism that reached its early peak in the late fifteenth century, especially in Spain (not at all in Portugal, as Morera emphasizes), actually undermined many previous efforts to establish globalist perspectives. See also Noël Coulet, "De l'intégration à l'exclusion: La place des juifs dans les cérémonies d'entrée solennelle au Moyen Âge," *Annales: Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 34.4 (1979): 672–83.

11 Pamela A. Patton, David Perry, and Geraldine Heng, "Blackness, Whiteness, and the Idea of Race in Medieval European Art," *Whose Middle Ages?: Teachable Moments for an Ill-Used Past*, ed. Andrew Albin, Mary C. Erler, Thomas O'Donnell, Nicholas L. Paul, and Nina Rowe (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019), 154–65; as to racism in early modern literature, see now the somewhat politically driven study Ambereen Dadabhoy and Nedda Mehdizadeh, *Anti-Racist Shakespeare. Elements in Shakespeare and Pedagogy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023); also online at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781009004633> (last accessed on March 31, 2023).

12 For a detailed summary and discussion, see Cathy C. Darrup, "Gender, Skin Color and the Power of Place in the Medieval Dutch *Romance of Moriaen*," *Medieval Feminist Newsletter* 27 (Spring 1999): 15–24; online at: <https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1329&context=mff> (last accessed on March 31, 2023). For an excellent collection of art-historical evidence regarding the dignified presentation of Blacks in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, see the contributions to *Balthazar: A Black African King in Medieval and Renaissance Art*, ed. Kristen Collins and Bryan C. Keene (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2023).

13 Thomas E. Burman, Brian A. Catlos, and Mark D. Meyerson, *The Sea in the Middle: The Mediterranean World, 650–1650* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2022).

time, and we must not commit the serious historical blunder of projecting from that period automatically backwards. Also, as some contributors comment on, numerous times noble ladies managed to gain supreme positions in their respective countries, whether in England or in the Ottoman Empire. Hence, again, modern-day gender conflicts or misogyny ought not to be identified as direct consequences of the situation in the pre-modern epoch with its quite different parameters and cultural conditions for women.¹⁴

Undoubtedly, due to the educational background of many of the contributors, a Eurocentric emphasis continues to be at play. This volume came into existence because I myself and many of the authors are grounded in European disciplines (literature, medicine, art history, etc.). A Chinese or a Congolese editor would have probably approached the task quite differently, and we can only look forward to future collaboration, if so desired. Nevertheless, we all have, by default, which is not really an epistemological problem, our biases, which we can combat, as this volume tries very hard to do, by embracing a globalist perspective wherever possible and to subscribe to collaborative research. I believe, however, that the results presented here demonstrate a new level of global awareness that allows us to combine our more traditional approaches and selections of texts/images with challenges from the outside, drawing from new material and theoretical models and thus reaching or establishing an innovative understanding of the entire pre-modern world.

We may also think about the present project as a strategic endeavor to provide a historical and cultural background and framework for contemporary discussions of globalism which could certainly use a considerable injection of new insights coming from the Middle Ages and beyond when those global connections were already explored, examined, and experimented with. One universal lesson should be kept in mind as a result of the conference and this volume: People throughout time are communicative and social, and many if not most societies have worked at building connections, at least at the level of the intellectuals, the artists, poets, philosophers, merchants, medical doctors, and scientists. And this applies to us as well; we are the avatars of the medieval and early modern globalists.

¹⁴ See, for instance, Albrecht Classen, *The Power of a Woman's Voice in Medieval and Early Modern Literature: New Approaches to German and European Women Writers and to Violence Against Women in Premodern Times*. Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture, 1 (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2007); David Wallace, *Strong Women: Life, Text, and Territory 1347–1645* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); *The Oxford Handbook of Women and Gender in Medieval Europe*, ed. Judith M. Bennett and Ruth Mazo Karras (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); *Gender, Law, and Economic Well-Being in Europe from the Fifteenth to the Nineteenth Century. North versus South?*, ed. Anna Bellavitis and Beatrice Zucha Micheletto. Gender and Well-Being (London and New York: Routledge, 2018); Albrecht Classen, *Reading Medieval European Women Writers: Strong Literary Witnesses from the Past* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2016).

Globalism is a big challenge, and this until today, if we think, for instance, of many angry comments about the so-called global jetsetters, global corporations, and global finance companies and banks that leave behind masses of people who are afraid of losing their cultural identity and traditional economic status. Much of contemporary racism and xenophobia is, as we might conclude, the result of this protest against a globalized world where the ordinary citizen seems to feel isolated, disempowered, and left behind. Ironically, western industries will not be able to maintain their growth in the near future without a strong influx of workers from all over the world, which might paradoxically accelerate fear and hatred of foreigners even further because of the economic and also cultural competition. But as our volume indicates, splendid isolation has never worked and might not even have truly existed despite all pretenses.

Undoubtedly, globalism and globalization today have assumed a very different dimension than in the past, but this does not mean at all that we can be content with the simplistic, historically incorrect notion of the pre-modern world as being nothing but parochial, local-oriented, and blind to influences from abroad, opposed to teachings about medicine, technology, geography, astronomy, and philosophy, etc., and unwilling to accept inspirations from world literature addressing fundamental ethical, moral, and spiritual ideas and conditions. The very opposite was the case, especially when we consider the contributions by the intellectuals, artists, scientists, poets, sailors, and diplomats. This volume promises to be a useful steppingstone for future research, as the NEH just announced a new Summer Institute, “Global Geographies of Knowledge: Creating, Representing, and Commodifying Ideas Across Early Modern Places, 1400–1800,” to take place in St. Louis, MO, June 26–July 21, 2023.¹⁵ A similarly themed conference is scheduled at UCLA, Los Angeles, CA, Oct. 20–21, 2023.¹⁶ It might even be possible that this volume will appear in print in good time and then appeal to the participants in that Institute and at the conference. We can only hope for future conversations and exchanges on the same topic.

¹⁵ <https://www.neh.gov/programinstitute/fellowship/global-geographies-knowledge-creating-representing-and-commodifying> (last accessed on Jan. 29, 2023).

¹⁶ <https://mailchi.mp/mediterraneanseminar/cfp-the-western-mediterranean-and-the-global-middle-ages-20-21-october-los-angeles> (last accessed on Jan. 29, 2023).

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Biographies of the Contributors

Sally Abed teaches at Alexandria University, Egypt. In Fall of 2022, she was awarded the Juynboll Fellowship at Leiden University and Libraries to conduct her research on medieval travel and monsters. She taught at the University of Arizona, the University of Utah, La Casa de las Lenguas at the University of Oviedo, and Alexandria University, Egypt. Her research interests focus on travel narratives and monsters, but also include other areas of medieval literature, comparative literature, and women's studies. Her publications include "The Past into the Present: Teaching the One Thousand and One Nights between Medieval Storytelling and Modern Media" (*The Once and Future Classroom, Special Issue on Teaching Medieval Arabic Studies XIV.1* [I 2017]), "Water Rituals and the Preservation of Identity in Ibn Fadlan's Risala," *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2018), and "The Transformation of the World through Pleasure and Performance in the Thousand and One Nights," *Pleasure and Leisure in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2019). She also contributed an article on "Wonders and Monsters in *The Travels of John Mandeville* and in Abu Hamid al-Gharnāṭī's *Thfat al-Albāb*" to *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2020), and "Mamlūks, Qaḍīs, and the Local Population: A Discourse of Resistance, Power, and Liminality in Medieval Egypt" to *Incarceration, and Slavery in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age* (ed. Albrecht Classen 2021). Her forthcoming piece "The Nile, Immortality, and the Body in Lucy Duff Gordon's *Letters from Egypt 1865–1869*" will appear in *Anthem Studies in Travel* (ed. Charles Forsdick (Spring 2023). Sally is also a free-lance journalist in the Ahrām Weekly, the Egyptian national newspaper, where she has published several pieces on different aspects of Egyptian history and culture.

Najlaa Aldeeb is a Ph.D. candidate and Senior Teaching Assistant at Swansea University, UK. The title of her PhD thesis is "*Traces of Ideologies in Four English Translations of the Qur'an: A Comparative Study of Authorized and Unauthorized Versions.*" She has twenty years of experience in teaching English as a second language. Mrs. Aldeeb received a master's degree in Translation Studies from Effat University, Saudi Arabia in 2017, a master's degree in English Language and Literature from Indira Gandhi National Open University, India in 2008, and a Diploma in English Language Teaching to Adults (DELTA) in 2016. She published three books, a book chapter, and ten research papers. In 2019, her research paper, entitled "*Ecofeminism in Doris Lessing's Mara and Dann: An Adventure,*" was listed on the Social Science Research Network (SSRN) top ten downloads for Women's and Gender Studies Research Network (WGSRN). On February 17, 2022, she had an interview at the British Muslim TV, in the weekly Program *Ask the Qur'an*.

Maha Baddar is Professor of English at Pima Community College in Tucson, Arizona. She received her Ph.D. in Rhetoric, Composition, and the Teaching of English from the University of Arizona. Her dissertation title is "From Athens (Via Alexandria) to Baghdad: Hybridity as Epistemology in the Work of Al-Kindi, Al-Farabi, and in the Rhetorical Legacy of the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement" (2010). Her research interests include the medieval Arabic Translation Movement, the Arabic Commentary tradition on Aristotle's Rhetoric, and medieval Arab feminisms. Her publications include "The Arabs Did Not 'Just' Translate Aristotle: Al-Farabi's Logico-Rhetorical Theory," *The Responsibilities of Rhetoric*, ed. Michelle Smith and Barbara Warnick (Long Grove, IL: Waveland, 2010), and "Toward a New Understanding of Audience in the Medieval Arabic Translation Movement: The Case of al-Kindi's 'Statement on the Soul,'" *Rhetoric Across Borders*, ed. Anne Demo (Anderson, SC: Parlor Press, 2015). She also contributed to the volume *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time*,

ed. Albrecht Classen (2018). Maha is currently translating Ibn Sina's *Long Commentary on Aristotle's Rhetoric* into English.

Chiara Benati is Full Professor of Germanic Philology at the University of Genoa, Italy. She has published extensively on the earliest (Low) German surgical treatises and their specialized terminology (*Dat Boek der Wundenartzstedye und der niederdeutsche chirurgische Fachwortschatz*, 2012; *Die niederdeutsche Fassung des Feldtbuchs der Wundarzney in Kopenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1663 4^o. Edition und Kommentar*, 2017; and a series of articles published in journals such as *Linguistica e Filologia* 33, 2013; *Filologia germanica – Germanic Philology* 6, 2014; and in volumes such as *Words across History: Advances in Historical Lexicography and Lexicology*, ed. M. V. Domínguez-Rodríguez, 2016; *Medieval German Tristan and Trojan War Stories: Interpretations, Interpolations, and Adaptations*, ed. S. Jefferis, 2017; *Bodily and Spiritual Hygiene in Medieval and Early Modern Literature. Explorations of Textual Presentations of Filth and Water*, ed. A. Classen, 2017; *Languages for Specific Purposes in History*, ed. N. Monnier, 2018; *Literature, Science and Religion: Textual Transmission and Translation in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. M. Bellmunt Serrano and J. Mihiques Climent, 2020). She has also the interest in charms and blessings, which are often included in medical compendia (*Mittelniederdeutsche Segen und Beschwörungsformeln in medizinischem Überlieferungskontext: Korpus und Analyse*, 2021; articles on this topic have appeared in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur* 145, 2016; *Revista Brathair* 17.1, 2017; *Mediaevistik* 31, 2018; *Mediaevistik* 34, 2021; *Filologia germanica – Germanic Philology* 11, 2019; *Filologia germanica – Germanic Philology. Supplemento* 2, 2021; and in volumes such as *Magic and Magicians in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time. The Occult in Pre-Modern Sciences, Medicine, Literature, Religion, and Astrology*, ed. A. Classen, 2017; *Combates e Concórdias. Temporalidades do conflito e da conciliação na tradição medieval*, ed. M. Baccega, 2018; *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time. Explorations of World Perceptions and Processes of Identity Formation*, ed. A. Classen, 2018; and *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age: A Cultural-Historical Investigation in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. A. Classen, 2021).

Amina Boukail is an Associate Professor of comparative literature and Arabic medieval literature at the University of Jijel, Algeria. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Constantine in 2016. Her dissertation title was “Arabic's Elements in Hebrew Andalusian Literature.” Her research interests include Arabic medieval literature, Judeo-Arabic, Iberian studies, Algerian literature, minorities in Arabic world. Her publications include: *The Reception of Minorities of the Arabic Culture in the Arabic Medieval World* 2020 (in Arabic), and *The Representation of the Other in Hebrew Andalusian Literature* (also in Arabic), 2022. She is currently writing a new book on “The Jewish Identity in Writings of Jews of Algeria” (in Arabic).

Marialuisa Caparrini is Associate Professor of Germanic Philology at the University of Ferrara, Italy. She has published books on High and Middle Low German grammatical texts and their terminology (*Un manuale di tedesco per Italiani del XV secolo: lo Sprachbuch di Meister Jörg. Introduzione all'opera e edizione dei due testimoni fiorentini (Magl. IV 66 e Ashb. 352)*, 2001; *Die 'Münstersche Grammatik'. Neuedition und Kommentar. Mit einer Untersuchung des grammatischen Fachwortschatzes*, 2018; *A scuola di tedesco nel tardo Medioevo. Edizione critica di due testi didattici del XV secolo* (Ettwas von büchstaben e Augsburger Fibel – Hannover, Kestner Museum, *E(rnst)* n. 128), 2022), as well as articles on the same topic in various journals (*Linguistica e Filologia* 24, 2007; *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 137/1, 2018; *Filologia germanica/Germanic Philology* 11, 2019) and in volumes such as *La letteratura di istruzione nel Medioevo germanico. Studi in onore di Fabrizio D. Raschellà*, ed. M. Caparrini, M. R. Digilio, F. Ferrari, 2017; *Grammatica e insegnamento linguistico. Approccio storiografico: autori, modelli, espansioni*,

ed. F. San Vicente, 2019. She has also interest in High and Middle Low German culinary and medical texts (*La letteratura culinaria in bassotedesco medio. Un'indagine linguistica e storico-culturale sulla base del ricettario di Wolfenbüttel (Cod.Guelf. Helmst. 1213)*, 2006; *Die deutsche Bearbeitung der Epistula Anthimi de observatione ciborum. Edition und Kommentar*, 2011); a series of articles on this topic have appeared in journals (*AION – Sezione Germanica*, n.s. XII, 2 (2002) [2004]; *Linguistica e Filologia* 29, 2009; *I castelli di Yale online* V,1, 2017) and in volumes such as *La letteratura tecnico-scientifica nel Medioevo germanico: Fachliteratur e Gebrauchstexte*, ed. L. Vezzosi, 2009; *Der Koch ist der bessere Arzt. Zum Verhältnis von Diätetik und Kulinarik im Mittelalter und in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. A. Hofmeister-Winter, H. W. Klug, K. Kranich, 2014; *Aspetti della letteratura medica tedesca medievale*, ed. V. Di Clemente, 2018. In 2012, she received the award in memory of Piergiuseppe Scardigli for her book on the German version of the *Epistula Anthimi*.

Albrecht Classen is University Distinguished Professor of German Studies at The University of Arizona. He has published currently 122 books, most recently *The Forest in Medieval German Literature* (2015), *Water in Medieval Literature* (2018), *Toleration and Tolerance in Medieval and Early Modern European Literature* (2018), *Travel, Time, and Space in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (ed., 2018), *Prostitution in Medieval Literature* (2019), *Charlemagne in Medieval German and Dutch Literature* (2021), and *Freedom, Imprisonment, and Slavery* (2021), and *Wisdom in the Middle Ages* (2022). His latest book focused on *Secrets in Medieval Literature* (2022). In 2008 the University of Arizona bestowed upon him its highest award for research, the “Henry & Phyllis Koffler Award.” In 2004 the German government awarded him with the *Bundesverdienstkreuz am Band* (Order of Merit), its highest civilian award. He has also received numerous teaching and service awards over the last three decades, such as the “Five Star Faculty Award” (2009) and the “Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching 2012 Arizona Professor of the Year Award.” In 2021, he received the Chatfield Outstanding Tenured Researcher Award, COH, University of Arizona, and in 2022, the American Association of Teachers of German awarded him with its Honorary Membership. He is serving as editor of the journals *Mediaevistik* and *Humanities–Open Access, Online*, apart from several other online journals. For many years he had been the president of the Arizona chapter of the American Association of Teachers of German (once again since 2022), and in 2018 he completed his function as President/Past President of the Rocky Mountain Modern Language Association for the fourth time in 2018. The RMMLA awarded him with its Sterling Membership Award in 2013. In 2015 he received the Excellence in Academic Advising Faculty Advisor Award, followed by a Certificate of Merit from NACADA: The Global Community for Academic Advising. In 2016, friends and colleagues dedicated a *Festschrift* (*Mediaevistik* 28) to him on the occasion of his 60th birthday. In recognition of his accomplishments, he received the rank of Grand Knight Commander of the Most Noble Order of the Three Lions in 2017. In 2020, he received the DAAD AA (German Academic Exchange Program) Excellence Award in International Exchange. He also writes poetry (currently 10 vols.) and satires (currently 4 vols.), and he is the new President of the *Society of Contemporary American Literature in German* (SCALG) since 2020. In 2021, he received the Tulliola-Renato Filippelli Award for his satires, and he earned the College of Humanities Distinguished Research Award.

Peter Dobek is a Visiting Assistant Professor with the Department of History at Grand Valley State University in Allendale, Michigan. He earned a B.A. in History and Spanish from Marquette University, an M.A. in History from the University of Toronto, and a Ph.D. in History at Western Michigan University, where he defended his dissertation on the public houses (inns, taverns, and alehouses) of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Dynasty (1385–1572). His research interests include Public Houses, Food and Drink, Urban History, Medieval and Early Modern, Central Europe, Poland, the Polish Diaspora Community,

and Chicago. In addition to teaching various courses, he helped organize the 2021 Great Lakes History Conference: The History of Sociability. Peter's most recent publications include: "Diplomacy and the Karczma/Taberna: The Role of Cracowian Public Houses in the Diplomatic Practice of the Jagiellonians (1430–1540)" published in the *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace Historyczne* (2020), "The Public House and Conflict: Violence in the Public Houses of Cracow during the Jagiellonian Era," published in the *Slavonic & East European Review* (2022), and the forthcoming "Cracovian Control: The Economic and Political Infrastructures of Late Medieval and Early Modern-Cracow" in? *The Public House in Central Europe: Inns, Taverns, and Alehouses in Cracow During the Jagiellonian Dynasty*.

Leo Donnarumma is a Ph.D. student in Medieval History at the University of Grenoble "Alpes" in France, in joint supervision with the University of Naples "Federico II" in Italy. In 2017 he gained a double degree in Paleography and Medieval History at the University of Rome "La Sapienza" and the University of Grenoble "Alpes," where he was awarded with the Excellence Initiative (IDEX) scholarship of 5000€. His most recent essay focused on the Battle of Agincourt and specifically on the identification and analysis of all the literary sources from fifteenth-century chroniclers. He concluded his bachelor's degree in History at the University of Naples "Federico II" in 2015 with a final essay on the wine in the Campania region during the early Roman Empire. He published a short article "Industria et labor: note sulle condotte militari," in which he analyze the composition of mercenaries companies in the fifteenth century, for the exhibition catalog of the Museum of the Battle of Anghiari in Tuscany and the Uffizi Galleries in Florence (*L'arte di governo e la battaglia di Anghiari. Da Leonardo da Vinci alla serie giovanile degli Uffizi*, 2019). In 2021 he obtained the diploma of archival science, paleography, and diplomatics from the Archivio di Stato di Napoli: after a two-year course he passed his final exam discussing a paper on the epigraphs on the tombs of the castle's commanders of Castel dell'Ovo, "Egg Castle", in Naples. Currently, he is also working as an expert consultant in archives and paleography for the Italian Ministry of Culture.

Amamy El-Sawy is an Associate Professor of English literature and the chairwoman of the English Department, Faculty of Education, Alexandria University. She is also a playwright and participated with her first play *The Sun* in the 2015 *Women Playwrights International Conference* held in Cape Town, South Africa. Her second play *Eclipse* was performed in Santiago de Chile in 2018. Her other plays are *Eve's Voice*, *The Apple Tree*, *Paradise Lost*, and *The Scars*. Her doctoral dissertation was entitled "Violence and Cruelty in Sarah Kane's Theatre." She has presented her research papers in various conferences held in Spain, Chile, and the USA. She has a number of publications on gender studies, feminism, border studies, and postcolonial literature. Amongst her publications are "Naomi Wallace's *In The Heart of America*: the Portrait of A Woman's Body as an Ideological Text," "The Politics of Memorialization in Yvette Nolan's *Annie Mae's Movement*" (Forthcoming), "Carnavalesque Border-Crossings: The Fluidity of Identity in Marie Jones' *A Night in November*," and "Performativity of Gender in Marina Carr's *Low in the Dark*." Her latest papers are "The Tragic Incarceration and Martyrdom of Al-Hallaj: A Spiritual Passage From Suffering to Glorification" in *Incarceration and Slavery in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age*, ed. Albrecht Classen (2021), "Revolutionizing Scheherazade: Deconstructing the Exotic and Oppressed Muslim Odalisque in Mohja Kahf's Poetry" in *Memory, Voice, and Identity Muslim Women's Writing from across the Middle East* (2021), and "A Voice of Her Own: The Persistence of Muslim American Women in Rohina Malik's *Unveiled*" in *Women's Studies* 51.2 (2022).

Fidel Fajardo-Acosta is Professor of English at Creighton University in Omaha, Nebraska. He taught before at California State University in Los Angeles and the University of Colorado in Boulder. Dr. Fajardo-Acosta has a Ph.D. degree in Comparative Literature from the University of Iowa, an

M.F.A. in English from the Iowa Writers' Workshop, and a B.A. in Economics-Mathematics from Colby College. His works include, *Courtly Seductions, Modern Subjections: Troubadour Literature and the Medieval Construction of the Modern World*, published by ACMRS in 2010, a book that examines the subjectivities implicit in troubadour literature and their relations to the emergence of commerce and the centralization of political authority in the High Middle Ages. His book *The Condemnation of Heroism in the Tragedy of Beowulf* appeared in 1989, followed by *The Hero's Failure in the Tragedy of Odysseus* in 1990, and *The Influence of the Classical World on Medieval Literature, Architecture, Music and Culture* (ed. volume) in 1992. He is so the author of various articles on Virgil's *Aeneid*, Dante, Alfonso X el Sabio, Renaissance painting, Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, Gabriel García Márquez, and courtly literature of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries; most recently "The King is Dead, Long Live the Game: Alfonso X, el Sabio, and the *Libro de açedrex, dados e tablas*," *eHumanista* 31 (2015): 489–523, and "Subjects of the Game: The Pleasures of Subjection in William IX's 'Ben vueil que sapchon li pluzor,'" *Pleasure and Leisure in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2019). He also contributed a study on the troubadour William IX to the volume *Imagination and Fantasy in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Time* (ed. Albrecht Classen, 2020), and he contributed to *Communication, Translation, and Community in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Period* (2022). His own edition, translation and commentary on the works of William IX, *The Songs that Built Europe*, is in press with Lexington Books/Rowman & Littlefield.

Quan Gan, a Ph.D. student at the University of Texas, Austin, is a social and cultural historian of tenth-century Francia and China. He has two long-term research topics, first the formation of cultural, political, and religious identities as historical processes; and second the role institutions of political communication played in these processes. His Ph.D. project examines the way the literary elites deployed the religious, institutional, and familial symbols in their negotiation of power through composing commemorative texts during "the fragmented tenth century" (ca. 880– ca. 980 C.E.) in (post-)Carolingian Francia and (post-)Tang China.

Nina Gonzalbez is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Art History at Florida State University. She studies late medieval art of the city of Seville. Her dissertation addresses stylistic and iconographic choices as extensions of Sevillian identity and clarifies how elements native to Seville were joined with imported artistic ideas to create a distinct school of Seville in the late fifteenth- and early-sixteenth century. Nina received her M.A. in Art History from Florida State University in 2019. As a Ph.D. candidate and Patricia Rose Fellow at Florida State, Nina has received various fellowships and grants including the FSU International Programs Florence Teaching Fellowship, Ada Belle Winthrop-King Visual Arts Endowment, and the AARHMS Simon Barton Travel Grant. In 2021, she presented at the International Congress on Medieval Studies and currently teaches in art history at Florida State University and Limestone University.

Abel Lorenzo-Rodríguez is a Ph.D. candidate in Medieval Studies and Predoctoral Fellow at the University of Santiago de Compostela during 2019–2022 (Galicia, Spain). He received his B.A. and M.A. also there. His primary research area is social violence in early medieval north-west Iberia (8th–12th centuries), especially crimes and punishments in the northern Iberian kingdoms, with supervisors Ermelindo Portela and Israel Sanmartín. His research interests include the change of punishments between late antiquity and the early Middle Ages, criminality, and social behavior with violence in Iberia, having presented first results of his research at numerous congresses and seminars in Europe such as the University of Oxford, Leeds, Stanford, Florence, Madrid, Barcelona, Dublin, or Heidelberg. During 2021 he was an academic visitor at the University of Oxford (Faculty of

History). His recent articles include, for instance: “Concubare sine mea volumtate: Indictments and Rape Trials in North-Western Iberia (8th–12th centuries),” *Stud. hist., H.^a mediev.*, 39.2 (2021): 103–30; “More infantie a tergo corporis emendari: Violence and Discipline in Hispanic School Contexts (4th–12th centuries),” *En la España Medieval* 43 (2020): 205–22; “Voices of Destruction. Prophecy, Punishment and Prodigies in Early Medieval Hispania (5th–8th Centuries)” (with Marisa Bueno) in *Prophetie, Prognose und Politik. Personengeschichtliche Perspektiven zwischen Antike und Neuzeit*, ed. Ch. Hoffarth (2022), 23–41, and also “Revenging Vestments: On the Chasubles of the Bishops Ildefonsus and Adaulfus (Toledo and Compostela, Tenth–Twelfth Centuries),” *Religions* 13.4: 338, online at <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel13040338>, and “Et me simile abortadice: Sex, Sins and Benefices among the Clergy of North-Western Iberia (ninth-twelfth centuries),” *Anuario de Estudios Medievales* 52.2 (2022): 677–713.

William Mahan is an Assistant Professor of German at Oklahoma State University. William’s current research is focused on subversive figures in German literature and film – from medieval rogues, bandits, and vagrants, as featured in this Symposium talk, to the computer hacker (called the modern-day Robin Hood by Steven Levy) in German film and television, as is the focus of his current book project. His most recent publication, entitled “Ghostly Letters: The Legacies of Death Letters in Schnitzler’s Narratives,” appeared in the fourth issue of *German Quarterly* for 2021. His research focuses more broadly on “ghost” figures in German and Austrian film and literature that represent the haunting imposition of Europe’s violent history on its contemporary moment.

Reinhold Münster is currently an Assistant Professor at the Hochschule Würzburg-Schweinfurt, Germany. Previously, he was lecturer at the universities of Marburg and Bamberg. He wrote his doctoral dissertation on Friedrich von Hagedorn and the popular philosophy of the Enlightenment (1999). His habilitation thesis, published as *Raum – Reise – Sinn* (2017, 2 vols.), investigates the history of German travelers visiting Spain. He is a member of the German-Spanish research group “Reisen nach Spanien” (Travel to Spain) and has published numerous studies on this topic. Other research areas are: Mythology and literature; the German-language theater; literature of the Enlightenment and the Romantic Period. Currently, he is a contributing member of the research project “Musik und Literatur” (Würzburg; Music and Literature).

Karen C. Pinto. Born and raised in Karachi, Pakistan, of South Asian Indian, Russian, French, and 16th-century Goan Portuguese stock, educated at Dartmouth and Columbia, Karen C. Pinto specializes in the history of Islamic cartography and its intersections between Ottoman, European, and other worldly cartographic traditions and has spent the better part of three decades hunting down maps in Oriental manuscript collections around the world. She has a 2000-strong image repository of Islamic maps – many that have never been published before. Her book *Medieval Islamic Maps: An Exploration* was published by The University of Chicago Press in November 2016 and won a 2017 OAT (Outstanding Academic Title) award from Choice. She has won numerous grants including a 2013–2014 NEH fellowship for her work on Islamic maps of the Mediterranean. She has published articles on medieval Islamic and Ottoman maps and has on-going book projects on “What is ‘Islamic’ about Islamic Maps” and the “Mediterranean in the Islamic Cartographic Imagination.” Along with her work on Middle Eastern and Islamic Studies, she is interested in Digital Humanities and Spatial Studies. Copies of her publications are available through: <https://colorado.academia.edu/KarenPinto>. She is an Associate Scholar at Religious Studies, University of Colorado Boulder.

Abdoulaye Samaké is Maître de Conférences at the Université des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines de Bamako (Mali) and associate postdoctoral researcher at the Saarland University within the Saarbrücken Research Training Group “European Dream-Cultures” funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). Dr. Samaké studied from 2005 to 2009 German philology at the Université de Bamako and attended the Pedagogical University École Normale Supérieure de Bamako (ENSup Bamako) from 2009 to 2012. Afterward, he participated from 2012 to 2014 in the Erasmus Mundus Master Course GLITEMA (German Literature in the European Middle Ages) at the Universities of Porto (Portugal), Palermo (Italy), and Bremen (Germany). Dr. Samaké was associate doctoral researcher in the above mentioned Saarbrücken Research Training Group from 2015 to 2019. From September 2021 to August 2022 he worked at the University of Lausanne (CH) on a project (funded by the Swiss Confederation) which is dedicated to the motif of love imprisonment in European medieval literature. He is the author of the book *Liebesträume in der deutsch-, französisch- und italienischsprachigen Erzählliteratur des 12. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (2020) and has published several articles, inter alia: “Erfolgreiche und verhängnisvolle Strategien zum Wunschkind. Kinderlose Herrscher in der mittelhochdeutschen und altfranzösischen Epik,” *Das Mittelalter* 26.2 (2021): 347–66; “Le songe amoureux dans le *Wilhelm von Österreich* de Johann von Würzburg,” *Akofena* 3 (2021): 29–42; or “Tempusgebrauch und Traumerzählung in altfranzösischen und mittelhochdeutschen Erzähltexten,” Christian Quintes und Laura Vordermayer (ed.), *Zeiterfahrung im Traum. Was war, was ist, was sein wird* (2021), 71–93.

David Tomíček completed his studies of history and Czech language at the John Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem with a Master of Arts (Mgr.) in 2004, and in 2008 his postgraduate studies of the history of medicine (Ph.D.) at the Institute for the History of Medicine and Foreign Languages at the First Medical Faculty of Charles University in Prague. Presently, he works as an Assistant Professor at the John Evangelista Purkyně University in Ústí nad Labem and at the Charles University in Prague. His main topic of scientific interest is the history of science, especially medicine in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He has published the following monographs: together with Jana Englová, *Jan Evangelista Purkyně* (Ústí nad Labem 2009; English); *Víra, rozum a zkušenost v lidovém lékařství pozdně středověkých Čech* (Belief, Reason, and Experience in Folk Medicine of Late Medieval Bohemia, Ústí nad Labem 2010; in Czech); together with Milada Říhová and Dana Stehlíková, *Lékaři na dvoře Karla IV. a Jana Lucemburského* (Physicians at the Court of Charles IVth and John of Luxembourg, Prague 2010; commented edition of medieval *regimina sanitatis* with Czech translation).

Warren Tormey has taught in the English Department at Middle Tennessee State University since 1995. A scholar of medieval and early English Renaissance literature by training, he also maintains interests in Milton Studies, the epic tradition, economic history, scientific and technical history, ecocriticism, and popular culture. He serves his department by teaching survey classes in medieval and Renaissance English literature and special topics courses on American nature writing, American environmental literature, and science literature. He taught in the Great Books in Tennessee Prisons program between 2007 and 2014, and he has publications in *English Literary Renaissance* on John Evelyn; in *Medieval Perspectives* on Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene*; in the *Critical Insights* series on John Milton's *Paradise Lost*; and in *Studies in Popular Culture* and *ISLE (International Studies in Literature and the Environment)* on Rachel Carson. He also has articles in the six of the seven most recent volumes of the *Fundamentals in Medieval and Early Modern Culture* series, ed. by Albrecht Classen (Walter de Gruyter, 2017–2021).

Thomas Willard is Emeritus Professor of English at the University of Arizona, where he still offers seminars in the Honors College. He has edited the *Enchiridion Physicae Restitutae* and *Arcanum Hermetica* of Jean d'Espagne in English translations (1999; reissued 2018) and the essay collection *Reading the Natural World in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Perceptions of the Environment and Ecology* (2020). He has published essays toward a projected book on Northrop Frye, most recently in *Reeducating the Imagination* (2015). He has also written essays on Thomas Vaughan, anticipating the book *Thomas Vaughan and the Rosicrucian Revival in Britain, 1648–1666* (2022). He has also contributed chapters to books in two series edited by Albrecht Classen: *Theophrastus Paracelsus Studien* (2011–2012) and *Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture* (2010–2021). In Arizona, he has worked on tri-university grants to prepare secondary school teachers of English. He has also won awards for academic advising, student mentoring, and program planning.

Index

This index covers historical names, concepts, and terms, but it does not include, with a few exceptions, geographical or ethnic names to avoid unnecessarily bloating this register. For instance, there are numerous references to London, Hamburg, Genoa, Venice, Cairo, Damascus, or Beijing throughout this book without those being specifically discussed. Also, the index does not reflect the footnotes and does not cover Arabic names for biblical figures, currencies, or towns. Since this is a volume on globalism in the pre-modern world, there are, logically, many entries of Arabic, Indian, or Chinese terms, apart from those pertaining to the Western World. I have relied heavily on the contributors and their work, to whom I submitted an early draft of this index for relevant feedback. It proved to be rather tricky with placing Arabic, Hebrew, and Chinese names, and there was some disagreement even among the contributors in that regard as to how to handle some of the lemmata. The names beginning with 'al' I have listed under the letter of the following (last, or surname) name. The same is the case with Middle High German names beginning with an article or Middle English book titles. Sometimes, the diacritical marks might be left out, but Anglophone spelling varies here widely, so I followed the various authors in their concepts. All remaining mistakes are, of course, my own.

- Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrakochi, Caliph 544
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